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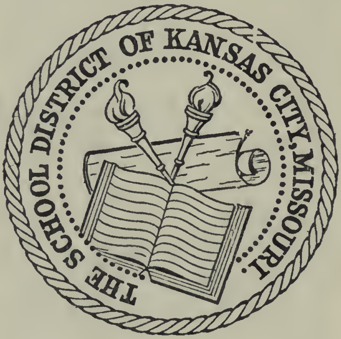
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— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

The League's Business

League Holds Annual Election

The annual meeting of the Council of the National Municipal League was held December 22 at the Hotel St. Regis in New York where the members were dinner guests of Carl H. Pforzheimer, League treasurer and chairman of the Steering Committee. The meeting was in lieu of the regular annual meeting of the membership and the annual National Conference on Government which the Council vetoed earlier in the year in order to comply with the government's request that conventions be curtailed because of the transportation emergency.

The report of the Nominating Committee, composed of Frederick L. Bird, Chairman, Philip Cornick, Arnold Frye, John S. Linen, and Ralph B. Maltby, was presented by Dr. Bird as follows:

"For *President:* John G. Winant, Ambassador to Great Britain

First Vice President: George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion

Treasurer: Carl H. Pforzheimer, Purchase, New York

Secretary: Howard P. Jones, Grandview, New York

"For *Members of the Council:* (*indicates new members)

Richard S. Childs, manufacturer and civic leader, New York City, *Chairman*

George Arents, Rye, Westchester County, New York

Carter W. Atkins, executive director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Hartford

James L. Beebe, civic leader, former president of Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce

Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research, Dun & Bradstreet

*Henry Bruere, president of the Bowery Savings Bank, treasurer and trustee of Institute of Public Administration, New York City

*J. W. Clise, president of the Asbestos Supply Company, trustee of the Seattle Municipal League

John Cowles, president of the *Minneapolis Star-Journal,* director of The Associated Press

Lt. Colonel Karl Detzer, chief of the Division of Technical Information, Services of Supply, Washington, D. C.

Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., *The Queen's Work,* St. Louis

C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin

Clarence Francis, president of General Foods Corporation, formerly commissioner of finance, Bronxville, New York

Arnold Frye, attorney, New York City

Albert W. Hawkes, U. S. Senator from New Jersey

C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Pennsylvania, trustee of the C. F. Taylor Trust, honorary secretary of the Proportional Representation League

Colonel Robert W. Johnson, District Chief of Ordnance Department, New York City

Francis V. Kessling, civic leader and chairman of Board of Freeholders which drafted San Francisco's present charter

*Gerard B. Lambert, formerly advisor to Federal Housing Administration, Princeton, New Jersey

John S. Linen, vice president of Chase National Bank, New York City

Ralph B. Maltby, president of the St. Regis Paper Company, mayor of Bronxville, New York

Mark Matthews, attorney, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Washington, D. C., and Mt. Kisco, New York

*Stratford Lee Morton, Chairman of St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee for Revision of the Missouri Constitution

John Nuveen, Jr., president of John Nuveen & Company, Chicago

Fred N. Oliver, general counsel for the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, New York

Thomas I. Parkinson, president of the Equitable Insurance Company, New York City

Frank L. Polk, attorney, New York City

Lawson Purdy, president of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City

Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati

Henry L. Shattuck, state legislator; senior fellow of President and Fellows of Harvard University

Harold E. Stassen, Governor of Minnesota

Henry M. Waite, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D. C.

Russell E. Watson, attorney and civic leader, New Brunswick, New Jersey

Richard Weil, Jr., president of L. Bamberger & Company, Newark; active in New Jersey governmental improvement efforts

"The following Council members are retained by virtue of their being past presidents: Richard S. Childs, Harold W. Dodds, C. A. Dykstra, Frank L. Polk, Lawson Purdy, Murray Seasongood, and Henry M. Waite.

"The following members of the Council have served three years and therefore are not eligible under the constitution to succeed themselves: R. J. Colbert, Philip Cornick, Harry Drackett, Robert C. Hendrickson, Anne M. Mumford, Norman S. Taber, and H. B Wells.

"For *Honorary Vice Presidents:* (*indicates new nominees)

Charles A. Beard, historian, New Milford, Connecticut

H. L. Brittain, managing director of the Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research

Charles C. Burlingham, former president of New York Board of Education

Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City,* New York City

Harry Woodburn Chase, chancellor of New York University

*Harry Drackett, president of Cincinnati City Charter Committee

John N. Edy, assistant commissioner for administration, Federal Public Housing Authority, Washington, D. C.

Samuel S. Fels, trustee of C. F. Taylor Trust, Philadelphia

Mayo Fesler, director of the Citizens League of Cleveland

Russell Forbes, vice president of Air Cargo, Inc., New York City

A. R. Hatton, University of Texas; former chairman of the Department of Political Science, Northwestern University

*Robert C. Hendrickson, member of the New Jersey Senate

Frank O. Lowden, former Governor of Illinois, Sinnissippi

Seabury C. Mastick, former State Senator, Pleasantville, New York

Charles E. Merriam, chairman of the Department of Political Science of the University of Chicago; vice chairman of the National Resources Planning Board

Frank H. Morse, Lehman Brothers, New York City

William E. Mosher, dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University

*Anne M. Mumford, executive secretary of the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles

W. B. Munro, California Institute of Technology

Chester H. Rowell, San Francisco *Chronicle*

Miss Belle Sherwin, formerly president of the National League of Women Voters, Willoughby, Ohio

Mrs. F. Louis Slade, New York City

Charles P. Taft, assistant director of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services

Lent D. Upson, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

Richard Welling, director of the National Self-Government League, New York City

"President Winant is nominated for re-election on condition, stipulated by him last year, that matters of immediate concern which ordinarily would be deter-

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Sound Decision

THE decision of the War Labor Board that it has no authority over the wages of municipal employees and that it has no right to act in disputes between municipalities and employees' organizations is a heartening indication that there may now be a cessation and perhaps a reversal of the trend which inevitably was leading to the practical destruction of local self-government.

It was disquieting that the board saw fit in the first place to take jurisdiction over the dispute of the City of Newark and its garbage handlers. Had the board decided it could act and had it acted in favor of the workers who had been on strike, the decision would have set an exceedingly dangerous precedent, especially in wartime, and would have been taken as recognition of the right of public employees to strike—a right which has been consistently denied by courts, public law officers, and by prominent officials including the President himself.

Such action also would have contributed further to the destruction of local government's control over its purse, a vital control which has been gradually eaten away by state laws providing mandatory expenditures and by the usurping by state and nation of new sources of tax revenue. Budget-making in many cities has become a constantly more difficult problem because of these trends.

If a federal agency were to be permitted to increase local government costs beyond a community's ability to pay and beyond the state constitutional tax limitation, finis would have been written indeed to local self-government.

Another federal agency, the Office of Price Administration, has been less wise and statesmanlike than the War Labor Board. The OPA has forbidden Berkeley, California, to increase its charge for garbage collection, and San Diego, California, to impose a tax of ten cents a day on house trailers in the city.

These decisions constitute an outrageous and unwarranted usurpation of powers which should be purely local. It has become difficult for many cities whose expenses have been increased by the presence of war industries to pay these added costs out of the real estate tax. This difficulty has been aggravated in some instances by the removal of government-operated factories from the tax rolls and by the payment of inadequate service fees "in lieu of taxes" on public housing developments.

Cities will object no more than individuals to the making of sacrifices and the surrender of normal rights—when they are *necessary.* But it seems obvious that city governments, of necessity, will keep close control over wages and other expenses and that they can be trusted to run their affairs in a manner which will not interfere with the conduct of the war.

It would help if the national government would adopt a policy in its relations with municipalities and have it followed by all departments and agencies. The impact of the war on local government is great but one which can generally be endured if it is not needlessly aggravated. Developments like these add to the fear that the post-war period will witness a strenuous struggle to retain much semblance of genuine local self-government.

Cogent Advice for Cities

THERE has been some tendency among states and cities to reduce taxes, a trend which is greeted with natural enthusiasm by the home owner who is wishing he had saved enough from his 1942 salary to pay the federal income tax which will be due this year.

One debt-ridden community of 10,000 is a case in point. With a debt so large that for years its debt service will cost at least $500,000 annually, it is preparing to translate a reduced budget into immediate tax reductions. Such a course would fly in the face of advice that state and local taxes not be reduced, for this would be of no help in closing the inflationary gap. This community would prepare itself better to endure the sacrifices of total war and whatever difficulties will follow if it would, in a period of apparent prosperity, concentrate on getting its debt under control.

Dr. Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research for Dun & Bradstreet, recently gave American cities some cogent advice during an address at a symposium conducted by the Tax Institute.[1] It is quoted in part:

"*First*: Municipalities are the congested, complicated centers of war goods production and transportation. They cannot afford to break down. Every effort needs to be made to maintain health, safety, and efficiency of movement. This is what should dictate the making of budgets and raising of revenues, rather than tax reduction as a primary objective. However, if under the pressure of necessity new ways of economizing can be discovered we will have made a long-term gain.

"*Second:* There may be some question about building up postwar reserves, but there should be none about the responsibility of getting rid of existing deficits and avoiding the incurrence of new deficits. This means, among other things, abandonment of long-term borrowing for unemployment relief which still persists in a few areas.

"*Third:* There may be considerable doubt as to the advisability of accumulating large funds for postwar construction. There should be none about the responsibility for meeting debt obligations from current revenues when they fall due. A number of cities are considering postponement of their obligations by refunding. If they do this they not only violate sound principles of debt administration, but by failing to take this op-

(Continued on page 11)

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[1] *Wartime Problems of State and Local Finance,* Proceedings of the symposium, will be available shortly through the Institute, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Fighting Front on Main Street

Community councils can make for healthier towns in peace as well as war; assuming responsibility for solving local problems is a good democratic habit.

By MARY DRAPER, JULIET FLEISCHL, BARBARA GAIR

THIS summer we helped set up a War Community Council in Clarion, Iowa. The Council centralizes the town's war activities and gives every citizen a job to do to help win the war.

We're from New York. We went to Iowa to see how the war is fought in the middle west. The people out there are showing that they have the spunk and brains to win the war where we all have to fight it—on Main Street.

It all began back in February 1942, our senior year at Vassar College. We wanted war jobs after graduation. And we felt that too much energy was concentrated in Washington. Surely some of it should be used "out there" in the thousands of small towns throughout the nation.

Maybe we could take root in a representative community, get a job —waitress, salesgirl, reporter—settle down and become working members of the town. After learning its war problems we could work with the people there and help set up a democratic effective mechanism to solve them.

We went to Washington during our spring vacation for expert advice. After four days of interviewing government officials we wound up in the Department of Agriculture. Its representatives thought a mid-west town would be most receptive both to us and a dynamic unified war program. They urged us to try out our plan under the guidance of their field workers.

After two months of correspondence, William Stacey at Ames, Iowa, showed most interest. So on June 20, after graduation, we pointed our car toward the state where the tall corn grows.

During our five days stay at Ames, extension workers supplied us with information on community organization. They introduced us to community councils as a method of unifying the resources of a community. After comprehensive mental tours of the state they picked out Clarion as a representative and receptive town.

On July 4 we arrived. Clarion is a rural trading center with three thousand inhabitants. It is the county seat of Wright County; it has no industry, no extremes of wealth or poverty.

Our first problem was to find a bread-and-butter job. Ames had told us to call on Rev. Ralph Beebe, Congregational minister. We introduced ourselves as three Vassar girls who wanted to see what the middle west was like.

"Hope you can stay a while," he welcomed us cordially. "One thing we need is a summer recreation program for children. So many of the children don't have much to do now. The school playground isn't in use and you could use it."

We'd all worked in eastern camps in past summers. Maybe our means of livelihood could be a day camp. How could we round up campers?

Camping at Home

Mr. Beebe offered us his Sunday school list as a starter. We were determined to ring all the doorbells we could in one week and see what happened. And we rang plenty of them. We began to find our own way and meet the people and get acquainted. We had a stock speech about the value of group activity for youngsters which we delivered brightly to any housewife who so much as opened her door a crack.

Our business arrangements were simple. Two dollars a week for regular attendance Monday through Friday from nine-thirty to five; one dollar for half-days.

By the end of the week news of the three Vassar girls who were running a day camp had blanketed the town. We had signed up about thirty-five boys and girls between three and ten years of age. Bright and early on the morning of July 13 we inaugurated "Camp at Home in Clarion."

The natural friendliness of the townspeople made us feel at home almost at once. After three weeks of making friends, running the day camp, and improving our cooking, we decided to launch the summer offensive. Our first war call was on the county chairman of civilian defense. We asked him if there was any way we could help him with his program.

"Honestly, girls, I don't think we're going to be bombed out here, so what's the use of any program? Besides it's summer and people don't like to be bothered by the war."

We were undaunted. "There are a lot of other things to be done, don't you think? Take gas rationing—maybe more information on its necessity will win more coöperation when it's needed."

"Why should people make sacrifices to a government that's always bungling?" demanded the OCD chairman. "I suppose I'll have to start something in a couple of months. I'll call on you then if you're still around. I can get all the help I want from organizations in town but I've got to have something for them to do first."

That was our exit cue. Although we were crushed by his lack of enthusiasm, he gave us our clue to the next step. If, as he said, other organizations were anxious to coöperate on a local war program, perhaps they would be willing to sponsor a coordinated effort on their own.

We drew up a list of every organized group in town—study clubs, civic groups, churches, service organizations, lodges, the school, etc. For the next three weeks we made after-hour calls on the leader of each of these groups. Everyone agreed on the need for a well coördinated community war program. Unifying the war efforts of the individual organizations won unanimous approval.

The county agent said he'd been trying to get this kind of thing started for eight months. "Last year we had four different organizations handling the scrap metal drive," he said, "and that's just one example of overlapping. We need a clearing house or the same thing will happen again."

"If we can have a war program in

this town that'll give every man and woman a specific job to do, I'm all for it," one prominent church leader told us. "The trouble so far has been that a few people have done all the work. Yet everyone is anxious to do something. They just haven't known what to do."

Need for Coordination

An active member of the American Legion emphasized the need for one war fund drive. "People get tired of being approached every other day for a different relief organization. We ought to consolidate all the drives into one and then allocate the funds to the different organizations. It would save time and energy and probably raise more money in the end."

With thirty-seven representative people in accord, the next problem was to find a leader—someone who could make concrete plans, call a meeting of all the leaders we'd interviewed, and see that an organization was formed to overcome past difficulties. Of all the people we'd called on one man stood out as the most enthusiastic. A respected business man, we thought he possessed leadership qualities. We made a second call on him and asked him if he'd be willing to start action. At that point "action" meant chairing a mass meeting of leaders.

"You could have a dinner at the hotel. Charge about fifty cents. People will come if they've invested in a meal beforehand. Might start off with a song to loosen things up. Then have dinner for an hour, then the meeting for a couple of hours, then go home. I'll tell you, girls, let me mull it over for a while. I'll sit down in my back yard, give it some serious thought, and call you in a couple of days."

It didn't bother us that there was no mention of preliminary planning for the meeting. A native Clarionite had almost consented to carry the ball. That was all that mattered.

We saw one more task before us. Get the support of the most respected man in town. Golden tongued orator and town father, his sanction would help the plan immensely. It would be our last call, we felt sure. And it almost was. After we had described the enthusiastic responses from the townspeople, he inquired, "Just who or what organization sent you girls out here? You must admit it's unusual for three girls to come into a strange town and within thirty days start organizing a movement."

We explained our innocent history but he refused to bend. Visions of being tarred and feathered obsessed us as we left his office. Luckily, it was too late for his suspicion to be any real threat to the plan. Too many other people were behind it.

The prospective leader never came through. Since he was a close friend of our accuser, he was probably influenced by him in his decision "not to run."

We were stumped momentarily. But Ames came to our rescue and advised us to ask one of the leading women in town, member of the State Board of Education, to call the citizens most interested in the plan together at her house. That was a change in tactics. Instead of asking one person to shoulder full responsibility, we would merely ask her to be one of several on a steering committee. She agreed to call seven other representative citizens to her house the following evening, with the stipulation that we present to them the results of our interviews and start the discussion.

Clarionites Take Over

"We've got to be good. . . . We've got to be intelligent. . . . We've got to be convincing. . . . We've got to put it across . . . " ran through our minds as we prepared our speeches. But that's where we were mistaken. Once we'd introduced the subject the eight "steerers" took over. We barely uttered a word all evening. After reviewing past problems, they drew up concrete organization plans. They met on two other occasions to complete these plans and work out an agenda for the meeting of organization heads—the same men and women that we had interviewed. Postcards mimeographed by Mr. Beebe and personal phone calls by the eight "steerers" urged people to come to the Courthouse Wednesday evening, September 2, for an "emergency war meeting."

Before the meeting speculations about our connections had increased. Evidently our accuser had done some talking among his friends. Conflicting rumors of Nazi affiliations and FBI assignments flew. Since the eight steerers had asked us to present the formulated plans to the mass meeting, a personal clean slate was essential. Otherwise people might reject the organization because of our connection with it.

But when Wednesday night came, the meeting went perfectly. Just about every organization sent a delegate. Fifty-five men and women spent three hours talking over and working out the best possible local war program. First on the agenda was a letter from our friends in Ames describing our motives and purpose in coming to Clarion. Read aloud by the chairman, it scotched all suspicion about us.

Again the citizens ran the show as soon as we'd presented the tentative organization plans. They listened intently to each other and expressed their opinions freely. It had all the spirit of a cracker barrel discussion or a town hall jamboree. No one sounded off, either. Everything said related itself to the need for community war organization and the methods of establishing it.

The meeting voted unanimously to give the plan a trial and elected ten men and women as an executive committee. The administrative board is made up of as many interest groups in Clarion as possible. Rev. Marion Kilpatrick, Presbyterian minister, was later elected chairman; the other members were State Senator G. R. Hill; Frank Reilly, lawyer and head of the Red Cross; newspaper editor Laurence Jaqua; School Superintendent C. J. Christianson; Frank Sullivan, active lodge member; Mrs. Roy Williamson, head of the Navy Mothers; Mrs. Wilkinson, head of the VFW auxiliary; Mrs. Whitlock, prominent in the Catholic Church and the Railroad Sisterhoods; and, last but far from least, Mrs. George Kyseth, the woman who'd been willing to start the ball rolling by calling the eight steerers together.

Beneath the Board of Ten stands the group of all organization representatives, like the one which met in the Courthouse that Wednesday evening. This larger group will have the functions of a town council. From time to time it will review the work of the Board of Ten.

Block Organization

The field workers of the organization are the ward captains and block lieutenants. The four ward captains are each in command of one of the city wards. Under them come the block lieutenants, one man or woman in every square block. For every war campaign the captains and their lieutenants enlist the aid of every Clarion family by canvassing them individually. The lieutenants also distribute printed information on war programs and announcements of educational forums.

How does this structure work? Suppose the American Legion wants to conduct a tin-foil campaign. Its commander brings the proposed salvage before the Board of Ten. They know if any other club is collecting tin-foil or plans to in the future. If all wires are clear the American Legion can launch its drive enlisting the aid of the army of block lieutenants. Full credit for the campaign will go to the American Legion.

Thus the organization will serve as a clearing house for all war projects. That is half its job. The other half, equally important, lies in its ability to sponsor new and needed war activities. Since no one is undertaking a consumer program, they may give a fashion show for the women illustrating what to wear and buy without injuring the total war program.

By the end of September block lieutenants were appointed, a well organized fat campaign was under way, the lieutenants had collected money for an honor roll of Clarion boys in the service, plans were laid for an extensive education program on war issues. The Council moved full steam ahead. Its leaders and lieutenants looked forward to a year of hard, constructive work. We were superfluous. The Board of Ten did not invite us to their meetings. Our stimulus was no longer needed. At best we had been, as one of the citizens put it, "a mild burr under the saddle." It was time to leave.

The idea of community councils to solve community problems isn't new. During the last war, war councils were pushed by the government —two months before the Armistice. Woodrow Wilson gave them his unqualified support because he believed they built unity of purpose and effort and extended the "common cause" to every citizen.

But two months didn't give them a chance to take root. It was too little and too late. That's why we need action now from the communities in starting these home-front fighting plans, from the government in encouraging and helping actively the towns and villages to set up their councils. Community mobilization has not been realized. Our civilian war effort is not forging ahead.

With central war councils in every town, village, and hamlet important government programs can be piped out to the people. Instead of a new chairman popping up with every campaign, a dependable community committee can handle all new programs. Instead of a griping "why should I?"

attitude, people can know why they are called on to do certain things.

Community councils can make for healthier towns in peace as well as war. Taking the initiative, assuming the responsibility for solving local problems, is a good democratic habit. Civic groups and organizations can better serve their communities if they work together instead of alone and at cross purposes. Latent leadership can come to the fore. Beginning as war councils for solving war problems may be a small beginning, but it is a significant beginning.

Let the government figure out a chockful program of civilian participation. Let the government send out a few trained workers, "burrs under the saddle," to help set up overall councils in a few representative towns. If the programs get widespread recognition and publicity, other communities will follow suit.

"Prime movers" are needed now. Ordinary citizens may see the need for mobilization but they hesitate to start a new and overall plan. They may not know how, and as a Clarionite said: "If I had tried to push this idea at the start, people would say, 'there he goes, trying to run the town.' I have to think twice about my professional and social reputation. It's a good idea, sure. But it's a new idea and one that'll affect a lot of neighbors and customers."

Competent workers from outside the town don't have this to worry about. As our civilian war effort stands now, communities need guidance and initial push.

It's the national objective to galvanize all our efforts to total war. It's the national effort to bring every last man and woman into the fight. Why not, then, seek a practical way of reaching citizens, of enlisting their participation?

EDITORIALS

(Continued from page 5)

portunity to reduce their debts they are missing an excellent opportunity to build up postwar reserves—by cutting down fixed charges in future budgets and by building up reserve borrowing power.

"*Fourth:* The problems of wartime are disclosing or emphasizing weaknesses in budget and bond laws, in methods of fiscal administration, in the operation of revenue systems. They are showing that some state regulatory legislation is a handicap to cities and that many states have been negligent in their responsibilities to their municipalities. There could be no better time for the correction of these defects than the present, when the defects are so evident and the feeling of responsibility is strong.

"If we take care of these fundamentals now we contribute not only to winning the war but to solving the problems which will come later."

Kansas City Goes A-Polling

Its citizens believe public opinion polling has a place in local as well as in national government—and are acting on that belief.

By LOREN B. MILLER
Director, Kansas City (Missouri) Civic Research Institute

POLLING, or more accurately measuring, public opinion is an accepted national activity. Gallup and *Fortune* have served to make the idea a normal day-to-day part of American life. "Pulse of the nation" has been transformed from ear-to-the-ground biarticulate dexterity to the more austere sanctity of the social sciences.

Few there are who would question the fact that it is done, should be done, or the highly consistent accuracy of results. To read in one's morning paper Dr. Gallup's consensus of what America thinks causes no more, in fact less, wonderment or bewilderment than the vagaries of the Dodgers on the sporting page. A new curiosity has found acceptance through proof of reliability. We wonder what the country thinks about such and such—or so and so—well, what do the polls say?

But at least one curious anomoly has remained in this situation. Accepted as part of the national scene, there was little effort to transfer the same technique to the field of local government. It could be argued that opinion research directly served the democratic process, and we long have propounded that democracy begins at home, that local government is the cradle of democracy. Yet there seemed no effort to associate the two. Was there any reason opinion polling should be just a national event? Was there any reason for it not to be applicable and useful in a specific locality?

Kansas City thinks there isn't any reason. Kansas City, today, is in gear to poll its citizens as assiduously as Dr. Gallup or Mr. Roper may poll the national citizen. Kansas City believes opinion polling has as much a place in local government as in national government—and is acting on the belief.

More than that, the Civic Research Institute believes this to be a proper function to add to its twenty-year record of municipal research as a service to the community. The Institute believes it is proper for it to do opinion research, *and most proper for opinion research to be done by it.* The Institute has initiated the first continuing local opinion poll, not to predict local elections, but because we believe there is a genuine need, that it can serve a legitimate purpose.

As a matter of fact, diligent thought serves to show no reason why opinion research is not just as valid in every respect in local government as in national. First, the process of methodology certainly is equally appropriate in the one field as in the other. Numbers may affect the rules of probability, but the rules of probability are not limited to numbers in terms of millions. A controlled sample can as well be created locally as nationally. Secondly, there is no dearth of problems pressing for attention in our community organization and operation, nor are these problems any less worthy of every technique and approach we can bring to bear. Local opinion research needs no excuse of wartime to justify its usefulness, but certain it is that war and prospective postwar problems have created conditions which would make the use of every facet, including opinion research, imperative.

A Voice for the Citizen

Opinion research offers local government a number of definite values. One of these is its value in giving the citizen a continuous means by which his voice can be heard. Opinion research is specific—in focus and in time. As long as elections remain infrequent, accurate reflection of public will must remain dubious almost in exact proportion to that infrequency except by process of guesswork. In measuring public opinion on any issue, an election is much more likely to occur at the wrong time than at the right time. In addition, elections seldom focus opinions to give a clear, unqualified answer. Usually issues are multiple, of varying importance. Elections can reflect only composite or average opinion; what an election means on a specific issue may or may not be determinable with more than guesswork.

In contrast, opinion research is available when needed, when the issue is current. Opinion research is specific; opinions can be measured on one issue or on a dozen.

A corollary is the value of opinion research as a counter-pressure to the influence and effects of minority pressure groups. All too frequently vocal minority pressure groups can wield an influence out of all proportion to actual strength; what they demand, and often get, may not be what the public as a whole wants. The squeaky wheel still gets the grease. Of course, it can be argued these questions also are of interest to all citizens and that if they are interested enough they should act in their own behalf. A truism perhaps, but not a practical reality. Whether all citizens should be as equally alert and active as those with immediate direct interest need not be argued—they won't be to the same extent merely because the benefit and harm are not proportional. But here again opinion research can reflect the wishes of all citizens. It would be worth while if it had no other value than to offset, or match, the voice of special interests with the voice of all the people.

Opinion research has other values even more important. It serves to establish bench marks—bench marks of expectation, of performances against expectation, of trend and change. It serves to keep conscientious officials in touch with the thinking of their constituents and certainly this is of real value, for no matter how sincere the official, he still has a serious problem in keeping his thinking attuned to that of the people.

Finally, opinion research has particular significance not in reporting opinion but as a new and additional tool to probe some of the dark corners, the unknown quantities, of democratic society in operation. It offers an avenue toward information, now lacking and sorely needed, obtainable by no other approach. Tremendous problems—now and post-war—beset our local governments. Shifting tides of population change community character, old residents leave, new ones must be assimilated. The impact of federal war finance requirements is creating new situations in local finance and in citizen tax-consciousness. Old problems too long ignored—housing, blight, decentralization—can be ignored but little longer.

Is the Citizen Informed?

Equal are the potentialities in learning, not what the citizen thinks or wants, but what he knows and doesn't know. Elmo Roper has well said that one of the principal values of opinion research is not to measure and report public opinion but to reflect areas of ignorance so that other social processes — education, press, radio—can be directed with greater effectiveness. New guides can be established to measure the effectiveness of citizen preparation and citizen interest. Perhaps we can learn not only whether he is interested but why he is interested or not, the factors influencing him to reach the position he has taken. Perhaps we can begin to find out some of the things that make the citizen tick. Small, but highly interesting beginnings already are being noted, yet it is "only the beginning."

If it then be granted that opinion research offers new values in the operation of local government, the second question is whether it fits the concept and program of citizen research bureaus or other citizen organizations sufficiently to be accepted by them as part of their service. Kansas City believes the reasons supporting its action are universally applicable.

Concepts of citizen research have tended to make a shibboleth of factualness and impartialness. But certainly in neither of these respects should opinion research cause concern. It is as "factual" as anything research bureaus do. And certainly impartialness is as much a requisite for successful opinion research as for anything now included within the scope of citizen research bureaus.

In addition, it obviously and definitely is a matter of "citizen concern." During the past several years many citizen research bureaus have experienced a decided re-appreciation of their rôle as "instruments of citizen control." The research bureau stands as the bridge over the gap between the citizen and his government. It interprets and reports his government to the citizen. Also, whether or not it correctly reflects public will, it does try to reflect independent, expert opinion on the problems of government. What more natural than that the research bureau also should reflect the opinion of *all* citizens on those issues where the opinion of all citizens counts? After all, there are a few questions which even an expert cannot answer adequately.

All this practically answers at the same time why citizen research agencies are the ones to undertake this work. The work must be factual, impartial. Research bureaus are free of the bias of special "pressure" objectives, free of press deadlines, of necessity for eye-catching headlines, of profit necessity. Research bureaus are among the few agencies able to undertake this work solely because it is a community benefit. Created in concept to represent the general citizen viewpoint they are, in fact, ideally equipped to undertake opinion research for its maximum community benefit.

Care is, of course, necessary. It is acknowledged there still is much to learn. Mistakes may be made, false steps taken; wrong questions might be asked, or at the wrong time, or the wrong use made of material. But these are faults of execution, not principle, and if they happen, mean merely the error made is to be detected and avoided the next time, not that the work should be condemned in its own right as a failure.

Kansas City Polls

This article is not intended as a review of the work undertaken or the results obtained, yet a brief picture may be in order. Four opinion surveys have been completed in Kansas City, the fifth is in preparation. The first was purely experimental, designed and conducted by the regular Institute staff in one of the city's four councilmanic districts during the city election last May. The second was conducted for the Institute by the National Opinion Research Center (University of Denver); those since by the Institute's opinion specialist.

Results from the second survey already have been fairly well covered by Institute bulletins. In general three topics were covered: (1) a barometer of opinion toward each of the local governments (indicating a higher opinion of schools and city than of the county) and levels of opinion against which later changes and trends can be measured; (2) knowledge or lack of knowledge—mostly the latter—concerning the structure of county government, i.e., whether certain offices were filled by election or appointment and identification of incumbent officers; and (3) opinion, in the absence of any concerted campaign, on certain broad questions of policy such as election or appointment of county administrative officers, county manager, city-county consolidation, merit versus political appointments. Interesting may be the fact that only the last came through with a clearly decisive margin in favor of merit appointments.

The third and fourth polls had at least one unusual feature in that each was conducted entirely within a single day, one the day before the fall election, the other the day after. In one phase, these polls were designed to measure citizen expectation of voting (suspected of being high) against actual voting performance (known to be low) and the reasons for failure to vote. In addition, the election in Kansas City represented an unusually involved situation with each voter being handed five separate ballots covering a variety of issues as well as candidates. Particularly in the poll the day before election questions were designed to test citizen awareness and recognition of these issues, with voting intention, against actual voting results.

Results from these last polls now are in the process of tabulation. They are expected to be as interesting, and perhaps as provoking, as any yet developed from the polls. We are, however, already preparing for the next. In connection with a series of departmental studies on which the Institute is now working, and aiming for the next city budget period, it is planned to undertake a careful and rather comprehensive testing of public reaction to specific city services. For one thing, we would like to determine whether the people generally feel that during a war period the different services are more important, less important, or unchanged. We also would like to test awareness of certain city services such as consciousness of participation in health or recreational programs, approval or disapproval of such programs, use of facilities such as a new swimming pool or the municipal auditorium.

We feel that results will give officials for the first time an accurate appraisal of what the citizens want and how many want it. For the first time, all the citizens can be given a voice in the city budget process—not just those with a special axe to grind.

One small example will illustrate. In preparing the city budget last year an appropriation for maintenance of a memorial "tower" was eliminated as a possible wartime sacrifice. Shortly thereafter protest arose from those specifically interested in the project and in the face of the pressure the appropriation was returned. The amount involved was not great but the illustration of the principle is excellent: what would the public as a whole have said? Whether they would keep it or stop it, they are, or should be, the ones to say so long as they are the ones to pay. Opinion measurement will let us know.

These are but the barest of beginnings. Don Cahalan has been added to the staff as a specialist in public opinion research. More surveys are under way. Many more, too many, press for attention. Our hope is that other citizen organizations will accept the idea as we do that opinion research fits their rôle, will join us. Probably all would not be interested in adding the work as a continuous part of their program. But there are few, if any, who cannot use it to great advantage at least intermittently. There's much to be done. Reactions thus far indicate there soon will be more of us at it.

Rent Control in 1943

Regulations already issued cover areas housing about seventy-five million persons; few places remain in which federal control is not effective.

By **JAMES SIMSARIAN**
Office of Price Administration

AS AN integral part of the price control program of the Office of Price Administration, rent control is being extended rapidly by the OPA to the many areas in the country where war activities have resulted in increases in rents which are exorbitant and inflationary.

Rent control was first made effective by the OPA in twenty defense-rental areas on June 1 of last year. By December 1 regulations were issued for a total of 353 areas, including Alaska and sections of every state in the country except North Dakota, and covering every large city in the country except New York.

In the case of the first group of twenty areas rents were ordered back to 1941 levels. Since then rents have been pushed back in most cases to the March 1, 1942, level.

The Emergency Price Control Act prescribes the several steps to be followed by the OPA in the rent control program. First, the OPA issues a designation and rent declaration, designating the defense-rental area and recommending the reduction and stabilization of rents. The OPA must wait 60 days for local compliance with the recommendation. If the recommendation is not complied with in this period the OPA issues maximum rent regulations ordering rents pushed back to a 1941 level or to the March 1, 1942, level.

Defense-rental areas have been designated in several groupings by the OPA. The first group of areas was designated on March 2, 1942. On April 28, at the same time as the general maximum price regulation was issued freezing retail prices, the OPA designated a large group of 302 areas, including Alaska and Puerto Rico. Another big move toward rent stabilization was made on October 5, immediately following the issuance of the economic stabilization order of the President. At that time the OPA designated all areas not already named in each of the states, covering the entire United States.

Defense-rental areas have generally been designated on the basis of counties, the areas varying in size from one to ten counties. However, much larger areas than usual were provided for in the case of the forty-five designated October 5.

Of the 353 defense-rental areas under rent control by December 1, 1942, seventy areas had rents ordered back to 1941 levels and the other 283 areas had rents frozen at March 1, 1942. Four 1941 freeze dates have been utilized by the OPA, January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1.

Rent control in the District of Columbia is not being administered under the Price Control Act or the OPA; it is handled by an administrator of rent control appointed by the Commissioners of the District under an emergency rent statute enacted by Congress and approved by the President on December 2, 1941. This statute pushes rents back to the January 1, 1941, level and provides in considerable detail for a rent control program to be followed by the rent control administrator.

State Legislation

Moves toward local rent control were made in Arizona, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia when rent bills were introduced in the legislature of these states early in 1942.

Rent legislation was enacted in only one state, Virginia, however, and even there requisite action by the Governor to institute the local program provided for has not been taken, with the result that the OPA rent control program is in effect in defense-rental areas in Virginia as in other states. Rent control bills were introduced in the legislatures of several states in 1941, but none was enacted.

Before the enactment of the Price Control Act in January 1942, the OPA actively encouraged the appointment of Fair Rent Committees by mayors in various cities. Some 210 such committees were organized in thirty-four states. Primary functions of such committees were to investigate reported cases of exorbitant rents and to discourage excessive rent demands and certain types of evictions. In the absence of legislation, however, a committee could not deal adequately with persons who disregarded its recommendations.

The story of rent control during the war and postwar period of World War I is fully told in the study published by the National Municipal League in 1939.[1] Rent control was not set up during that period on a federal scale. There was only a scattering of state statutes, principally in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York, and a few city ordinances, as in Denver and Baltimore. There was rent control in the District of Columbia under acts of Congress.[2]

Courts on Rent Control

Enforcement of the eviction provisions of the Ball Rent Law, enacted in 1919 for the District of Columbia, resulted in the leading case of *Block* v. *Hirsh,* decided by the United States Supreme Court two years later.[3] This was a suit by a landlord to recover possession from a tenant who refused to vacate in reliance on the right given in the statute to continue in possession. The Supreme Court in a five-four decision upheld the statute as constitutional. In the majority opinion Justice Holmes stated that rent regulation is justified under the police power and does not constitute a taking of property without due process of law.

A favorable decision was given recently by a United States three-judge statutory court in a case concerning the OPA's rent control program. In upholding the constitutionality of rent control, the court opinion stated:[4]

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[1] *Rent Control in War and Peace,* by Edith Berger Drellich and Andrée Emery, 1939.

[2] During or immediately following World War I, some type of rent control legislation was enacted in nearly all the countries of Europe. During the present war rent control measures have been enacted in Australia, Canada, and Great Britain.

[3] 256 U. S. 135.

> That rent control is necessary to the effective prosecution of the war effort is not open to doubt. It is necessary in order to prevent the disastrous effects of inflation, to protect the families of men in the armed service, to attract workers to vital defense areas, to bring about a fair distribution of essential labor among the several defense areas, and to insure defense workers of housing accommodations at rentals that are not exorbitant. It is necessary to maintain civilian morale and insure the production of necessary armaments.

Under the Price Control Act, when the OPA finds that rent control should be established for a defense-rental area, two regulations are issued for the area: (1) the housing regulation for houses and apartments, and (2) the hotel regulation for hotels, rooming houses, boarding houses, dormitories, auto camps, and trailers. A rent director is generally appointed by OPA for each defense-rental area; in some instances a rent director may have charge of two or three areas. He is in all cases a local person and appoints the members of his staff from the local community. He is given full authority to operate the local area program in accordance with the terms of the two rent regulations and official interpretations from Washington.

An examination of the terms of rent regulations for the Chicago defense-rental area may serve to illustrate the general program. The maximum rent which may be charged or collected for a house is the rent for that house on March 1, 1942. If the house was not rented on that date, the maximum rent is the last rent during the months of January and February of 1942. If the house was not rented during these two months or on March 1, 1942, the maximum rent is the first paid after March 1, 1942.

Improvements Considered

Where there has been a major capital improvement in a house, say, the addition of a bathroom, after March 1, 1942, but before the effective date of the regulation, which in Chicago was July 1, 1942, the maximum rent is the first rent after this improvement was made. If the house is constructed with priority rating from the War Production Board, and the rent for the house is approved by the WPB in connection with the grant of the priority rating, the maximum rent is either that approved by the WPB or the first rent. In the case of public housing, the maximum rent is determined by the public housing agency on the basis of comparable housing accommodations in the area on March 1, 1942. Rent for Army and Navy housing is fixed by the War and Navy Departments.

When the maximum rent is fixed by the owner of a house, as in the case of the first rent after March 1, 1942, or in the case of the first rent after the major capital improvement discussed above, it is subject to review and reduction by the rent director, as is the fixing of the maximum rent by the public housing agency. A reduction would be ordered by the director if he found that it was higher than those generally prevailing in the area for comparable housing on March 1, 1942.

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[4] *Leon Henderson* v. *Temperance Kimmel.*

The rent director has responsibility not only for reviewing maximum rents in certain categories as discussed above, but also for passing upon petitions for adjustment filed by landlords and applications filed by tenants. The rent director is authorized to issue orders on behalf of the price administrator of the OPA increasing or decreasing rents only under grounds set forth in the regulation.

The grounds for the filing of petitions for adjustment by landlords for an increase in the maximum rent include cases of: (1) a major capital improvement on or after the effective date of the regulation; (2) a major capital improvement prior to the freeze date where the rent on the freeze date was fixed by a rental agreement in force at the time of the improvement; (3) a substantial increase in services, furniture, furnishings or equipment, subject to certain requirements; and (4) a rent on the freeze date which was low because of (a) a blood, personal, or other special relationship with the tenant, (b) a lease for a term commencing a year or more before the freeze date, (c) a lease providing a higher rent during other periods of the lease, or (d) seasonal demand.

Tenants may file applications in the office of the rent director for a decrease in the maximum rent: (1) where it is higher than that generally prevailing in the area on the freeze date in certain specified cases as in the case of a house which was first rented after the freeze date and the first rent was determined by the landlord, or in the case of the rent fixed by a public housing agency; (2) where since the freeze date there has been a substantial deterioration of the house or a substantial decrease in services, furniture, furnishings, or equipment; and (3) where the rent on the freeze date was high because of (a) a blood, personal, or other special relationship with the landlord, (b) a lease which provided for lower rents during other periods of the lease, or (c) seasonal demand. The rent director can also issue orders to decrease maximum rents on his own initiative after notice to the landlord in any of these situations.

The housing rent regulation prohibits the eviction of tenants who are paying their rents except in certain limited situations, as where the tenant commits a nuisance or permits the use of the house for an immoral or illegal purpose or where the landlord intends to demolish the house or substantially alter the house, and it is not possible to do so with the tenants in occupancy. Provision is made to permit eviction proceedings on grounds not specified in the regulation if a certification by the rent director is granted on the petition of a landlord. Such a certification is not issued, however, unless the eviction will not be inconsistent with the purposes of the rent regulation and the Price Control Act.

The hotel rent regulation is gen-

(Continued on page 25)

Alberta Tries Consolidation

Reduction in number of school and rural districts has resulted in greatly improved services as well as in substantial savings in administrative costs.

By **WINSTON W. CROUCH**
University of California at Los Angeles

CONSOLIDATION of local government units has long been a subject of study and agitation in the United States. The experiences of a neighboring jurisdiction, the Canadian province of Alberta, may well offer some lessons to American students. At least it offers encouragement to consolidation advocates.

Many Albertans have been mindful of the need for enlarging the area of their rural governing units from the time population began flowing into the province in considerable numbers. In the past six years some specific results have been achieved.

Before one can appreciate the consolidation efforts, Alberta's local government structure must be understood.

There are many features that bear a pronounced resemblance to American local government rather than to that of England. Urban government in Alberta is organized in terms of cities, towns, and villages. The mode of operation and functions of these units are similar to their American counterparts.

Rural government, however, presents a mixed picture. There are no counties. The chief self-governing unit in rural areas is the rural municipality, which is somewhat like the townships of the middle west in its geographical layout, organization, and functions. The size of individual rural municipalities has been expanded twice, but under the 1912 act all rural municipalities were designated as being eighteen miles square unless topographical difficulties prevented. No city, town, or village is included in a rural municipality. The settled portions of the province are now marked out in rural units—in 1941 there were 143 such municipalities.

Rural municipalities are governed by a council of six elected by districts. In American counties the supervisor elected from a district determines the course of all administration within his supervisoral area. Similarly municipal councillors assume the prerogative at least of supervising roads in their districts.

An important officer in the rural municipality is the secretary-treasurer, who serves at the pleasure of the council but whose appointment is subject to the approval of a provincial official, the Minister of Municipal Affairs. Not only does the secretary-treasurer perform the duties indicated by his title, but he acts as relief administrator and dispenser of seed grain subsidies to farmers. In fact his duties have increased heavily. A marked feature of the rural municipality is the continuity in office of the secretary-treasurers even though salaries have not been great—the average in 1940 was $1,488.

An Alberta rural unit which differs from units in American states is the local improvement district. The financial principle involved is the same as in the special districts found in this country, however: the district is organized to provide services and to collect the cost from property within the district because of benefits enjoyed. A substantial difference lies in the fact that Alberta improvement districts are created by provincial authorities and services are performed by them. This has been an important means for supplying the amenities that local government usually has to offer to thinly populated areas.

Improvement districts may be erected into rural municipalities if population and wealth warrants doing so. Contrariwise, if a rural municipality appears to be unable to continue satisfactorily it may be reduced to the status of an improvement district. The basis of the entire system of local units is the pronounced desire on the part of Canadian provinces to carry all local government services to the people that can be sustained financially.

Two other types of districts, both of which overlap other units of government, are school districts and hospital districts. Both have counterparts in the United States. School districts in Alberta are supervised in their activities by the Ministry of Education. Hospital districts are for the purpose of financing public hospital facilities, usually in areas including a city or town and several rural municipalities and districts. Hospital facilities are made available at very low cost. The tax support of such hospitals is administered through the Department of Municipal Affairs.

There are two or three differences between the government of the province of Alberta and American states that are of consequence in discussing the consolidation program. First of these is that Alberta, like all Canadian provinces, operates under a parliamentary system. Headed by the Premier, the government can command a majority in the legislature. Administrative departments are headed by ministers who are members of the government and of the legislature. The Department of Education and the Department of Municipal Affairs figure in this discussion.

Administrative Control

Secondly, the province exercises control over and interest in urban and rural governments through the Department of Municipal Affairs. The Alberta department was organized in 1912; its administrative staff is headed by the Deputy Minister. Urban municipalities receive some assistance and supervision from the department, particularly with respect to financial administration. Reports to the department are required and a small staff of inspectors conducts field work.

Rural municipalities and improvement districts are the department's especial concern. While local self-government is encouraged by the department, the government is responsible to the province for the state of affairs in rural areas.

As evidence of local self-government there exist organizations of local officials of the province: one for urban municipalities, one for rural municipalities. Unlike similar American groups, however, they need not deal directly with the various members of the legislature in seeking needed legislation. The Minister of Municipal Affairs is the spokesman for municipal groups on legislative matters. At the same time he is bound to reflect the general policies of the government.

School Consolidation

For some time Alberta governments have worked on legislation and programs for the consolidation of rural municipalities and of school districts. In 1931 the Association of Municipal Districts went on record as favoring a county system for the province. The government and the department studied the matter and made a proposal the following year which the Association did not support. During the succeeding nine years the matter was studied and discussed but did not result immediately in action.

School consolidation came to attention in 1934 when a select committee of the legislature was appointed to inquire into school financing. The economic depression, of course, made it especially difficult for rural municipalities and schools to operate. A sorry picture was in evidence in these years: teachers' salaries were reduced, many salaries were not paid, buildings fell into disrepair, municipal secretary-treasurers' salaries suffered. The first legislative step towards consolidation was made in 1935 when an act was passed to grant authority to the Minister of Education to establish union districts of two or more districts. No action was taken under this statute.

The 1936 elections brought in the Social Credit government of William Aberhart. Aside from its program of economic reforms, the Aberhart government has been interested in and has achieved a moderate success with consolidation of rural units. In addition to carrying out the duties of Premier, Mr. Aberhart took the position of Minister of Education. It was not surprising then that the weight of the government was thrown behind school consolidation first.

An addition to the school act outlined the steps to be followed. Consolidated school units are known as divisions and are governed by boards of five members elected from subdivisions or representative districts. The amendment did not specify any maximum or minimum number of school districts to be consolidated in a division—that was to be left to the discretion of the Minister. In practice, divisions have consisted of from twenty-two to 115 districts. The principle on which consolidation has been effected is summed up in the department's statement:

> Natural boundaries are taken into consideration as well as the positions of the main highways and roads, and to a certain extent, homogeneity of population. It is not found possible to permit districts to choose the divisions in which they will be included, since a certain uniformity of size has to be maintained and since all rural districts in an area have to be included in some division.

While authority and responsibility for consolidation were vested in the Minister, pains were taken to preserve local popular control over the conduct of affairs within the divisions. The division board has full control in selecting staffs and financing school operations. It is responsible for providing buildings. School districts and district boards continue, however. The latter make recommendations to the division board.

A superintendent was appointed for each division by the Minister of Education to act in a general supervisory capacity. These superintendents were drawn from the former staff of provincial school inspectors.

The division system was installed with considerable rapidity: nine were created January 21, 1937; ten on February 1, 1938. By 1940 there were forty-six divisions comprising 3,259 districts. The number of teachers employed by the divisions represents a slight increase. When divisions were established 3,236 teachers were employed by the districts; by January 1940 there were 3,380 teachers employed by the divisions.

Several advantages are claimed for the consolidation plan. Savings have been effected in administrative costs. The average cost per pupil per day of attendance and per year is less under division administration. The greatest benefit lies in improved service. Better placement of teachers has been effected where employment is by a board removed from district influences. Improved administration has cleared most salary problems.

Increased attention has been given to high school facilities. In some instances arrangements have been made with village or town high schools to take rural pupils. In a few sections buses are used to transport pupils. Some dormitories have been provided. Correspondence courses are available as a last resort if none of the other programs are feasible for pupils in a remote area.

A certain amount of tax equalization has been effected by the consolidation program also. Each division board is required to make up an annual budget and the revenue demands are prorated among the municipalities within the division in proportion to the assessed valuation of taxable property. By apportioning costs in this manner and over a large area an approximate equalization has resulted, according to the Ministry of Education figures.

Rural District Consolidation

In 1941 the Minister of Municipal Affairs was able to bring the problem of consolidating rural municipalities into focus. The Municipal District Act of 1926 permitted the Minister to create rural municipalities and to alter their boundaries, but consolidation was not visualized at that time. A 1938 amendment to this act permitted two or more rural municipalities to be consolidated. This provision gave only a part of the power needed, because it was found that joining of existing units as wholes was not desirable in every instance. In 1941 the Minister was authorized to add portions of rural municipalities and improvement districts to others.

It may be of some significance to note that the act directed that all questions of division or apportionment were subject to the decision of the Minister without appeal. Actually the Minister and representatives of the department hold hearings in the areas under study. Under this program, five consolidations have been worked out in various parts of the province. In most instances portions of rural municipalities and districts as well as whole units have been joined to make an enlarged municipality. Also, units that have been well off have been joined with poorer units. Equalization, however, has not been the sole motive. Pooling of equipment and reduced administrative expenses have been looked upon as the principal bases of improvement.

It is still too early to evaluate this program objectively, but early resistance of local officials is reported to have been overcome. Road equipment, for example, is being used equally throughout the consolidated municipalities, thereby improving performance in the poorer areas.

The responsible officials of Alberta and their administrative assistants are quite alive to the need for practical experiment in governmental economy, but they desire also to bring to the people as many services as possible. The parliamentary system appears to have placed at their disposal an effective device that is missing in the American states. They have been able to achieve directness in approaching their problem without challenging local self-government.

Author's Note.—The writer wishes to express his indebtedness to Mr. A. Soutter, Deputy Minister, and Mr. C. G. MacGregor, Accountant, of the Department of Municipal Affairs, for information regarding rural government in Alberta.

RENT CONTROL IN 1943

(Continued from page 20)

erally similar to that for housing with a few exceptions. The two principal differences are that the hotel regulation: (1) establishes separate maximum rents for different terms of occupancy (daily, weekly, or monthly) and for different numbers of occupants of a particular room; and (2) utilizes a thirty-day period ending on the freeze date rather than a single date as the basis for freezing rents.

A sharp impetus was given to the expansion of the rent control program by instructions issued to the OPA by the President on October 3, 1942, immediately after he signed the Cost of Living Stabilization Bill. Pursuant to these instructions, the OPA designated the remaining sections of the country as defense-rental areas. The sixty-day statutory period before rent control could be made effective in these defense-rental areas ended on December 5, 1942, and, accordingly, the OPA is now in a position to extend rent control immediately to any additional sections of the country whenever necessary.

Rent regulations already issued by the OPA cover areas housing about seventy-five million persons. Of the 398 defense-rental areas designated prior to the over-all designation of October 5, only forty-five remain in which federal rent control has not been made effective. The OPA recently announced that as rapidly as the situation warrants, and as it becomes administratively feasible, rent control will continue to be extended to additional areas in the country.

On the Local Front

Problems of prostitution are often rooted in local situations; control can best be accomplished with intelligent, concerted activity on the local level.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

COMMUNITY problems in the program of repression of prostitution constitute a challenge to municipal officials in each locality. In the total war effort vast mobilization of troops and concentration of industrial power have brought attendant changes to our cities and towns. These changes have made the control of venereal diseases a more vital necessity than ever before. When any disease attacks, the wise community cannot be satisfied merely to find and treat cases. Sources must be found, causes eradicated. The attack on venereal infection, similarly, must get down to fundamentals.

Prostitution, in any community, is a story of morale as well as of disease. It involves a lonely man, the commercially exploited woman and girl. It includes the deep human need for normal personal and community contacts, for adequate recreation. Prostitution itself is often only a sequel to poverty and lack of economic opportunity.

In July 1941 Congress passed the May Act, which makes it a federal offense to engage in prostitution activities in areas which may be so designated by the Secretary of War or of the Navy. To date it has been invoked only twice—at Camp Forest, Tennessee, and at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The federal government feels that invocation of the May Act is a strong repressive weapon, but one which should be used only where local situations for any reason may grow beyond the point where local law enforcement officers can act effectively. Wherever possible, emphasis is placed on community control of prostitution and venereal disease.

Dothan, Alabama, might be cited as an example among those towns where large troop concentrations in adjacent areas have brought necessity for changed enforcement procedures. This town, in order to deal effectively with wartime conditions, recently invoked what it has called the "little May Act." This ordinance covers all points found objectionable to the military authorities, but it is a local move, authorized by Dothan municipal officials and enforced by the town's police department. It is direct assumption of civic responsibility in checking the spread of prostitution and venereal infection.

It is the function of the health officer to diagnose and treat syphilis and gonorrhea. Only by a combination of civic activity and effective law enforcement, however, can the number of prostitutes who spread these diseases be reduced. The Social Protection Section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services has at present nearly forty field representatives in twelve regions of the United States and its territories. These workers are coöperating closely with local and state officials, with the Army, the Navy, and the United States Public Health Service in dealing with the disease hazard of prostitution.

Together, these agencies have worked effectively to close houses of prostitution in approximately 350 communities throughout the nation. With the assistance of the Section many of our cities have instituted definite programs for the repression of prostitution. And these programs are working.

Municipal leaders will recognize the necessity for community enterprise in attacking the prostitution problem. Its foundations are traditionally laid in the life of cities and towns. Re-education is, in many instances, the initial focus in community prostitution repression. Critics of repression—some of them honestly misinformed and others whose financial interests were concerned—have had dire prophecies to make with regard to such a program of control. Some cities have advanced the theory that segregation with medical inspection was the best method. But that is a policy that has been proved not only impractical but dangerous, fostering the spread of disease.

Segregation No Help

Segregation increases the number of possible contacts, with a corresponding increase in the probabilities of infection. Medical inspection is often superficial. Health authorities indicate without exception that there is no possible medical inspection plan which can render the prostitute actually non-infectious. The segregated district has not tended to lower the venereal disease rate, but has generally increased it.

Adverse prophecies have now been disproved by experience. Community bans on houses of prostitution have not resulted in any increase in rape cases. Repression has not caused crime waves. Instead, the closing of prostitution districts has often resulted in a corresponding improvement in local crime conditions, since these areas have served in many communities as criminal resorts or hideouts. In some areas the repression program has undermined the force of local political corruption.

Federal Social Protection activities have been pledged the full support of both the National Sheriffs' Association and the International Association of Chiefs of Police. These organizations are composed of practical, hard-hitting members of the law enforcement profession. They have denounced tolerated prostitution as a definite disease hazard, and have called on local law enforcement officers to aid in its repression. This provides an opportunity for placing the power and influence of municipal leaders directly behind the efforts of the police chiefs and sheriffs. In this way the work of law enforcement can be coördinated with that of interested civic agents and organizations.

Early in 1942 outstanding police officials and sheriffs from all sections of the country were invited by the Director of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services to serve on a National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection. This committee brought to the Federal Social Protection program the practical experience of law enforcement officials in counties, cities, and towns from coast to coast. In a recent report to the Director, this special committee made a survey of progress on the social protection front, and suggested techniques for dealing with different phases of the prostitution problem.

As a specific instance of constructive civic activity, **San Jose, California,** has organized a Citizens' Committee for Law Enforcement. This is a nonpartisan group representing the city proper and other sections of Santa Clara County. This organization will function primarily as a Social Protection Committee, as do similar organizations in many other communities in all sections of the country.

Rehabilitation of the prostitute on a social and economic basis holds an important place in the Social Protection program. The basis for the entire correctional approach is not only to render these women non-infectious, but also to help them toward a more constructive way of life.

It is a fallacy to assume that all girls arrested for engaging in prostitution are hardened and embittered women of criminal tendencies. Records show that frequently these girls are under twenty-one years of age. Sometimes they are as young as thirteen or fourteen. Often they are the products of broken homes, poor economic environments. Many of them have received little education and no vocational training. Even among the more hardened types of women, the number of psychological prostitutes, those who actually prefer this way of life, is relatively small.

Municipal rehabilitation activity can give attention to providing means for directing girls in the younger age groups into constructive effort. Institutions for the care of juvenile delinquents may be used to provide proper medical treatment for adolescent girls, followed by vocational training. Later, community placement facilities may be made available for industrial employment. Adequate supervision for a period after the girl is discharged will assist her to make a successful transition from institutional life to community living.

Municipal officials will be the first to agree that detention facilities afforded by many city jails are totally inadequate to meet the demands of the repression program. Frequently these jails are already so overcrowded that they cannot be used at all for the purpose. In some critical areas federal funds, as approved under the Lanham Act, are being used to operate detention hospitals in abandoned CCC camps and other available buildings. Unless the detention problem can be promptly solved, however, thousands of diseased women may have to be turned loose upon our towns and cities.

Prostitution repression is a broad community enterprise, involving total community service to all citizens. Municipal officials have a definite place in the program. So do local law enforcement officers, civic and professional clubs, city medical authorities, the citizens themselves. It involves fundamental community interest in providing the best possible living conditions for men and women, boys and girls, industrial workers, members of the armed forces. It includes intelligent planning designed to cope with prostitution as it has already developed locally.

Local Responsibility

There is a national need for action in the repression of prostitution and the control of venereal disease. Yet emphasis has been rightly placed upon local responsibility in the development of the program. The families, the soldiers, sailors, and industrial workers who must be protected need local protection.

The results of ineffectual municipal control will extend far beyond the limits of the individual community. It is the old story of the chain which is no stronger than its weakest link. One typhoid-infected well at a cross-country bus stop in the middle west recently spread typhoid from California to New England. Just so one defense center or transient stop for our industrial and military forces can spread syphilis and gonorrhea across the nation.

The new services and facilities of the federal government which are concerned with this problem are depending on the coöperation of municipal authorities, town councils, welfare directors, members of the police forces, civic organizations. It is the public responsibility of every community and each citizen of a community to see that this job which must be done is done.

Researcher's Digest: January

Guide to Alabama agencies and Alabama finance; libraries and government; justice of the peace courts; Flint community-wide recreational program.

TRYING to find your way around Alabama state government? The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** has provided an invaluable Baedeker in the form of an attractively and encyclopaedically gotten up *Handbook of Alabama State Agencies.* Every agency is annotated with information on its legal basis, date of creation, authorization, organization, method of financing, duties and status, complete with citations for everything. You can even wander over to such interesting repositories of governmental authority as the Board for Distribution and Delivery of Dead Bodies (indexed under "schools" and rightfully so, too).

The same bureau has issued another small book which explains, under the title of *Alabama's State Dollar,* how a seventeen-million-dollar minus turned into a twenty-five-million-dollar plus in the course of a single decade. Chief purpose of Joseph M. Ray's work is to explore the state's fiscal past and fiscal future in order to throw intelligent light on present demands that the large surplus be dissipated this way and that. This he does also by discussing what he calls "the disbursement pattern," and by exploring the sources of state money.

Perhaps irrelevant to pure governmental research, but not irrelevant to the amenities of life, are the attractive covers which the bureau puts on its works. The agencies handbook is done in beige and wine, with a sprinkling of agency names in pale red in the background; the fiscal volume is a bluish gray and dubonnet, with darker blue gray dollar signs in the background. They are as attractive as a woman's ensemble, and almost as helpful to the subject.

Books

Libraries come in for their share of the researcher's attention in two recent publications. The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** has issued another one of its exhaustive studies on governmental coöperation, *Integration of Public Library Services in the Los Angeles Area.* Ronald M. Ketcham has explored every governmental aspect of library organization in all the communities in that extensive metropolitan area, with special attention to contractual and more informal arrangements for dovetailing of library facilities. He found considerable coöperation, but far less than the liberal legal background will permit and he issues a solemn warning that unless libraries coöperate voluntarily they may find themselves forced to do so by postwar retrenchments in local government.

The Library in the Present World Crisis was the theme of the section on public library administration at the **University of Washington's** Seventh Annual Institute of Government last summer—proceedings of which are published now under that title. Emphasis of the talks was on the libraries' contribution to the war effort in connection with propaganda, by supplying war information, and in supplying reading matter and library facilities at military encampments.

Courts

The United States Supreme Court has condemned, in principle, the justice of the peace court as it is set up in most counties of Indiana; newspaper editors have written "scathing" editorials; and there has been a good deal of piecemeal legislation and literary sound and fury on the subject. Now the **Bureau of Government Research of Indiana University** has undertaken to air the subject once and for all in a monograph on *Justice of the Peace Courts in Indiana* by Gail M. Morris. Purpose of the pamphlet is to allow the reader to understand and evaluate this peculiar judicial institution. Hence the author explains its history, statutory powers, activities, and abuses.

Children

An Experiment in Community Improvement is what the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan** calls the elaborate system whereby a beneficent foundation has knit together public and private recreational and health activities in Flint, Michigan, into a comprehensive and useful whole. The entire program includes summer and winter recreational programs for children and adults, guidance and job placement, children's health services, a boys' camp, visiting teacher service—a whole network of good works for those in need of it in Flint. Importance of the program, say the authors of the bureau's pamphlet, is that it developed gradually, in response to definite city needs; its organization is well knit and well coordinated; it uses existing facilities in the community, both material and organizational; and finally, it illustrates the possibility of coöperation between private and public agencies, and a mingling of private and public funds as well.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Courts

Justice of the Peace Courts in Indiana. By Gail M. Morris. Bloomington, Department of Government, Bureau of Governmental Research, Indiana University, 1942. 38 pp.

Finance

Alabama's State Dollar. By Joseph M. Ray. University, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1942. 135 pp.

Libraries

Integration of Public Library Services in the Los Angeles Area. By Ronald M. Ketcham. Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles, 1942. 185 pp.

The Library in the Present World Crisis. Seattle, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, 1942. 33 pp.

Public Welfare

An Experiment in Community Improvement. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1942. 29 pp.

State Government

A Handbook of Alabama State Agencies. University, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1942. 203 pp.

Contributors in Review

A RESEARCH grant from the University of California at Los Angeles to study the effect of war on municipalities gave **Winston W. Crouch** (*Alberta Tries Consolidation*) an opportunity to visit Alberta, Canada, this past summer where he observed at first hand the results of rural consolidations and the work of the province's Department of Municipal Affairs. Professor Crouch is author of *State Aid to Local Government in California,* and co-author, with V. O. Key, Jr., of the *Initiative and Referendum in California.* He teaches political science at the University of California (Los Angeles).

THE three authors of *Fighting Front on Main Street* have several things in common. All are "native" New Yorkers, all graduated from Vassar College in 1942, and all have spent at least some of their summer vacations during college years working at children's camps. **Mary Draper**, who made economics and sociology her major field of study, spent one summer with the Massachusetts State Department of Correction where she reported on case histories of prison inmates and interviewed their families. **Juliet Fleischl** is the political scientist of the trio, having made that subject her major and acted as the college's political conference chairman. She was a member of Vassar's varsity debating team and managing editor of the Vassar *Miscellany News.* **Barbara Gair** made drama and art her chief interest in college but found time to act as editor-in-chief of *Miscellany News.*

TRAINED in the tradition of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, after graduation from the University of Michigan," says **Loren Miller** (*Kansas City Goes A-Polling*), "I've browsed around in a number of places. Perhaps the best that can be said is that they've been willing to have me back in two places. From the Detroit Bureau to Erie, Pennsylvania, then back to Detroit; then Newark with the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York with Dun and Bradstreet, Chicago with the Municipal Finance Officers Association, and back to Newark. Which brings me to where I am now, at the Kansas City (Missouri) Civic Research Institute, where I have been director since June 1940—and finding plenty to do."

ANOTHER graduate of the University of California at Los Angeles is a contributor to this month's REVIEW—**James Simsarian** (*Rent Control in 1943*). Mr. Simsarian—Gilder Fellow at Columbia University 1937-38—is a member of the bar in the District of Columbia. He was formerly attorney for the United States Housing Authority and now acts in the same capacity for the Office of Price Administration. He is the author of numerous articles which have appeared in the *Political Science Quarterly,* the *American Political Science Review, American Journal of International Law,* and various law reviews.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Federal Control of Municipal Wages Stirs Controversy

WLB keeps out of labor disputes

ALTHOUGH the requirements of federal approval of state and municipal wage and salary changes, as originally announced in October, were somewhat eased by regulations of the War Labor Board and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in November, the question of federal jurisdiction over state and municipal employees has continued to be discussed and disputed. On December 15 the War Labor Board announced that it would not interfere in state or municipal labor disputes.

Under authority of the emergency price control legislation of October 2, and of Executive Order No. 9250 of October 3, Economic Stabilization Director Byrnes on October 27 issued regulations "applicable to any salary or wages paid by the United States, any state, territory, or possession, or political subdivision thereof, the District of Columbia, or any agency or instrumentality of any one or more of the foregoing except where the amount of such salary or wages is fixed by statute." The WLB was given jurisdiction over all wages and salaries up to $5,000 annually except those of supervisory or professional employees not represented by recognized unions; such latter employees were placed under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Certain types of increases were exempt from the requirement of approval, including pay increases due to promotions or reclassifications, incentive plans, and established systems of increases on merit or length of service, etc.

On November 12 these two agencies announced that wages and salaries of state and municipal employees could be adjusted locally without the agencies' approval; certification to the WLB, or the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, by the local authority that the adjustments are necessary to correct maladjustments, inequalities, or gross inequities would be sufficient. The certificates were directed to be filed promptly with the Joint Committee on Salaries and Wages, Labor Department Building, Washington, D. C.

The chief controversy has been aroused by the attempts of employee unions to bring the WLB into disputes over wage increases or other conditions, as in the case of Newark, New Jersey, and the New York City Board of Transportation.[1]

The National Civil Service Reform League, at its semi-annual meeting in New York, November 20, adopted a sweeping resolution challenging "the right of the War Labor Board to take jurisdiction over state and local governments and their employees."

On December 8, the day preceding the hearing in Washington before the WLB, involving its jurisdiction in the Newark and New York cases and also in an Omaha case, Mayor LaGuardia, as president of the United States Conference of Mayors, issued a statement signed by himself and seventy-eight other mayors denying that the WLB has jurisdiction over disputes of cities with their employees. The signers announced that they would not submit such controversies to the WLB.

The National Institute of Municipal Law Officers filed a brief with the

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1942, p. 628.

WLB contending that Congress did not intend to interfere with the jurisdiction of local governments in such disputes.

The WLB in its unanimous decision of December 15 stated that it did not have power "to issue any directive order or regulation in these disputes governing the conduct of the state or municipal agencies involved." A supplementary statement by W. L. Morse, a public member, urged that the WLB should make its services available in disputes if desired by all the parties.

OPA and Utility Rate Increases

The Office of Price Administration, which has been designated the agency to receive notice of and to participate in proceedings involving any general rate increase proposed by a public utility, under the emergency price control act, has issued regulations requiring notice to it on or before the time that any general rate increase is sought to be authorized by any regulatory agency, and in any event not less than thirty days before such increase could go into effect. The notice is to be accompanied by specific data bearing on the necessity for and the effect of the increase. The OPA public utilities division has already appeared in various rate increase cases.

Congress Investigates Federal Personnel Procedures

The House of Representatives has authorized its Committee on Civil Service to conduct a current investigation of civilian employment policies and procedures in federal departments and agencies, including government-owned corporations. The authorizing resolution, which was introduced by Chairman Ramspeck of the committee, is said to have resulted from complaints that some agencies and departments are overloaded with employees and that unnecessary transfers and upgrading of employees have taken place.

Montana Governor Asks State Reorganization

A report of Governor Sam C. Ford to the legislature of Montana, submitted in December, recommends broad changes in the structural organization of the state's government and in its finance administration, the establishment of a personnel administration, and numerous minor items of corrective legislation in relation to the individual state agencies.

In conformity with an act passed by the 1941 legislature the Governor had appointed an advisory committee and employed Griffenhagen and Associates to make a study of Montana state government and submit recommendations to the committee for its consideration. Fifty-five reports covering individual state agencies, four reports dealing with state business procedures, and one report dealing with general state reorganization, were prepared.

The act gave the Governor broad powers to put into effect recommendations not requiring changes in the statutes. Some of these recommendations were minor in character and others were quite sweeping, involving complete internal reorganization of such agencies as the State Highway Commission and the State Insane Asylum.

The Governor has recommended that: (1) Statutory recognition be given to an executive council which he has created by executive order. (2) The state administrative service be reorganized on a departmental basis, recognizing eighteen departments. With the exception of about fifteen state agencies and the various occupational standards boards, all of the existing 136 state agencies will be consolidated into these departments. (3) The head of each department in the administrative service be placed by law under the supervision of the Governor in accordance with the responsibility vested in the Governor by the constitution. (4) So far as possible and feasible all administrative responsibility for the conduct of the work of each state agency be vested in a single administrative officer as the head of such agency.

The plan recommended for adoption at the 1943 legislature is one that can be put into effect without constitutional amendments. In addition to the plans submitted for immediate action, the Governor has submitted a simpler model plan that will require several constitutional amendments, such as the abolition of the State Board of Examiners, made up of ex-officio officers, and the State Board of Equalization, and substituting a finance board to serve the Department of Revenue and the Department of Finance.

Fred Bennion, *Secretary*
Governor's Committee on Reorganization
and Economy of Montana

States Consider Emergency Suspensions

Representatives of the states, in cooperation with a number of federal officials, have framed an "Executive Statutory Suspension Act," to be presented to all state legislatures meeting in 1943. The purpose is to give the governors of the states the necessary authority to suspend laws during the war emergency, especially at times when legislatures are not in session.

Laws that are said to hamper the war effort include, among others, those which interfere with interstate transportation, production of explosives, formation of state military guards, control of property belonging to aliens, setting up of reserves for postwar developments, financing of war production, daytime care of children, practice of physicians, dentists, a number of aspects of public welfare services, housing, repression of prostitution, weights and measures, and the free movement of persons.

New York State already has given such power to the governor and the War Council, and Massachusetts has conferred such authority on the governor alone. The machinery of the Council of State Governments is being utilized to acquaint state officials and legislators with the problems involved. A few weeks ago governors, attorney-generals, and legislators of the midwestern states met at Chicago and studied and discussed the proposed statutory suspension act, together with specific bills relative to so-called hampering laws. A similar meeting was held in New York City on November 21 for the benefit of the northeastern states; others were scheduled for Olympia, Washington, Los Angeles, California, and New Orleans, Louisiana.

The proposed bill provides that, upon request from the proper federal official, accompanied by a statement from the Attorney-General of the United States that a particular statute is interfering with the war effort, the governor, if he has found and proclaimed after investigation or hearing that such conflict exists, with the approval of the state attorney-general, may by order suspend or modify the enforcement of such statute.

A definite period during which the order is effective is provided for, and the governor would be required to report to the legislature any action taken under the act.

Burt P. Garnett

Direct Legislation Results Equally Divided

More than 120 constitutional amendments, referred and initiated measures were voted on at the November election in thirty-two states, according to a survey by the Council of State Governments. Approximately one-half the proposals submitted received the approval of the voters.

Old age pensions of a forty-dollar-a-month minimum for all needy aged were defeated in Washington and Idaho; in Missouri a similar measure was crossed off the ballot before election. The Washington measure was combined with a proposal to extend free medical and dental care to residents on relief. Idaho electors favored the forty-dollar pensions almost two to one, but the affirmative vote did not represent a majority of the votes cast for governor, necessary for initiative approval.

In two other states measures which received majority approval failed because of the same legal requirement. These were the Illinois proposal to remove the two-cent sales tax on food, and the Oklahoma amendment to permit women to hold high state offices.

New tax proposals in Oregon, Washington, and Utah were rejected. Oregon defeated a cigarette levy, Washington an income tax, and Utah a graduated tax on chain stores.

Most of the proposals to remove taxes were defeated also. A Florida proposal to broaden the tax exemption of religious and charitable institutions failed, along with Illinois' measure (above) and the California effort to repeal its state income tax.

Tax exemptions succeeding were those in Nevada, where exemption of stocks, bonds, and similar investments was approved, along with prohibition of an inheritance tax levy; and in Louisiana, where voters authorized the legislature to extend the $2,000 homestead exemption provision to local taxes, and to grant tax exemption for twenty-five years on power lines of electric coöperatives.

Among other tax proposals adopted were those earmarking revenues from gasoline taxes exclusively for road building, in West Virginia, Iowa, and Oregon. As noted in this Review for last month, a similar measure approved in Florida allocates two cents per gallon for the next fifty years to finance county roads. Arizona voters approved state-local sharing of the state excise tax.

Legislative pay increases, proposed in six states, were approved in three—Maryland, Missouri, and Oregon; but only a few of the other propositions relating to state governing bodies and officials were approved.

California, New Mexico, and Utah defeated measures for higher pay, while South Dakota refused to raise salaries of the governor and supreme court judges from $3,000 to $6,000 a year.

California voters also declined to substitute annual legislative sessions—and annual budgets—for the present biennial system, and New Mexico voters defeated a proposal to split regular legislative sessions into two terms divided by a thirty-day recess.

Of the other legislative measures, New Hampshire's amendment cutting the size of the House of Representatives from 443 to 375 or 400 was approved. Colorado's amendment limiting legislative sessions to 100 days and abolishing the practice of introducing bills by title only is in doubt, requiring official canvass. New Mexico turned down reapportionment of its legislature, while Louisiana adopted such a measure. As noted last month, Missouri approved and Michigan disapproved the calling of constitutional conventions.

Among miscellaneous measures approved by voters were: prohibiting of secondary boycotts by labor unions, California; prohibiting the giving of birth control information by physicians, Massachusetts; permission for jury service by women, Vermont; permission for absentee voting for state and local officers, New Hampshire; facilitation of local option liquor, Arkansas.

Defeated proposals included prohibition of serving liquor with restaurant meals in North Dakota; and provision for county home rule in Nebraska.

Civil Service Broadcasts in New York

The New York State Department of Civil Service is conducting weekly broadcasts over the New York City municipal radio station, WNYC, on Mondays at 6:15 P.M. The series, which began October 12, is known as Civil Service Newscasts, and features talks and interviews on civil service matters in which state officials participate. They also include sketches dealing with special problems affecting civil service applicants, candidates, eligibles, appointees, and employees, and current news topics such as new examinations and new eligible lists.

Another recent activity of the department has been the preparation of a classification manual, which traces the processes from the decision of a city or other governmental agency to adopt a classification plan, through the various steps of working it out, to its actual adoption. Copies are obtainable from the New York State Conference of Mayors, Albany, New York.

Minnesota Simplifies Home Rule Charter Changes

For the third successive time, and for the fifth time since the adoption of the home rule section of the state constitution,[1] Minnesota voters at the recent November election were asked to modify the existing stringent requirement for publication of home rule charter amendments.

This time the supporters of the proposal, always a substantial and an ever-increasing majority, overcame the very decided handicap imposed by the amending clause of the constitution, which requires a majority of all the electors voting *at the election* for the adoption of amendments. The vote on the amendment was 459,868 to 144,842; it was favored by about 56 per cent of those voting at the election.

The amendment,[2] which was approved unanimously by the state legislature, reduces from three to one the number of newspapers of general circulation in which proposed home rule charter changes must be published, and from daily or weekly insertions in such newspapers over a period of thirty days to one weekly insertion for four successive weeks. Only ten of the seventy-six home rule charter cities in Minnesota could comply with the old provision requiring publication in three newspapers without going outside their municipal jurisdictions and thus courting charges of unconstitutionality. Thirty home rule charter cities have only two newspapers, thirty-four have only one, and two have none at all.

The expense of complying with the former constitutional provision also was considerable. If three weekly newspapers were available and used, a minimum of fifteen insertions was necessary, and if one of the newspapers used published a daily and a Sunday paper, thirty insertions were required. Only four of the twenty-four cities having dailies could avoid the expense of daily insertion by using weeklies exclusively. These obstacles to charter amendment discouraged attempts to effect needed revisions, and encouraged efforts to secure legislative relief through special legislation in the guise of general laws.

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[1] Art. IV, Sec. 36.

[2] Ch. 555, Laws of Minnesota, 1941.

Leadership in the campaign to secure adoption of the amendment was taken by the League of Minnesota Municipalities. City, village, and school officials coöperated by the widespread circulation of literature and by the adoption of resolutions favorable to the proposal. The Minnesota Editorial Association gave its endorsement.

Perhaps the most important single step taken to secure the required majority was the passage by the 1941 legislature of a League-sponsored amendment to the general law pertaining to the preparation of constitutional amendment ballots[3] directing that "at the head of the ballot or in some other prominent place on the ballot, there shall be conspicuously printed a notice stating in substance that if a voter fails to vote on a constitutional amendment he votes in effect in the negative."

This act provided further that constitutional amendment ballot labels for voting machines should be printed on material tinted pink and should carry the same warning to the voters of the negative effect of a failure to vote on the amendment. A very small vote on a similar amendment in 1940 in St. Paul and Duluth, where voting machines were used, was largely responsible for the defeat of that effort. Finally, the legislature, in submitting the amendment to the voters directed that the proposition on the ballot should be stated as an amendment "to simplify, and reduce the expense of publishing amendments to home rule charters of cities and villages"—a statement obviously emphasizing the merits of the proposal.

Another amendment was approved at the same election by a vote (415,012 "yes" and 190,563 "no") that was less than one per cent above the required majority of those voting at the election. This amendment[4] reduces from 3 per cent to 2 per cent the minimum interest rate at which the State Board of Investment may make loans to local government units in Minnesota from the $120,000,000 in state trust funds which the board is charged with investing, and reduces from five years to one year the minimum period for such loans. It was sponsored by the Investment Board, recommended by the Legislative Interim Committee on Education, and was passed unanimously by the state legislature. Publicity favorable to the proposal was provided by the League of Minnesota Municipalities in conjunction with the campaign for the home rule charter amendment.

LLOYD M. SHORT
University of Minnesota

Council-Manager Plan News

Adoptions of the manager plan in the November elections brought the total number of manager municipalities in this country to 542, in forty states, according to the International City Managers' Association. With one Puerto Rican, eighteen Canadian, and five Irish cities under the manager plan the grand total is 566.

Besides Lowell, Massachusetts, Laramie, Wyoming, St. Louis, Michigan, and Mountain Brook, Alabama, (which adopted the plan by ordinance in October), noted in last month's issue, **Coqueville, Oregon,** approved the plan by a vote of 368 to 240. Laramie and Mountain Brook are the first municipalities in their respective states to adopt the plan.

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[3] Ch. 72, Laws of Minnesota, 1941.

[4] Ch. 171, Laws of Minnesota, 1941.

In **Plainfield, New Jersey,** there is a movement for the old commission plan. The *Plainfield Courier-News* states that the movement is not to be taken too seriously; that commission government has failed in various cities of New Jersey and elsewhere; and that if any change is to be made the city manager plan should be given preference.

The **Knox County, Tennessee,** League of Women Voters is starting a study of the manager plan for that county, containing the city of Knoxville, which already has a city manager.

Detroit Institutes War Service Examinations and Appointments

In order to meet municipal manpower needs without abandoning merit system principles, the Civil Service Commission of Detroit, Michigan, has provided for "war service" examinations and appointments to civil service positions. The appointments will last until six months after the war in approximately 130 classes of positions; temporary war service appointments may be made in all classes, however. Under the program, qualification requirements were lowered in one or more respects from previous standards; for example, less training and experience now are required of applicants for many positions. Rights and privileges of probationary employees are given war service appointees, but they are not given status in the regular classified service.

According to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, Detroit became the first major city to proceed on such a broad basis.

Many other cities, the Assembly said, have adopted less comprehensive measures in efforts to ease their municipal employment situation.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Laramie Becomes First Wyoming Manager City

Chamber of Commerce and newspaper lend support

WHEN Laramie's new council-manager plan went into effect on January 1, this city of 11,000—railroad and livestockmen's trading center, home of the state university—became the first municipality in Wyoming to avail itself of this modern governmental system.

It climaxes many years of work and persistent campaigning on the part of a number of individuals and *The Republican-Boomerang,* the city's daily newspaper. The campaign really made great strides when the Laramie Chamber of Commerce took up the cudgels, assisted by the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

One of the first cities chartered by the old territorial government before Wyoming became a state, Laramie has had much to complain about almost from the beginning. Characterized by observers as the "weak mayor and council plan" it could hardly be called that in recent years. As the community grew and the ancient charter became inadequate, instead of availing itself of other forms of government offered by state statute, the city from time to time asked the legislature to make special provisions for its benefit.

At the behest of Laramie representatives, the legislature in 1890 passed a law providing for cities of the second class. From about 1900 on, Laramie operated under that law, modified about every decade to suit changing conditions, and under the old charter.

It is out of the question to outline the legal difficulties encountered during those forty odd years of loosely defined complicated government.

Old Plan Illegal

In August 1940 a suit was filed on behalf of William May, a city councilman, asking a declaratory judgment as to the legality of the governmental setup. It is interesting that the Supreme Court of the state did not act upon that suit until the last week in November 1942, some three weeks after Laramie citizens had voted to avail themselves of the council-manager plan. The tribunal, reversing a district court decision, held that the second class form of government, under which Laramie had operated partially for nearly half a century, was unconstitutional and had been since its inception.

The court obligingly ruled, however, that though the form of government had been illegal, the city officials during that time had acted lawfully and could not be attacked in court now. "We need not question," the court said, "that the present officials of the city, though they may have been elected or appointed irregularly, are *de facto* officials, and may hold their positions until their successors have been duly appointed, or that their past transactions and acts are legal and cannot now be attacked."

In 1938 *The Republican-Boomerang* ran a series of articles pointing out the inadequacies of Laramie's form of government, augmented by an editorial campaign. The matter was brought to the attention of the Lions Club which conducted a series of round-table discussions. This resulted in the naming of a committee to study the various forms of government available to Laramie and to make recommendations.

A few months later the Chamber of Commerce president, incidentally a member of the luncheon club, named the majority of the Lions Club committee members to a Chamber committee, with instructions to report back to a public meeting.

Six months later, after an intensive study, the committee recommended the adoption of the council-manager form of government—with a number of changes in the state enabling law to make it conform to Laramie's needs. The Junior Chamber joined the senior organization in supporting the proposal of the study committee. Petitions were circulated providing for submission of the question at the general election of November 3, 1942.

Manager Plan Wins

From there on the campaign was limited generally to personal contact work by interested citizens and a vigorous editorial campaign on the part of *The Republican-Boomerang*. Day before the election the Chamber of Commerce published an advertisement urging adoption of the plan.

The citizens who voted on the proposition approved it by a majority of two to one. However, it was found that it had not carried by a majority of all the citizens who voted in the city. Although this has caused sponsors some worry about the legality of the election, members of the Laramie bar have pledged coöperation and plans have gone ahead for induction of manager government.

Since the election the original study committee, augumented by others, has formed a citizens better government committee, gradually adding to the membership until about one hundred interested voters are affiliated with the group to do all possible to elect the best available councilmen and see that the manager form works.

Meanwhile, the local bar has offered to draw up the needed bill providing for necessary changes in the enabling act. A peculiar provision of the state law pertaining to council-manager government calls for election of councilmen by an indirect method. Electors who are chosen at ward meetings, similar to the old town hall meetings, meet and name the councilmen, three from each ward. Since Laramie has three wards, there will be fifteen electors chosen to elect nine councilmen.

Following the recommendation of the Chamber of Commerce study committee, however, the legislature will be asked to amend the law so that five councilmen are elected at large at municipal elections to be held in the spring instead of at the time of regular national and state elections in the fall.

Plan Council Campaign

As this is being written the citizens committee is busy in each ward. Hoping to beat the old-time politicians, who have largely controlled most municipal elections in the past, committee members have invited desired citizens in each ward to quiet meetings where candidates for electors have been chosen. They hope by personal contacts with neighbors and friends throughout the wards to get these candidates elected at the "town hall" ward meetings.

Sponsors of the citizens committee hope to build out of it a permanent organization to keep an eye on the council-manager form of government, and keep it out of machine politics.

These sponsors have been aware of the risk they have taken in launching the city on a strange sea of uncertainties in wartime. But faced with a $50,000 deficit, chiefly because of an inefficient form of government, facing a court decision invalidating the old form of government, and after a record of inefficiency, paralyzing deadlocks between mayor and council, and factions within the council, it was decided that public opinion was ripe to support a change. It was.

It will be difficult to erase old quarrels and factions from the new government. Problems are as troublesome as ever. Added to a constitutional provision which apparently prohibits the employment of a non-Wyoming resident as city manager is the problem of acquiring any kind of experienced trained personnel because of the general manpower shortage.

The new council will have its headaches. But with a citizens' committee, interested in better, honest government behind it, it should be able to hurdle the obstacles.

E. H. Linford, *Editor*
Laramie Republican-Boomerang

Lowell Faces Stiff Problems at First Plan E Election

More than at any other time in the political history of this city the voters of Lowell are going to need real assistance in making sharp distinctions among candidates at next fall's municipal election, the first to be held under the Plan E (council-manager-P.R.) charter.

If that assistance is not forthcoming at the proper time, it is a foregone conclusion that the fight for Plan E, which was won at the election on November 5, will prove to have been worse than an empty victory.

It is predictable that there will be candidates by the carload. Many will run as lone wolves attracted by the glitter of the nine council jobs which may each pay up to $4,000 a year. Many another will run under the sponsorship of the several little political machines which have had a stranglehold on Lowell politics for years because of the ease by which the ward and precinct elections can be controlled.

The approach which the professional politicians will take is visible even at this distance from the election. It consists of the same tactics by which they tried to defeat the adoption of the charter at last fall's election: straight appeals to fear and prejudice; for instance, they attempted to arouse the city workers by telling them that the adoption of the charter would mean the elimination of jobs and the cutting of pay.

Same Political Game

They will play this same snide tune with variations as they present their candidates next fall. The variations are simple but appealing: a promise of more jobs and more pay raises if their candidates are elected. Even now, they are flinging out their skirmish lines, the outlines of which are plainly defined as talk of the forthcoming 1943 city budget is heard at City Hall. Increases in pay for all city employees are urged, new jobs are being created and filled, and promotions made.

But the attempt to line up city employees, their families, and their friends as a solid bloc against the charter failed for the reason that many of them were completely disgusted with things as they are and have been for many years. After all, there was no arguing that all was right with Lowell in the face of the clear evidence that plenty was wrong, dramatically presented right in the middle of the Plan E campaign by way of the conviction of the Mayor and the City Purchasing Agent and his brother on charges of conspiracy in connection with city purchases and the sentencing of all three to a year in jail.

The clue to the methods by which the proponents of decent government here can win control in next fall's election is therefore contained in the predictable strategies of the opposition. To these can be added further clues by way of the campaign which won the adoption of the charter last November.

Select Candidates Carefully

All clues point to one summary word. It is "slate." To choose a slate will necessitate the formation of an entirely new nonpartisan committee. It is impossible at this early date to lay down a set of rigid rules by which such a committee should operate. But it is clearly seen that, aside from the difficult problem of finding good men to run for office and convincing them that they should run, such a committee has another equally important duty. It is to search the qualifications of every other candidate for office and publicize the findings.

In this manner only will it be possible to assist the voter in maintaining clarity of vision in this all-important struggle to elect a proper council and school committee and choose a proper city manager.

Seen as a logical method at this time, would be the querying of every man and woman as they announce their candidacies. They should be asked to state not only their qualifications for office such as educational background and business experience, but, in the case of council candidates, what they believe the salary of a city councillor should be, whether the manager should be a local or out-of-town man and what his salary should be, whether if money can be saved by better management, it should be spent for improvement of city services rather than a reduction in tax rates.

These are important points, as we know from the amount of public interest in them during the campaign. A clear and bold stand on them by candidates will win public approval.

Houston such unity of purpose and endeavor as this city has never witnessed. Citizens from all sections of the city, rich and poor, old and young, have worked side by side. Physicians, ministers, and church organizations have for the first time played an important role in a fight for better government. There has been a real exhibition of practical Christian citizenship. Those citizens who have long worked for better government are amply rewarded in the fact that at last politics is looked upon as the science of government and not something to be ashamed of. The nine new city officials are highly respected, successful business men who were drafted to serve their city. They have set the precedent for other Houston men of similar capabilities to serve their city.

Houston citizens fully realize that their responsibility for good government has just begun because no official can succeed without the coöperation of the people. Such coöperation may well mean that many a citizen will be called upon to render some service at a personal sacrifice.

The Citizens Charter Committee hopes to continue its work with future citizens—the high school and college students who worked so effectively in the campaign for the council-manager charter. One high school boy organized his own church into working units, spoke before groups in other churches, organized neighborhood meetings where he spoke. He also spoke most convincingly before the City Council. If such work had been done with and by the young people of this city twenty-five years ago, Houston would today have been better prepared to meet its wartime responsibilities.

Anna K. Chase
Houston Citizens Charter Committee

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Two Minnesota Counties Adopt Merit System

Referendums held in Ramsay and St. Louis Counties

The merit system in Minnesota, which was given a big boost by the adoption of a state civil service act in 1939 and again by a statute of 1941 providing for compliance with federal requirements for personnel standards in welfare administration, was further extended by popular vote at the November 1942 election to employees of Ramsay County (St. Paul) and St. Louis County (Duluth), the state's second and third most populous counties.

The Ramsay County act,[1] which was approved by the overwhelming majority of 37,645 to 8,014, provides for a Civil Service Commission of three members to be appointed by the Board of County Commissioners for six-year, overlapping terms. The county board is authorized to contract with the City Council of St. Paul for the services of the Civil Service Bureau of that city, but if no such contract is made a civil service administrator is to be appointed by the Civil Service Commission, with the approval of the county board, after open competitive examination.

Civil service rules, made by the county commission with the assistance of the administrator, are subject to approval by the county board. The act prescribes to a considerable extent the general provisions to be included in the rules and in this, as in other respects, it is quite similar to the civil service section of the St. Paul city charter.

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[1] Ch. 513, Laws of Minnesota, 1941.

The Civil Service Commission is given appellate and investigatory powers in addition to its rule-making authority.

The functions of the administrator are those commonly granted in similar statutes. The act places all county employees paid in whole or in part from county funds in the classified service except those of the Board of County Welfare, who are under the statewide merit system for such employees, and certain other groups such as elective officials, judges and court employees, superintendents and principal administrative officers of county departments and institutions, teachers and school administrators, members of non-paid boards and commissions, doctors and nurses, and assistant county attorneys and special investigators.

Incumbent employees as of February 1, 1941, are covered into the classified service subject to a six-months probationary period. Removals, reductions, and suspensions may be appealed by employees to the commission and the latter may uphold, rescind, or modify the disciplinary actions. Decisions of the commissions in such cases also may be appealed to the district court.

Model Law Followed

The St. Louis County act,[2] which was adopted by the voters of that county by 17,940 to 10,155, is patterned to a substantial degree after the state civil service act of 1939 and the model state civil service law of the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service Reform League. It is a much more detailed statute than that for Ramsay County. A Civil Service Commission of three persons, serving on a per diem basis for six-year, overlapping terms, is to be appointed by the county board subject to the approval of the judges of the district court. The commission is to appoint a civil service director after an open competitive examination conducted by a special committee appointed by the commission for that purpose. The commission is authorized to adopt rules recommended by the director, to hear appeals or complaints concerning the administrative work of the director and disciplinary actions of appointing officers, and to conduct investigations concerning the enforcement of the act.

The civil service director is given full authority to administer the act, and his more important powers and duties are enumerated. Provision is made in the act, among other things, for the classification and allocation of positions, the preparation of salary and wage schedules subject to the approval of the county board, original entrance examinations, lay-offs and re-employment lists, probationary or work test periods, service ratings, transfers, certification of payrolls, and restrictions on political activity. Discharges, demotions, and suspensions may be appealed by employees to the Civil Service Commission which may uphold the action, reinstate the employee or place the employee's name on a re-employment register.

The unclassified service includes much the same positions as those noted in the Ramsay County act above. Incumbent employees of five years service are "blanketed in." All other employees must pass qualifying examinations to be given within two years after the adoption of the act. The county board is directed to appropriate not less than $15,000 annually for the salaries and expenses of the civil service agency for the first two years and not less than $10,000 thereafter.

Lloyd M. Short
University of Minnesota

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[2] Ch. 423, Laws of Minnesota, 1941.

is clearly subject to municipal jurisdiction. Further. it happens that in both Berkeley and San Diego such miscellaneous receipts go into the general funds, and hence are indisputably governmental revenues. If the OPA has the right and power to regulate municipal fees and licenses, it just as clearly must have the right to regulate ad valorem tax rates, which is nonsense.

Serious Threat

It seems to this column that these situations contain a far greater threat to the fiscal and political independence of local government than the much-argued local bond interest tax-exemption question. The power of a federal agency to prevent the imposition of locally-collected charges, whether licenses, fees, taxes, or what not, is nothing more or less than the power to utterly destroy local government. As yet, however, those groups recently jousting with the treasury over a problematical 9/10 of 1 per cent savings to local government resulting from local bond tax exemption have yet to be heard from on this immediate threat to local fiscal independence.

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The Association's figures, it may be noted, run only through August. September collections probably ran at about the same level above September 1941 as had the several preceding months, but in October sharp spurts in consumer buying occurred in anticipation of the new federal excises on alcoholic liquors. This forward buying may be expected to pull down November returns and may also cut into December collections, which are always heavy due to holiday buying. Stocks of liquors are said by representatives of the trade to be sufficient to last several years, so that shortages are not expected to be a factor in 1943 tax returns to the states. However, several states, among them Idaho, Iowa, and Washington, are attempting schemes to ration liquor by allowing permit holders to buy only a specified amount each week, and other states are considering adoption of some such device.

An interesting aspect of the report is that for the eight months much greater revenue increases were sustained by the four "liquor monopoly" states reporting than in those taxing liquors sold by private dealers. In these four states which sell liquor themselves, revenues from distilled spirits increased 80 to 85 per cent. Iowa's wine tax collections were up 54 per cent, compared with the 31 per cent national average.

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New Financial Setup for Kansas City

Kansas City, Missouri, will revise its financial setup, improving audit, purchasing, budgeting, and debt procedures, under a charter amendment submitted with unanimous approval of the city council and approved by the voters on November 3.

First requirement under the charter amendment is an annual audit of municipal accounts, to be conducted by independent auditors selected by the city council. According to the Municipal Finance Officers Association, this procedure now is followed, but is not mandatory.

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The previous mandatory requirement that a contingent fund of not less than 3 per cent of the revenues for unanticipated expenses must be included in the budget, whether needed or not, is changed to provide that a reserve of not more than 3 per cent can be included. The City Council instead of the manager, will conduct all budget hearing in the future, and will adopt a tentative budget subject to approval at such a hearing.

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The major financial change resulting from the amendment will be in the city's debt policy. Only serial bonds may be issued in the future, with the first installment due one year after issuance and twenty years set as the maximum term for payment. Sinking fund bonds to be paid in one lump sum from taxes accumulated over a period of years will no longer be used.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1942, p. 356-7.

Los Angeles County Trains Administrators

The important role that urban counties can play in the training of administrators is remarkably demonstrated by the experience of Los Angeles County, California. The success of the county's system of internships is revealed in an article by Harold J. Ostly in *Civic Affairs,* a bulletin published by the University of Southern California.

The internship program fostered by the County Bureau of Administrative Research is now ten years old. Interns usually are graduates with a major in public administration from some California college or university. As interns they spend a year doing administrative research and budgetary investigation under the direction of older and experienced investigators. Many of these investigators are themselves graduates of the internship program.

In their daily work investigators have an opportunity actually to see the inner workings of the various county departments, thus giving them invaluable knowledge of public administration. When, several months before the beginning of the new fiscal year, each county department submits estimates of its proposed expenditures, the Chief Administrative Officer assigns these estimates to the various budget investigators for study and recommendation. The investigator talks to officials, surveys the work, evaluates the proposed program, examines records and accounts, and then presents his recommendations to the budget officer under the Chief Administrative Officer.

Perhaps the primary value of the training first as intern and then possibly as investigator lies in the fact that such experience qualifies one for many positions in administration. The higher administrative positions in the county and in the state are now being filled by these men, and in the future it is expected there will be increasing demands for them from local, state, and national governments.

Los Angeles County Relaxes Merit Requirements

Perhaps taking its cue from policies of the United States Civil Service Commission, the Los Angeles County, California, Civil Service Commission is giving special examinations for temporary war service appointments. For these appointments education and experience requirements have been lowered, and the maximum age limit has been waived. Employees hired from resultant lists are not eligible to become members of the retirement system.

City-County Health Unit Successful in Kentucky

After nine months the joint health agency of Jefferson County and Louisville, Kentucky, authorized by statute last year, is in full operation. The governing body of the agency is composed of the county judge and the mayor, serving *ex-officio,* and five persons appointed by them jointly. The appointments are for four-year terms and are staggered. The agency is financed jointly by city and county.

Much duplication has been eliminated by the new agency, and all positions requiring special skill and training have been placed under the merit system. A single pharmacist, dentist, and purchasing agent direct these various functions where formerly there were two or three in each. Consolidation of the offices of hospital superintendents is being undertaken. The entire agency is under the unified administrative supervision of the director of health.

Simultaneously with securing economy in administration, the agency has embarked on a program of greater intensification of several health programs, the most noteworthy perhaps being that of tuberculosis detection and eradication.

San Diego County Builds Military Roads

San Diego County, California, has suspended its long-term highway construction program to make way for the immediate need for military roads, according to Lorin Deewall, engineer of the San Diego County Planning Commission, writing in a recent issue of *Better Roads.* Under plans developed by the Planning Commission and carried into execution by the Board of Supervisors, a system of highways to meet military needs is being constructed at an accelerated pace. Development of military camps, war industries, and naval base activities forced the abandonment of many proposed road plans and placed emphasis on improvement and widening of a few strategic roads with appropriate feeder roads and bypasses for civilian traffic.

The road-building program requires the coöperative efforts of the county, the city of San Diego, the state, the United States Public Roads Administration, and the Army. Actual construction and maintenance, however, usually are county functions. The Army has furnished some of the material and the state is expected to appropriate funds for construction of some essential highways. The cost of maintenance is to be met primarily from the gasoline tax. Although it is estimated that revenue from this source will decrease 20 to 30 per cent in the state next year, since there has been a tremendous increase in automobile registrations in San Diego County and since this is the basis of apportioning gas-tax revenue, it is anticipated that such revenue will be sufficient.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

U. S. to Usurp Control over Local Government?

Threat to cities' independence seen in recent OPA decisions

NEW AND perhaps serious problems may be raised for local governments if several recently reported events are allowed to establish precedents. One of these, the extension of salary and wage control over local governmental units, is discussed in detail in a neighboring column of this issue.[1] The others have to do with federal interference with local revenue systems under the guise of price control.

Instances of application of price control regulations to municipalities are reported by the Municipal Finance Officers Association, which tells that a recent effort by Berkeley, California, to increase its garbage collection charge was vetoed by the OPA agency for the area, while a proposal by San Diego, California, to impose a tax of ten cents per day on each house trailer in the city was similarly squashed.

Regulation Unjust

Details on the cases are not yet reported, but it is difficult to see how there can be any mitigating factors to lessen the shock of the rulings. No attempt to justify the imposition of price control on the grounds that the charges were in connection with proprietary rather than governmental functions would be tenable, since in the Berkeley case garbage collection is a common governmental service and in the San Diego case the regulation of trailers is clearly subject to municipal jurisdiction. Further, it happens that in both Berkeley and San Diego such miscellaneous receipts go into the general funds, and hence are indisputably governmental revenues. If the OPA has the right and power to regulate municipal fees and licenses, it just as clearly must have the right to regulate ad valorem tax rates, which is nonsense.

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[1] See page 32.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1942, p. 356-7.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Norris Defeat Charged to Faulty Election System

Recent Significant Statements on P. R.

THE defeat last fall of Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska after forty years of distinguished service in Congress illustrates strikingly two of the major faults in the usual majority system of election.

The system all too frequently sacrifices outstanding leaders of public opinion who have not outlived their usefulness or lost their wide following, just because they have failed to hold a plurality of all the votes within one particular geographical district. The enthusiastic tributes that have been showered on this elder statesman by people of all parties, starting with the President, make it clear that he would have been the enthusiastic choice of many times the entire electorate of Nebraska if everyone had been permitted to vote for him. Even those who differ with him in important matters of policy recognize his value in the Senate and are sorry to see him go.

This result of plurality voting in geographical constituencies has been repeated many times, to the great loss of many nations. Prime Ministers Asquith of Great Britain, Venizelos of Greece, Smuts of South Africa, and Mackenzie-King of Canada were all put out of their respective parliaments at times when their experience could ill be spared because they lost pluralities in the particular limited districts in which they were candidates.

Another defect illustrated by the Norris defeat is the disadvantage at which independent candidates and groups are put under our usual scheme of election. Like-minded independent groups scattered over a number of districts may be many times the number of voters who succeed in electing a candidate in any one district and yet go without representation because they are not sufficiently concentrated in their places of residence to win any local plurality. When all the representation for each district has to be given to one group, the groups that can add organized party strength to the personal popularity of their candidates have a tremendous advantage. Occasionally an outstanding person can overcome even this handicap as Senator Norris did the last time he was elected, without any party's official backing, but even so universally respected a leader as he was unable to continue to do so.

With proportional representation there is hardly a possibility that a leader of Senator Norris' stature could be defeated. There would always be a large enough minority to give him an enthusiastic first choice in any district electing three or more members under P. R. to give him the necessary quota. The majority could vote Republican or Democratic and get a majority of the district's representatives on that basis without excluding the distinguished choice of a substantial independent minority. Probably most of the majority would like it better that way.

The provision of the United States Constitution that "no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate" seems to rule out any likelihood of a full-fledged application of proportional representation to the Senate on the basis of equality of voting power, but the particular defects referred to could be reduced by constitutional amendment by having each state elect three senators together by P. R.

And of course the same defects are present in our methods of electing the national House of Representatives, the legislatures of our forty-eight states, and the legislative bodies of many of our municipalities, where they can be much more easily cured.

Incidentally Senator Norris himself favors the cure. He has been a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League since 1918.

Some Statements Worth Preserving

From the President of the New York City Council

Inasmuch as I have presided over three Councils elected by proportional representation, Mayor LaGuardia asked me if I would express the attitude of the administration on the preferential system of selecting members for local legislative bodies. . .

We never hear of any dissatisfaction with P. R. on the part of groups interested in effective city government.

The enemies of P. R. and concerted efforts to sabotage this system of electing members of the legislative body have always come from political organizations who think only in terms of patronage.

Other opposition to P. R. comes from those who claim that independent candidacies constitute a threat to our two-party system of government.

But a party will prevail and its candidates will be successful in direct proportion to the confidence they inspire.

To my mind, one of the greatest threats to our American form of government has been in the degeneration of our two-party system.

Local government and local taxpayers have been exploited too long by political machines. To this kind of politics P. R. is very definitely a threat.

Sometimes both our parties need a yardstick, which is best supplied by independent candidacies. It has already resulted in the improvement of the calibre of party candidates in New York.

The voter under the old system is usually confronted with two mediocre or inferior candidates for each office. He leaves the voting booth with a sense of futility and, lacking the intestinal fortitude to take part in party affairs, decides not to vote again except in a "presidential year."

If his enthusiasm is aroused for the campaign of a "reform" candidate running for the Council from his district, he may go to the polls again. Although his friends in neighboring districts are also supporting "reform" candidates, and although they may cast 49 per cent of the entire vote throughout the city, their collective effort may go for nothing, and their votes remain as silent protests against official misconduct.

The most vituperative of the opponents of P. R. will tell you that is the "American way," and they will proceed to steal the town.

Argument is made that P. R. might result in the failure of any party to obtain a working majority in a legislative body. This is a possibility under any system of election. This cannot be laid at the door of P. R., but is due to the failure of one party to appeal to a majority of the voters.

With all the hysterical opposition to P. R. and with all the attempts to sabotage it in practice, this system of voting in New York City has justified the claims made for it. A much larger number of individual voters have been represented on the local legislative body than ever before.

We do not make extravagant claims of perfection. We do claim for proportional representation, however, that as a method of voting it has gone a long way towards improving the functioning of democracy in localities and toward freeing cities of municipal corruption.

> Newbold Morris, President of the New York City Council, in a statement to Ralph B. Feriola, chairman of the United Citizens of Yonkers, which led the successful defense of P. R. in that city this fall, published in the Yonkers *Herald-Statesman* of October 17, 1942.

Results of P. R. in Hamilton

The contrast between the election of so many new councilmen every two years—typical of Hamilton's discarded mayor-council government—and the regular re-election of either five or six of the incumbent council of seven was apparently a consequence of the adoption of proportional representation. Since no such record of continuous service was made under the preceding form, it is reasonable to conclude that the change in method of electing councilmen helped to develop a voting habit of returning them to office.[1]

A contributing factor in establishing this habit was the superior quality of the council membership. Better qualified men were induced to serve on the first charter council. A comparison of the lists of councilmen serving on the last seven councils preceding, and the six succeeding, the adoption of the charter shows that the average of the latter possesses wider experience, more education, and higher economic status. Their work proved to be more satisfactory and the voters, therefore, had more reason to continue them on the council.

> Howard White, Miami University, in *City Manager Government in Hamilton (Ohio)*, published by the Public Administration Service for the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council, Chicago 1940.

P. R. and Efficient Government

In *The Lost Peace,* Dr. Harold Butler, formerly Director of the I.L.O. and now warden of Nuffield College, surveys the working of governments in Europe. He says: "Only in the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia can it be said that the problem of reconciling strong executive action with the free play of popular representation had been satisfactorily solved." We would add this simple statement of fact—that in all these countries proportional systems have been used for twenty years or more.

> Annual Report of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain, June 1942.

A Look Ahead in Britain

I wish, on behalf of a group of members in different quarters of the House, to express the satisfaction that we feel that the Home Secretary has again explicitly renewed the pledge he has given on two previous occasions on behalf of the Government. Three times the Government have now given a pledge that, before we have another election, they will secure to Parliament an opportunity for the proper consideration of methods of electoral reform, which we think of the utmost importance if Parliament is to succeed in being worthy of the great tasks before it. We should take steps in time to see that, when a general election comes, it is taken under proper conditions, that everyone who is entitled to take part in it shall have the opportunity—service men and others now far away from their homes and young people of both sexes at present not on the register—but above all we should see that the method of election, both as regards the size of constituencies and the form of election which is in force at the time, shall be truly worthy of the spirit of democracy and shall really give the opportunity to the Parliament of the future to represent every considerable section of opinion in our midst.

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[1] This is not merely the result of a voting habit but the usual result when the electorate is truly represented and changes in public opinion are reflected only in proportion to their actual size. —*Editor.*

T. Edmund Harvey, Member of Parliament for the Combined English Universities (one of four constituencies which elect by P. R.), in the House of Commons, September 30, 1942.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 3)

mined by the President be dealt with by a small Steering Committee to which he would delegate such authority as might be necessary or desirable. The Committee, as selected by President Winant in 1941, has been composed of the following, with additions to be designated from time to time by the President: George H. Gallup, Princeton, New Jersey; Clarence Francis, Bronxville, New York; and Carl H. Pforzheimer, Purchase, New York.

"The procedure above was ratified at the meeting of the League membership in St. Louis, November 18, 1941, and the Steering Committee members named have served since that time and have consented to continue in that capacity.

"Your Nominating Committee is pleased to report President Winant's continuing interest in the League and his strong convictions concerning the need for its work as expressed personally during his last trip to the United States and in the League's correspondence with him.

"Frequently, within limits of trans-Atlantic communication, questions of League policy are taken up with him. There are many matters which require immediate decision, however, and it is therefore recommended that the Council empower the Steering Committee to continue to act where necessary in the President's absence.

"The continuance of the extension of the Executive Committee powers voted by the membership at the Springfield annual meeting in 1940 and again in St. Louis in 1941 is also recommended. These powers, as amended in St. Louis, permit the Executive Committee with the approval of the President or the unanimous approval of the Steering Committee to fill vacancies. This enables the League to fill vacancies among its officers or Council without delay. In making four nominations for the Council, the Nominating Committee leaves two vacancies to be filled by independent nomination or at some later time in accordance with the procedure recommended above."

The committee's report was adopted unanimously.

Howard P. Jones, *Secretary*

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

The Small Community—Foundation of Democratic Life. By Arthur E. Morgan. New York City, Harper and Brothers, 1942, xxi, 312 pp. $3.

If American people do in the near future as this provocative book urges them to do, there will be less need for the elaborate tools of public administration which must needs be discussed in this publication; instead of offering advice on "the government of metropolitan areas," the REVIEW will record the trends in village and town councils. For the book is a plea that we consciously plan to save what small communities we have and, by leaving Megalopolis to "the lion and the lizard," make the small community once more the dominant feature of our social, cultural, political, and economic life.

Dr. Morgan designs his volume as well as he did the T. V. A. References to personalities, books, localities, and history are so overwhelming that one wonders how many years of alertness to material and patient note-taking have gone into it.

Dr. Morgan's major premise is stated on page 33: "The idea that man is a small community animal is supported by the science of anthropology." But the term "small community" is not interpreted in all its manifestations as exclusively geographic. Dr. Morgan suggests rather that it is this deep-seated anthropologic need which leads men in a large urban area to create within it communities having other bases than geography. It is the sublimation of this need which is the subject of one of his most important chapters, Chapter XIII on "The Community Council." This is not a New England town meeting but an "extra legal" body in which each delegate represents a non-geographic interest pursued in the same geographic area as the other interests represented. The chapter is of special interest to the National Municipal League for the creation and guidance of such councils has been one of its major interests for over a decade. Early in the depression, at the request of some fifty national organizations meeting in Washington, the League became official headquarters for the National Federation of Citizens Councils and under its leadership many local councils were organized throughout the country. The large amount of work it has done in this field is not mentioned in the chapter, nor anywhere else in the book unless it be in the "several independent origins" spoken of on page 145. The aid the League could give such councils has been limited only by the finance factor; if this books makes it possible for "Community Service, Inc." of which Dr. Morgan is president, to render a fuller service in this important field none will rejoice more than those of us who urged and organized community councils even before the economic depression and who still see them, as Dr. Morgan does, as of vital importance to the full functioning of democracy.

The author has the courage to deal with one troublesome characteristic of all small communities, whether they be Chinese and Arabian villages or an "interest community," that is, scorn for one who departs from its mores. He deals with this subject at some length in his chapter entitled "The Problem," and gives his last three chapters to discussion of phases of it. We should not plan to set up small communities if no one in them dare "lose face"; unless freedom exists for the non-conformist, democracy will not be real. The danger is there as experience shows but the author has faith that if we use intelligence small communities "can be the home of tolerance and freedom."

The words above conclude the book though a stimulating list of "Suggested Readings" follows. This is appropriate for the book is written by a man whose career shows that the main factor in any situation is not chance, nor fate, nor economics, but a combination of human idealism and intelligence and will.

WALTER J. MILLARD

Area Analysis—A Method of Public Works Planning. By a special subcommittee of the Land Committee, National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. 34 pp. 15 cents.

Methods of dissecting a geographical area, with its material and human resources and needs, and then synthesizing the findings into a program to meet the needs of the area and aid the national economy, are always important for wise direction of development. They are vital requirements for the effort to forestall postwar disintegration and to guide the transition toward a maximum of positive public benefit.

This pamphlet presents an "integrated area analysis" method for relatively quick use in meeting these needs; it has been utilized in various test areas of rural character but is considered applicable to others, and possible of adaptation to metropolitan areas. Wide participation in the work by citizen groups is urged as essential.

A somewhat pedantic presentation tends to obscure the direct logic and relative simplicity of the method, which merits extensive study and use.

H. M. O.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Automotive Conservation

New York City's Need for Automotive Conservation Training. Addresses by F. H. LaGuardia, Mayor, and Albert Pleydell, Commissioner of Purchase. New York City, Bureau of Training, Civil Service Commission, 1942. 5 pp.

Billboards

Aesthetics and the Constitution. Opinion in the case of *Commonwealth* v. *Earl R. Trimmer*, Court of Quarter Sessions of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. New York City, National Roadside Council, 1942. 12 pp.

Child Welfare

Day Care of Children of Working Mothers. A Bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1942. 10 pp. Thirty-five cents.

The Rural Child in the War Emergency. Report of a Conference on the Rural Child in the War Emergency, Called Jointly by the Committee on Rural Education and the American Council on Education, Chicago, July 10 and 11, 1942. By C. S. Marsh. Chicago, The Committee on Rural Education, 1942. ix, 37 pp. Ten cents.

Democracy

Democracy, Efficiency, Stability. An Appraisal of American Government. By Arthur C. Millspaugh. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1942. x, 522 pp. $4.

Democracy Through Public Opinion. By Harold D. Lasswell. New York City, George Banta Publishing Company, 1941. 176 pp. $1.50.

Parks

Municipal and County Parks in the United States 1940. A report of a Study Conducted by the National Park Service with the Coöperation of the American Institute of Park Executives and the National Recreation Association under the Direction of George D. Butler. New York City, National Recreation Association, 1942. viii, 173 pp. $1.50.

Planning

A List of References on Orientation of Buildings and Streets. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1942. 4 pp.

Residential Chicago. Volume One of the Report of the Chicago Land Use Survey directed by the Chicago Plan Commission and conducted by the Work Projects Administration. Chicago, 1942. xxxvii, 225 pp., maps, charts.

Postwar Planning

Postwar Agenda. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1942. 16 pp.

Real Estate

Bibliography on Urban Real Estate Appraisal (Supplemental to *Bibliography on Urban Real Estate Appraisal* compiled in 1937 by Adelaide R. Hasse). By Mary B. Devitt. Washington, D. C., Central Housing Committee on Appraisal and Mortgage Analysis, 1942. 59 pp.

Recreation

Proceedings of the War Recreation Congress. 27th National Recreation Congress, Cincinnati, Ohio, September 28 to October 2, 1942. New York City, National Recreation Association, 1942. 230 pp. $1.

Streets

The Financing of Urban Streets—a Supplementary Statement. By Frederick N. MacMillin. Submitted to the Board of Investigation and Research on October 5, 1942, on behalf of the American Municipal Association. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1942. 16 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Effects of the 1942 Revenue Act on Municipalities. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1942. 4 pp. 25 cents.

State and Local Wartime Fiscal Problems: Regional Reports on Round Table Discussions Held in Seattle, Detroit, Denver, Boston, and Florida. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 19 pp. Twenty-five cents.

State Finances in 1940. State Automobile-User Revenues in 1941. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1942. 27 and 6 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1942. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Tax Institute, 1942. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Transportation

The Future of Transportation. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942. 43 pp.

Transportation and National Policy. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. xi, 513 pp. $1.25.

War and Defense

Areas of Child-Youth Defense Activities with Special Reference to School Leadership and Instruction in Wartime. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 1942. 8 pp.

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PLANNING FOR PEACE

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Kansas City, Mo.

Postwar Planning—and Paying
Editorial

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Charles E. Merriam

The City of the Future
Alvin H. Hansen

Rochester Plans for Peace
Harold W. Sanford

Education for the Postwar World
R. J. Colbert

February 1943 Vol. XXXII, No. 2

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

was presented by Dr. Frederick L. Bird, chairman. It designated for re-election: John G. Winant, president: Dr. George H. Gallup, vice-president; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer; Howard P. Jones, secretary; and as new members of the Council: Henry Bruere, J. W. Clise, Gerard B. Lambert, Stratford Lee Morton.[1]

"The Metropolitan Areas Problem" was discussed by Philip H. Cornick of the Institute of Public Administration who, recalling that the League had pioneered in the study of this problem in 1930, warned that the problem has been greatly aggravated during the ensuing years and that, until effective remedies are applied, not only the central cities but also their suburbs will suffer increasing fiscal difficulties. Mr. Cornick said that the various efforts to cope with this problem have reached no constructive conclusions, that "an organization of citizens interested in good government provides the best hope" and that the League "has already demonstrated its capacity for constructive work in the field."

Wartime Citizens' Councils

Mr. Childs spoke briefly on the need for the creation of a model for "Wartime Citizens' Councils" as a timely version of the guides produced by the League during the depression when it served as headquarters for the National Federation of Citizens' Councils and guided several hundred local Citizens' Councils in their efforts to soften the depression's blow on their communities. Mr. Childs said federal and other agencies had not given sufficient specific assistance to enable the citizens of local communities to meet adequately their responsibilities in connection with the war. Moved and seconded that the chairman be authorized to appoint a committee to develop a model plan of organization for wartime citizens' councils. Adopted.

Mr. Pforzheimer presented the treasurer's report, setting forth the League's financial position and suggesting that its comparatively modest needs should be capable of being met by coöperative action by members of the Council and other League leaders. He reported that the C. F. Taylor Trust of Philadelphia has pledged $5,000 for 1943 on condition that an equal amount be obtained from new sources. Mr. Pforzheimer reported that Mr. J. W. Clise of Seattle, newly-elected member of the Council, has agreed to raise part of this amount in the Seattle area, and expressed confidence that other members of the Council would share that responsibility. The treasurer's report and the budget for 1943 were adopted.

Carter W. Atkins, member of the Council and director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, described the method by which his organization has been financed and declared that the National Municipal League, with its outstanding record of encouraging progress in local affairs, should have increased financial support.

Alfred Willoughby,
Executive Secretary

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[1] For complete list of the League's Officers see the Review for January, p. 2.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Postwar Planning – and Paying

PLANNING, for whatever purpose, is no simple matter. Postwar planning—or more precisely, planning to meet in an adequate manner the problems which we will face in a postwar world—is almost unbelievably complicated, as the articles in this issue make abundantly clear. Yet, as Dr. Merriam points out, if we do not plan now it will be too late.

It is fitting therefore that at this time, when a majority of the local governmental units of the United States have completed their immediate plans for the near future (their budgets for the 1943 fiscal year), the REVIEW should turn to a consideration of the longer haul.

In governmental planning, whether for war or peace, four more or less distinct steps are evident; first, determining the objectives to be accomplished; second, making the plan; third, adopting the plan; and finally, carrying out the plan.

A breakdown at any one of these four stages effectively vitiates the others, except to the extent that abandoned plans may prove historically useful to later planners. Unfortunately, and all too often, the problems of determining objectives, preparing the plan, and executing the plan, are child's play compared to that of getting the plan adopted. Not only must the public be informed and public opinion crystallized, but disastrous compromises must be avoided and adequate incentives provided which will impel all parties to the plan to undertake present labors whose fruits may be long delayed.

For the public as a whole, as the articles in this issue emphasize, the avoidance of postwar chaos and provision for an orderly transition from a war- to a peacetime footing, on a basis such as to afford to all men and women opportunity to realize the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, constitute a very real incentive to postwar planning now.

Plans are not formulated, adopted, and executed by the public as a whole, however. The process is a diverse one, comprehending not only all interests of our society but all levels of our government. And just as planning may fail because of weakness in determining objectives, or in making the plan, or in securing the requisite approval, or in executing the program correctly, so too the public as a whole may be cheated of the realization of a plan to which it gives general approval by failure of some segment of society or government to carry its share of the burden.

It is notable that in the articles here presented a rather general dependence is placed on the leadership of the federal government in planning, especially as the integrating authority. This is of course inevitable; essentially, it is what we have a federal government for.

Of equal significance, however, is

rather general dependence on the federal government as the source of funds to carry the plan into effect. Here, certainly, is a realm of planning which needs the closest study of planners, and especially at the local government level. For if the record of the last decade can teach us anything, it is that we need not repeat the makeshift, costly, and often blundering financial procedures followed during the last economic depression when we face the problems of a postwar era.

It is not only possible but necessary that our present plans for rehabilitation include both the broad principles and the more precise formulae which will permit us to determine equitably what share of the cost shall fall to the local units, what share to the states, and what share to the federal government. And not only what the share will be but how the money will be raised and how it will be administered.

A great deal of emphasis has been placed recently on the accumulation of public funds for postwar public works. It is indeed a healthy sign that a not inconsiderable number of our cities are now in a position of sufficient fiscal strength to make at least some provision for a future crisis. The fact that some cities are strong and enterprising enough to do this cannot obscure the fact, however, that many others cannot or will not unless a very strong incentive is provided.

One such incentive was suggested in a bill introduced in the closing days of the Seventy-seventh Congress, to be reintroduced by its sponsor, Congressman Alfred Beiter of New York, which would provide a special series of Treasury war savings bonds for local governments priced and redeemable at values to yield 3½ to 4 per cent, rates sufficiently above the market to represent a tangible subsidy to those cities which undertake the present accumulation of funds for postwar purposes.[1]

Other incentives can be provided, especially if the federal government were now to make known the terms upon which it proposes to render financial assistance for postwar public works programs. The important thing is for us to recognize that while the planning engineers, the sociologists, and the industrial experts are drawing their blueprints of the future, local government must be laying its financial plans, integrated to the necessities of the program and gauged to the capacity of each individual community.

WADE S. SMITH

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[1] See also p. 113.

"Make No Small Plans"

The new city is on the way; it will not be built by timid tinkering with old models but will be part of a new streamlined civilization built on a modern model.

By **CHARLES E. MERRIAM**
National Resources Planning Board

WITHIN the last year some basic decisions have been made regarding planning.

First is the great decision that we must consider postwar problems now.

Second, we must "plan" our course of action for this period. Who shall do the "planning," public or private agencies, central or local agencies? The answer is, all of them, working in coöperation to produce an integrated program of effort.

Third, we must think of "planning" in terms of national income and national resources, of an expanding national economy, of full employment, and finally in terms of putting an end to want and fear, of spelling out our democratic daily life.

There are those who contend that we should not plan now, but should wait until the war is over. To wait until the end of the war will be to wait until it is too late.

Some may say: "How can you know, in view of the uncertainty of world affairs, about the time and terms of peace; how can you know what to plan for?" We must plan for a variety of contingencies and then hope to be ready to meet whatever comes. We do not know when the war will end or where the treaty of peace will be signed, or what its terms will be. We do know, however, many of the conditions we must face, no matter what the precise outcome of the struggle or when. We know that one-half of our national income must be drawn back into the channels of peace. We know that military and civilian demobilization is ahead of us, industrial conversion, extensive reorganization of industries and areas and interests of many kinds. North, South, East and West—we know that unemployment and depression will be ready to assail us again. We know that it is possible to maintain a national income of around a hundred billions, and to establish standards of living in accordance with this national level of productivity—or to slump back to forty billions.

The state of the world at large is difficult to prognosticate, but we count upon a jural order of mankind from which the shadow of military aggression will be removed. We reckon that the United Nations and others may live in peace with each other for an indefinite period. The Atlantic Charter points the way to general justice, peace, and prosperity.

All the principal countries engaged in the military struggle now going on are considering their postwar plans. In the midst of this gigantic effort they are allotting money and men to work out programs which they hope to put into effect when the war is over. This list includes England, Canada, Australia, New

Zealand, China, Belgium, Holland, Russia. The enemy powers, particularly Germany and Japan, are busy with schemes not only for international conquest but for internal arrangements. If we wish to win the peace as well as the war, the United States must likewise devote a part of its energies to considering next steps. But it is a tragic truth that most nations, while ready to prepare to some extent for war, have not been willing to take the time to prepare for peace. Hence the gains of war have often been lost in the confusion of the peace.

NRPB a Clearing House

Early in 1941 President Roosevelt requested the National Resources Planning Board to serve as a clearing house for postwar planning, to bring together plans and programs under consideration in many federal, state, local, and private organizations for postwar full employment, security, and the building of America. Since that time postwar planning agencies have sprung up on every hand.[1]

The State Department, the Board of Economic Warfare, the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs, and various other agencies are dealing primarily with international aspects of the problem. Many other agencies of the government, among them labor, agriculture, social security, housing, are engaged in the national aspects of the problem. These planning groups are brought together from time to time under the auspices of the National Resources Planning Board for interchange of ideas and programs and the consideration of special problems.

A number of states led by Massachusetts and New York are actively engaged in the preparation of postwar reserves and in preparing plans in some detail for use particularly in the field of public works in the postwar period. It is probable that by the end of the state legislative sessions of 1943 the bulk of the states will have taken steps in this direction.

Individual cities are also considering their future after the war. Notable among these is Cleveland, Ohio, which has reorganized its City Plan Commission under the leadership of former Councilman Ernest Bohn and has entered actively into the planning of the future of the Cleveland industrial and social area. Other cities are considering similar lines of approach to the problems which the war effort has brought closer home to them. It is probable that in a short time a large number of urban communities will have entered on the active canvassing of the difficulties arising when the war is over and constructive ways of reorganization to meet the new crisis. These cities will be considering not only the older type of city plan but the social and industrial welfare of their whole metropolitan areas.

There are many private organizations now in the field of postwar planning. Notable among these is the National Planning Association of which Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Company, is chairman. Another is the important Committee on Economic Development of which Paul Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Corporation, is chairman. The latter group is considering the postwar period primarily, although not exclusively, from the point of view of private industry. The Twentieth Century Fund is devoting a considerable part of its income to postwar questions and under the leadership of Stuart Chase is carrying on and developing a program of interpretation and of education. Many other groups, far too numerous to mention here, are dealing with one phase or another of the same broad problem.

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[1] A list of these agencies has been prepared by the Twentieth Century Fund under the title *Postwar Planning in the United States.*

Labor and agriculture as well as industry are seriously concerned and are looking forward to coming events when the national economy must be changed from a wartime to a peacetime basis. These groups are developing broad programs for the postwar period.

Board Studies Problem

The National Resources Planning Board, while engaged in the task of clearing the plans of the several agencies and institutions, has also made a contribution of its own. In broadest terms it has pointed out that never before in the history of mankind has there been an opportunity to combine the elements of

(1) Universal peace,
(2) Democracy, and
(3) Development of a dynamic economy.

The Board believes that it should be the policy of the United States government to promote and maintain a high level of national production and consumption by all appropriate measures necessary for this purpose. The board further believes that it should be our policy:

(1) To underwrite full employment for all employables;
(2) To guarantee a job for every man released by the armed forces and the war industries at the close of the war with fair pay and working conditions;
(3) To provide equal access to security for all, equal access to education for all, equal access to health and nutrition for all, wholesome housing conditions for all.

This policy grows directly out of President Roosevelt's statement of the Four Freedoms and the application of these freedoms and the NRPB's statement of their practical application in a modern Bill of Rights.[2]

In broad outline we must prepare:

(1) Plans for transition from war to peace;
(2) Plans for development of an expanding economy, maintaining our national income at around one hundred billions;
(3) Plans for services and security, covering the essential needs of our people;
(4) Plans for coöperative action by state and local governments and regions.

Under the first head are included demobilization of men and women from the armed forces and war industries; the demobilization and conversion of war plants, machines, and war contracts; and the demobilization of wartime economic controls.

Under the second head are plans for financing and fiscal policies in the postwar period. Included here are also a wide range of public works, urban and transportation programs, and longtime development of energy resources and of land and water—all for the purpose of "building America."

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[2] See *National Resources Development, Report for 1942.*

Under the head of services and security are wide ranging plans for development of service agencies, including health, nutrition, and education. Along with this come sweeping plans for underwriting employment for all employable persons.

We must also deal with plans for action by state and local governments either alone or in coöperation with other agencies. The Board is also concerned with plans for regional development in the nine regions in the United States which contain representatives of the NRPB.[3]

We must also deal with ways and means of governmental and administrative implementation in dealing effectively with the wide range of problems which must be considered in postwar times. Legislation will be required to give authority for the exercise of powers adequate to guide the progress from war status to peace status. Sound administrative organization also must be provided to insure careful exercise of this legislative authority and to insure an orderly arrangement of such fiscal, economic, and social controls built up in the war but requiring outright repeal or modification under peace conditions. It is clear that extremely careful preparation is an essential at this point as at any other. In fact it is of paramount importance that administration during the period of reorientation should be characterized by extraordinary prudence and tact.

Challenge to Cities

American cities are now challenged as never before. Shall cities consider the planning problems of their metropolitan areas in broad terms of urban redevelopment and general welfare? Or shall cities let the world go by? Shall cities take the lead in the high enterprise of the postwar period without waiting for the federal government to take the initiative in local problems? Or shall urban communities wash their hands of responsibility?

It is my conclusion that we are on the verge of a new era in city development which might bring about the broad improvements in urban life for which some of us have dreamed and fought for so many years—a period of vibrant, dynamic development.

All this would demand a new focusing of city interest far broader than the older city planning, reconsideration and reorganization of urban experience and problems, new inventions for urban advantage, new programs for sounder urban living, a new mustering of citizen interest in their common affairs.

There is reason to believe that many cities will rise to this new situation, which raises urban problems to a far higher and more difficult level than ever before. Perhaps this crisis may inspire that broad popular interest, that unfaltering determination, that higher statesmanship of which great programs of achievement are made.

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[3] Typical of the reports on these regions is one recently issued on the possible development of the Arkansas Valley Region. These reports are based on the collection and analysis of data during the last nine years and are supported by the reports of consultants and advisors.

Our cities have advanced a long way in the last generation, but we still fall far short of what might be done if there were the will to do. City government has not seemed important enough to arouse untiring interest throughout the community. Some fled to the suburbs, some bought their way along, some blamed the whole mess on "wicked fellows"—scapegoats for general indifference, some inaugurated the replanning of only the physical structure of the city. But now with modern transportation, modern communications, modern technology, the modern sense of social responsibility, modern demand for a fair share of the gains of an advancing civilization, we may expect a new day for the cities.

The New City Looms

Now it becomes crystal clear that cities are concerned not only with streets and alleys, but with real estate values, industrial expansion, housing, redevelopment plans on a large scale, employment, and broad ranges of community living. It now becomes clear that city plans can contribute to and fit in with regional and national planning, and indeed must do so if cities are to become vital factors in building America during the next generation.

The new city is on the way. But those who try to put new wine into old bottles will be doomed to futility and disappointment. The new city will not be built by timid tinkering with old models, but will be part of a new streamlined postwar civilization built on a modern model. In this era the ideals of democracy, liberty, equality, and justice will be spelled out in the daily lives of men and women. An economy expanding in what would have been thought fantastic a hundred years ago will make this possible.

To the city builders of the future we may cite again the words of the pioneer planner Burnham: "Make no small plans. They have no magic in them to stir men's blood."

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The City of the Future

Any attempt to grasp the problem in its entirety leads to the conclusion that most of the towns and cities must be replanned and largely rebuilt.

By **ALVIN H. HANSEN**
Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University

EVERY student of municipal problems knows that by and large our American cities and towns have drifted into a situation, both physically and financially, that has become intolerable. He knows moreover that their plight is getting progressively worse, chiefly because there has been little or no collective control applied to their development to make it conform to the best interests of the community as a whole.

First came development of a downtown business center surrounded by residential neighborhoods, then growth of the business area and movement of the residential area farther out, infiltration of miscellaneous business and industry and the deterioration of residential areas, finally, in self-defense, zoning. But almost invariably the interior areas have been overzoned for commercial uses. Owners have not infrequently held on to their properties in the expectation that the land would be needed for skyscrapers.

Meanwhile, with the advent of rapid transit in general and the automobile in particular, the population began to move to the suburbs. Then began the spread, around the business centers and subcenters, of widening zones of blight. In many communities blight now covers between a quarter and a half of the area within the city limits. Taxes continue on high assessments based on the assumption of intensive business use. Tax delinquencies occur and occasionally the city takes over; in some instances the problem of delinquency has got so far out of control that municipal authorities in effect throw up their hands. Nobody can seriously consider using the blighted land for new improvements because the values still placed upon it, and the prices demanded, are so high that a new enterprise would be hopelessly handicapped by financial charges from the start.

Any attempt to grasp the problem in its entirety leads to the conclusion that most of the towns and cities must be replanned and largely rebuilt. And since more than half the population of the country lives in them, their predicament is an increasingly grave menace to the economic and social health of the nation.

Heretofore, most students of the problem have taken one look at the magnitude of the job to be done and given up in despair. They have done so, I think, principally because they have been thinking in terms of money rather than of real capacity to get things done, in terms of orthodox finance rather than of men and materials and organization. The financial and fiscal problems are, however, quite manageable and need not deter us from doing what needs to be done.

The large-scale replanning and rebuilding of our towns and cities is one of the most urgent tasks of the postwar future. It is something that must be undertaken on a substantial scale after the war, irrespective of the needs of the rest of the economy. Nevertheless, it can and should be planned and programmed so as to provide a high degree of flexibility in both time and space.

Blueprint for the Future

On the basis of thoroughgoing research and study, to determine the long-run role of each urban community in its immediate region and its state as well as in the country as a whole, there would be drawn up a master plan. This should cover not only the entire urbanized area but also as much of the surrounding country as is estimated to be required for the future growth or development of the community and for its proper planning. The plan should be made with the view to ultimately achieving an ideal physical layout. To this end everything in the existing city or town should be disregarded except such physical conditions and structures as are universally agreed to be permanent in the sense that they are expected to endure for generations.

Worked out for the entire area would be a complete land-use pattern. This would include the location of industry, commerce, public service structures of all kinds, parks and playgrounds, and the various types of residential use. In particular it would determine the maximum permissible population density—number of persons working or of families living, per acre—in each sub-area. Then, on the basis of these determinations plus estimates of the movement of people and things within the urbanized area, would be planned the coördinated system of transportation and terminals—so developed in connection with the land-use pattern that traffic congestion and the nuisance of vehicles parked in the streets could not occur.

Out of this master planning operation for each urban community would come a great map (or a number of overlay maps) indicating what are now considered the long-range goals of physical layout and arrangement. Provision would be made for subsequent modifications in response to unforeseen future developments or imperfectly understood conditions later seen to require change. The master plan for each community would thus define as clearly as humanly possible the ultimate goals to be achieved twenty or thirty or fifty years hence, as rapidly as resources—in productive capacity rather than money—would permit without undue deprivation in terms of current needs for consumption and the other requirements of the community and the nation.

Over against the master plan would be a map showing in detail actual conditions in the town or city. On it, or on enlarged sections of it, would be indicated all the construction projects required eventually to bring the whole community into conformity with the master plan. It is in this operation that the really big and complicated job of planning and programming must be undertaken.

In a large city the number of individual projects might be expected to run into the thousands. They will vary, moreover, from small jobs of construction requiring only a few weeks and costing comparatively small sums, to large undertakings involving extensive demolition, re-arrangement of streets, arterial highways, relocation and reconstruction of terminals, and so on, some of them requiring years for completion and costing millions of dollars.

Probably it will prove advisable for each community to prepare fully worked out plans on the basis of programs extending for from five to ten years into the future. These plans should be reviewed and revised from year to year when necessary and drawn with the view to advancing towards and harmonizing with programs conceived for much longer future periods but in less specific terms.

Particularly important is a solution of the problem of land use and population density, for all the subareas within the area to be planned. Overcrowding and congestion are to be eliminated and in future avoided. This means in the first place that ample space must be provided, off the streets, for the parking of all motor vehicles coming into town and stopping—for any period from ten minutes to all day—and perhaps for small airplane landing fields as well. It means in the second place that in all residential neighborhoods there shall be plenty of open space for light and air. It means finally that, except for such of the population without young children as prefer to live in multi-family structures, every dwelling unit must have some plot of ground of its own. If the urban communities are to be expected to maintain their population without dependence on immigration from rural areas, people must have places where they can raise their families in decency and health.

There is good reason to believe that the planning for population densities and for the internal transportation system should be carried out as complementary parts of the same process.

The Basic Pattern

When the main arteries of transport and the terminal facilities of an urban community are located and planned, the basic physical pattern of the town will have been fixed. Consequently, at this stage of the replanning process, all possible aid from outside sources should be obtained, notably from state highway departments and the federal Public Roads Administration.

In order to get plenty of elbow room in the interior of the city, two great obstacles, hitherto insuperable, will have to be removed. The first is the lack of adequate legal power on the part of the local governments to control the use of their land areas. The remedy of course will involve far-reaching changes in state laws—changes which can be brought about mainly by the pressure of public opinion resulting from the first step in the program I have outlined.

Excess Land Values

The second obstacle is of a financial character. To remove it involves a problem of peculiar difficulty and one which is already the subject of much controversy. Essentially it is the problem of how to get rid of the excess when present valuations of the land and buildings in blighted and slum areas are higher than the valuation which would be justified for the new use of the land in accordance with a sound master plan. Present valuations are the result of market prices (often of prices demanded but not offered), of mortgage loans outstanding, of decisions of the taxing authorities, of court decisions, and so on. Usually they are so high, frequently because of previous overzoning for business uses, that redevelopment by private or public enterprise for the best use in the interest of the community as a whole is out of the question. Moreover, they are a serious obstacle in the way of a real solution of the problem of urban housing. Blighted areas are for the most part admirably located for residential use; usually they are needed for nothing else. But they must be so used at a much lower population density than before if their future re-deterioration into blight is to be avoided and this will be impossible until their excessive valuations are drastically lowered.

In a proposal outlined by Mr. Guy Greer and myself this prickly problem of land valuations is flatly asserted to be one which only society as a whole can cope with. We argue that the passage of laws radical enough to squeeze out quickly the whole of these excesses of valuation would be politically impossible, and of doubtful desirability even if possible. Society as a whole, we submit, is mainly responsible for the conditions existing, and society as a whole should pay the cost of cleaning them up so that a fresh start can be made. The problem is not unlike that confronting Alexander Hamilton when he proposed the assumption by the federal government of the states' Revolutionary debts.

This does not mean that reckless overvaluations should be allowed, either by the courts in condemnation proceedings or by the duly constituted agencies of the local governments in purchasing blighted and slum properties. On the contrary, every proper means should be employed, both in court action and in bargaining with the owners, to acquire title to the land in question at prices as low as possible. Already the actual market—where there is any—does in many cases take account of true conditions and prospects in the area; and certainly the valuations allowed should not be permitted to rise by reason of the redevelopment program. It would be difficult to justify forcing them lower than the actual market, however, through action by the community as a whole in reallocating the use of a large portion of its entire land area, for it could be convincingly argued that this would be destroying values, in the public interest, without just compensation.

If we assume that land in blighted and slum areas is bought up by the local governments—with such financial aid from the federal government as is necessary—there can be no doubt that one of the greatest single obstacles to the eventual realization of a sound master plan would be removed. Such land could then be put to its best possible use in the interest of the whole community, without regard to the acquisition cost of any particular parcel. Some of it would be required, no doubt, for the development of the transportation and terminal system. Some would be needed for parks and playgrounds. The bulk of it, though, would probably be available for housing—for everything from high-priced apartments to low-rent dwellings. And for such uses it could be offered for lease; on terms favorable enough to attract private developers or, if deemed desirable, to local public housing authorities. The ground rents would be based not on acquisition costs but on the value estimated to be realizable from the new use.

Mr. Greer and I have proposed federal financial aid because we are convinced that, under existing conditions, most of the towns and cities would be unable to raise the money required. More specifically, we envisage a procedure somewhat as follows: For every town or city in the country—or for every group of contiguous municipalities—a long-range master plan would be completed in broad outline for the entire metropolitan area. It would be formally submitted to the appropriate federal agency in connection with an application for financial aid in the acquisition of all the real property within a clearly defined slum or blighted area. For each such area and the immediate surroundings, the planning would have to be not only complete and in accordance with the master plan, but it should also be accompanied by the data necessary to justify all assumptions as to future changes. Definitely indicated would be the proposed use of every square foot of the area; such use would be determined without regard to acquisition cost of the land. In other words, the acquisition would be a by-product of the job of clearing away the obstacles to redevelopment: in arriving at a decision as to its subsequent use, the land should be deemed to have cost nothing.

Decision as to acquisition, as well as to future kind of use, should be by the planning agency for the metropolitan area, not by the local housing authority because the considerations involved would be far broader than housing alone.

Upon approval by the appropriate federal agency of all aspects of a proposal to acquire property, the government would be prepared to advance funds, if need be, up to the entire cost of acquisition. Repayment of the sums so advanced should be made as far as possible. In view of the fiscal position of most municipalities, however, there are strong reasons for requiring them to pay back to the federal government only sums obtained from leasing the land after deduction of local taxes.

It is of course true that the fiscal relations of the federal government

(Continued on Page 82)

Rochester Plans for Peace

What we need is better understanding of the problems and larger areas of agreement on essentials; Rochester and Monroe County folks at least are making a beginning on this idea.

By HAROLD W. SANFORD, Editor
Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

CITIZENS of Rochester, New York, have a habit of working together on community and other problems. The tradition is at least a quarter-century old, and has had varied expressions. Working together means that on most questions practical areas of agreement are discovered, and many community enterprises and contributions to state and national situations are made with substantial backing, a backing that cuts through every recognizable replica of what in some communities are set off as separate religious, social, or economic groups.

Just now, having set a high mark in its war effort—its industries were among the first to receive E recognition from government agencies, its Red Cross organization is one of the best in the country, its War and Community Chest is the medium of notably large contributions to war and local philanthropic causes, its war bond purchases are well ahead of every roughly assigned quota—Rochester is turning its attention to postwar problems.

Organization was announced in mid-November of a Council on Postwar Problems, Rochester and Monroe County. At Thanksgiving time a conference on international postwar problems gave impetus to the formation, now in process, of an additional Rochester group to study world and national situations in the framework of which the community must meet its own postwar situations and contribute to the solution of the wider problems.

The community postwar council is representative both of Monroe County and of the city which comprises 75 per cent of the county's population and 80 per cent of its taxable resources. The idea for its formation was first developed at a conference of representatives of some twenty-five local civic, social, religious, and business organizations called June 1, 1942, by L. Dudley Field, then president of the Chamber of Commerce. An organization committee appointed at that time named an executive committee, which in turn announced the personnel of the Council at the November organization meeting.

The Council's personnel is a guarantee to the Rochester public that it is truly representative of every important interest in the community. Joint chairmen are Dr. Alan Valentine, president of the University of Rochester, and Marion B. Folsom, treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Company. Members include industrial leaders, heads of the A. F. of L. and CIO, the Mayor and President of the County Board of Supervisors, the city and county managers, the Catholic and Episcopalian bishops, President of the Federation of Churches, heads of leading women's and young people's organizations, recognized Democrats and Republicans, leading professional men.

The Council's program of action is officially stated as follows:

> First, to become informed regarding the present status of the community in regard to its governmental, economic, and social organization. It is obvious that solutions to specific postwar problems can be studied only in relation to the whole structure of the community. This fact necessitates efforts by the Council to understand at least the broad outlines of the inter-relations of the many agencies and institutions operating within the area.
>
> Second, to estimate and forecast as accurately as possible the effect of the war and the peace upon the organization of the community.
>
> Third, to formulate and study certain specific postwar problems of community organization and adjustment, which can be clearly foreseen as arising locally out of the war situation.
>
> Fourth, to arrive at definite proposals for solution to the problems stated, to be submitted for consideration and action either to the public generally or to groups and agencies primarily affected.

The Council will operate this program through three principal committees, each composed of both members and non-members of the Council, one concerned with governmental organization, one with economic organization, and one with social organization. The Committee on Governmental Organization will be under the chairmanship of Byron A. Johnson, assisted by the Bureau of Municipal Research; the Committee on Economic Organization will be under the chairmanship of L. Dudley Field, assisted by the Rochester Chamber of Commerce; the Committee on Social Organization will be under the chairmanship of Gilbert J. C. McCurdy, assisted by the Council of Social Agencies. Each of these committees will doubtless be divided into a number of subcommittees.

The chairmen of these three committees, together with the following five citizens will constitute the executive committee of the Council: Bernard E. Finucane, Marion B. Folsom, Norman A. O'Brien, Mrs. Harper Sibley, and Alan Valentine. The Council will be under the co-chairmanship of Dr. Valentine and Mr. Folsom.

At this time it is possible to forecast only in a general way the questions and problems which should receive the Council's attention. The following statement from Mr. Johnson suggests some of the problems to be considered by the Committee on Governmental Organization.

> At least two problems of governmental organization can now be visualized. First, local government should be prepared to meet any possible decline in employment with a well considered and carefully planned program of essential public works. Second, it is reasonable to expect that at the close of the war there will be further and perhaps accentuated migration of the population into the surrounding area of the county. In anticipation of such a possible movement, it is imperative that the structure and functions of the agencies of local government be re-examined and proposals for reorganization and readjustment be prepared.

Mr. Field, referring to the economic aspects of the program said:

> The Committee on Economic Organization will concern itself with the broad objective of the maintenance of employment and of the problems such as retraining of workers, reconversion of plant and equipment, development of new products, utilization of new manufacturing methods and new raw materials, development of new markets and new marketing methods, and the financing of reconversion.

Mr. McCurdy, commenting on the problems of social organization, outlines its program thus:

> The Committee on Social Organization will concern itself with the problems of child and family welfare, of health, recreation, education, and religion. If we consider, for example, the effect of the war program on youth through the speeding up of the educational process, we may well imagine the problems that will have to be met in returning to peacetime procedures in this field alone at the close of hostilities. The dislocation of family life brought about by the war will necessitate careful planning on the part of social agencies.
>
> What preparations should be made now in the field of public health to meet the situations that will arise in wartime and upon the return of peace?
>
> What special steps, if any, should be taken by character-building and religious organizations to minimize and to overcome the harmful effects of the war on individuals and families?
>
> These and many other related questions will receive the attention of the Committee on Social Organization.

It is understood that in its efforts to carry out this program, the Council will solicit the aid and coöperation of every other appropriate agency and institution in this area. Especial care will be taken not to duplicate the efforts or over-ride the jurisdiction of any other existing group or organization.

Council's Approach

The Council will be little in the limelight in the next few months. It was not formed for publicity purposes. When any of its studies jell sufficiently to warrant public attention they will be explained and discussion invited. The Council is not formed to impose anything on the community but to make a practical approach on the basis of which public discussion and eventual action can be profitably undertaken.

Mr. Folsom, one of the co-chairmen, is well known for his activities as a member of Presidential advisory commissions on social security and on similar New York State commissions. He was chairman of the citizens committee which sponsored the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League which met in Rochester in 1937. He is a member of the national manufacturers' committee which is considering postwar employment and marketing plans. Thus he will bring to the Rochester discussions the national settings which will condition the community's own efforts and in turn be affected by what local studies may offer to other communities throughout the country.

It is evident that leaders and members of the Council feel that the Rochester community should go as far as it can in planning to meet its own problems, thereby defining the margin that will require state or national assistance, and making the best possible use of such assistance as may be offered or accepted.

Needless to say, the two Gannett newspapers in Rochester, each of which has a historic separate identity, are coöperating. Mr. Gannett himself is a member of the Council, so also are the editors responsible for the editorial policies of the two newspapers.

International Problems

Rochester's contribution to consideration of postwar national and international problems came into focus at a two-day conference, November 27 and 28, suggested by the State War Council. At an evening meeting Professor Clyde Eagleton discussed the nature of the war and the implications of an attempt to establish better conditions for peace. His suggestion of caution, considering that such agencies as an international police force might be used against the United States, met the Rochester attitude of studying all phases of any plan. His declaration that the United States must be willing to spend as much for postwar peace efforts as it is on the war effort also was understood.

On the second day the conference divided into two groups: one to consider issues of international political organization, the other to discuss issues of international economic organization. The general attitude was that both fields must be practically approached. No set plan could be formulated at the outset, but the objectives to be sought must be clearly visualized and methods of approach carefully weighed by reference to experiences since Versailles; national, regional, and international situations must be unblinkingly appraised.

Rochester some years ago had a World Court Committee on which leading citizens, both Republican and Democratic, pro-League and anti-League, were represented. It is probable that as a result of the November conference and others being held periodically some such broadly representative local group will be formed. Its objects and policies, those now interested hope, will be similar to the objects and policies of the council on local postwar problems: to make the problems better understood, to explore various suggestions for approaching their solution, but not to go all out for any particular scheme.

If this writer may be pardoned a personal comment, he would suggest that we have had, both nationally and internationally, too much battling for particular schemes. The postwar situation is too serious, too full of implications for all the peoples of whatever community or nation, to warrant waste efforts on doctrinaire argument. What we need is better understanding of the problems and larger areas of agreement on essentials. If these can be even measurably achieved, details of method will be easier to discover. Rochester and Monroe County folks at least are making a beginning on this idea.

Education for the Postwar World

It is a responsibility of education not only to aid the war effort but to lose no time in leading the public to prepare the way for a lasting peace.

By R. J. COLBERT
University of Wisconsin

WHILE there are some who insist that postwar planning can wait until the war is won, thinking people recognize the wisdom of preparing for inevitable adjustments. Indeed, many still have a vivid memory of the baffling problems faced by American communities at the close of World War I because they failed to plan.

"In time of war prepare for peace" is the slogan of statesmen, and of educators. There is no stronger support to the nation's morale than the development of sound postwar plans and programs which create a confidence in the future and quiet the anxiety and dread of "After the war, what?"

The problems of readjustment and rehabilitation following in the wake of this war are bound to be both extensive and intensive. They will be local, state, national—and very much international—in scope. They will be political, economic, social, psychological, legal, and educational, in nature. Furthermore, they will be conditioned by the duration of the conflict.

While it is impossible to blueprint the future entirely, it is possible to anticipate many eventualities. It is therefore important that we prepare now to meet them. Without carefully considered plans and programs, all shaped in the light of the best and most complete knowledge of the postwar world, we cannot expect anything but political and economic chaos—an isolationist's heyday!

But before plans and programs can safely be made, the American public must be given the necessary information and the opportunity to hammer out the sort of public opinion that will build and carry them out. Americans must make up their minds as to what kind of a world they want to live in and pass on to their children. America failed miserably in this responsibility in World War I. This explains why a minority of jealous, low-visioned, selfish isolationists in the United States Senate were able to sabotage a lasting peace. There was not sufficient enlightened public opinion then to create sound postwar adjustments at home, and therefore nothing to contribute toward building a secure world order.

Will Americans permit this tragedy to happen again? The laying of the foundations for sound and effective public opinion is fundamentally the job of education. It is therefore a responsibility of education—and of educators—not only to aid in every way possible, directly and indirectly, the war effort, but to lose no time in leading the public to prepare the way for peace—a lasting peace!

The schools, from kindergartens to

post-graduate schools, must share this great task of preparing the oncoming youth to cope with the demands of the new era. It will no doubt call for considerable revision of the content and the emphasis in the subject matter taught. It will require thoughtful consideration of the attitudes created in the minds of youth—attitudes toward their responsibilities as citizen-stockholders in their community, their state, their nation, and in the organization of the postwar world. Only by expanding our loyalty to the point where we can build and support a World Order—whether a League of Nations or a World Union—can we ever hope "to reduce standing armies and promote world peace."

More Adult Education

But this task of preparing the public to meet the adjustments of a postwar world is by no means limited to the teaching and inspiring of youth; indeed, it is even more the job of adult education. Thinking men and women of every community in the United States, rural and urban, must be reached and helped to hammer out their plans and their convictions for postwar adjustments—through the press, by the radio, but perhaps even more by organized discussion groups, roundtables, town hall meetings, and forums.

Already leading educators and other public-spirited citizens are getting set to help develop the plans and programs to facilitate the changeover after the war, and to insure the United States her just share in the building of ample safeguards to world peace. The Twentieth Century Fund has listed over a hundred national public and private organizations and agencies devoting considerable attention to study of the problems of postwar adjustment. All such information should now become the basis for widespread public discussion in order that the American public will be prepared psychologically, socially, economically, and politically for its rightful participation in the postwar world.

As has already been said, the future cannot be blueprinted, but some of the major certainties that lie ahead can be anticipated.

1. *Demobilization of Our Armed Forces*

Demobilization of the men in our armed forces is likely to be the first thought of the public as soon as hostilities cease. "Get the boys back home!" will no doubt be the vote-getting slogan of politicians in the first postwar election. But much needs to be done in preparation for this happy time, if unfortunate and critical economic and social conditions are to be averted, and full justice done to the men who have borne the brunt of the conflict.

It is not a question of "getting back" to a prewar social, economic, and political outlook, which will, for the most part, have disappeared. The agencies charged with postwar planning recognize this fact. They also know that a large proportion of the men of our armed forces are receiving technical training and having experiences that should be of value in the postwar world.

The national government will have a major role in setting up the agencies to facilitate postwar adjustments of service men. Many of the agencies are now set up and serving our war effort. Nevertheless, a most important part of the demobilization adjustment must be recognized as a responsibility of the states and their local communities. Disaster cannot be avoided if the communities fail to prepare to do their part. The educational problem created by demobilization is therefore a double-edged one:

(1) Giving to the able-bodied service men, perhaps while they are still in uniform, opportunity for further education and training to fit them for occupations in the postwar society; and for the men who have been disabled, suitable rehabilitation, both physical and occupational. All this will mean that every department of our universities, vocational schools, and university extension divisions will need to plan to meet this primary American obligation.

(2) Providing the communities of the state with an adult education program such as will develop full community coöperation in the interest of the returned service men. This will involve attention to psychological problems quite as much as to the economic, social, and political problems. There is not much justice or sanity in giving returned service men a noisy homecoming, if there is nothing but unemployment and apologies awaiting him after the homecoming feast is over.

2. *Postwar Economic Adjustments*

Postwar economic adjustments, if carefully planned, will go far in easing the demobilization problem. The millions of new war workers, who under ordinary circumstances would not be gainfully employed, are not going to be ready to "get off the labor market." Many such workers have acquired skills and demonstrated abilities that are hard to replace.

The shift from production of war equipment and supplies to the production of the things needed by a war-shattered world will take time, even with the most careful planning. The shifts in the working population will hardly be less problematic, and may be further complicated by vast population movements throughout the world. The United States doubtless will need to stand by many of the impoverished regions of the world until they are able to travel under their own power. But we cannot expect this emergency period to last long, and our economy must be planned accordingly.

Make Programs Now

We may reasonably expect vast new economic developments, all of which will tend to intensify the need for a closer and more stable world order. With these new developments we can reasonably expect extensive modifications in every department of our economic life—agricultural, industrial, commercial, public and private. But the outlook need not be a gloomy one unless we fail in preparing ourselves and have no plans or programs ready when the war ends. Here again, we may expect our national government to take the lead in facilitating the transition, by scientific planning, in coöperation with the several regions and states and with other countries.

But again, even the best of government planning is bound to fail unless the local communities learn their responsibilities and opportunities. How shall these local communities get the information, the understanding, and the inspiration necessary to see clearly their role in this postwar economy? This is an immediate and imperative obligation of our universities, of education in general, and of adult education in particular! Our civic organizations can and should be of great help. It is not enough that trained minds be recruited to draft master plans and programs; it is quite as important that equally well trained and skilled teachers prepare our local communities, rural and urban, for their role in the very different and much larger postwar economic world.

3. *Postwar Social Adjustments*

Postwar social adjustments can also, in large measure, be anticipated. To no small extent they will reflect the degree of effectiveness of the economic adjustments. But no matter how fortunate our economic changes may be, there are always severe social problems that result from war; and never before did war affect so many people.

In these matters, as in economic adjustments, we dare no longer think only of our own social problems. We cannot hope to isolate ourselves from the tragedy and misery of the war-blighted areas of the world. Consequently, while planning our own postwar social adjustments, we must plan to share in the social reconstruction of the poor, tired, and much discouraged victims of war all over the world—throughout Europe, in Russia, in China, in the Philippines, and in the lands "down under."

The war has already drained many of our communities of their physicians, surgeons, nurses, and trained social workers, but we can expect a further drain when it becomes possible to relieve the suffering in those unhappy countries. The United States cannot escape the role of the Good Samaritan in the postwar world.

Unprecedented Social Problems

But great as our sympathy may be for those suffering abroad, we need to give careful thought to the preparation for meeting the social situation at home, in our own state and in our own community. We can expect unprecedented problems of child welfare, and, too, almost as complicated problems of family rehabilitation. Our problems of health, as we have just inferred, will continue to require increased organized effort. Social security aids will rise as economic pressures again compel the elderly workers to accept retirement. Public works will need to have careful social planning in order effectively to prevent a return to the poor relief rolls of thousands of marginal workers who found employment in war industry, but who will not be wanted in industry when more able workers can be hired. These and many more social problems can be anticipated for the period of postwar adjustments.

Again, we may look to the national government for considerable leadership and helpful information, and perhaps certain financial aid. These will be of little or no value, however, unless our states and our local communities are aware of their responsibilities and are armed with the understanding and the trained leadership for meeting social problems squarely. There will be a need for hundreds more of trained social workers, nurses, and doctors. Further, our social work agencies and health services will need the intelligent support and coöperation of thousands more community leaders, "friendly visitors," board members, committee workers, who have had opportunity to study and understand these problems.

Here again is a major educational responsibility that dare not wait until the war is won. For the most part it is a responsibility of our universities, both on the campus and in their extension departments. This calls for a considered re-examination of curriculum and of our methods in the fields of applied sociology and public administration.

4. *Postwar Political and Governmental Adjustments*

Postwar political and governmental adjustments hazard all these other adjustments. This fact should no doubt impel us to see our way through them before tackling demobilization, economic rearrangements, or social adjustments. However, it is through planning to meet these other vitally important adjustments that we glimpse some of the nature and importance of the role of politics and government.

Politics and government in this country rest with "We, the people"—we make or break them. We can break them by failing to act, as was the case at the end of World War I. It seems that then most of the postwar plans for political and governmental adjustments were made by President Wilson and his associates—"We, the people" did not give it a thought. After celebrating a couple of armistices we left our political and governmental future to the isolationist minority in the United States Senate, some of whom are still in high places. These men apparently have learned nothing from their tragic mistakes and blind littleness. They are likely to be successful again in sabotaging the peace unless America's postwar plans are hammered out on the anvils of public discussion based on accurate and adequate information.

The kind of world we want to live in, and the role of the United States in forming and directing that world, will be determined by "We, the people." Already much progress has been made, but it is not until each and every community has had a share in the shaping of our postwar political and governmental plans that we can be sure of winning the peace.

For the most part our major problems of postwar adjustment concern three areas of government and politics: (1) *international organization* and the establishing of sound international relations which will grant to all peoples the guarantees expressed in the Atlantic Charter; (2) *national government* and the development of sound policies for directing the complicated problems of internal adjustment; (3) *local government* and the safeguarding of the hold Americans have on self-government in its most tangible and controllable units, where effective citizenship can and must make its will expressed. Every educational resource will need to center attention on these phases of postwar plans, and especially is it important that adult education begin at once to assemble and make available to communities everywhere the essential information and thought out of which to shape a dynamic public will. We dare not fail again.

A plea from a Wisconsin alumnus, now with the armed forces "somewhere in England," gives us an appreciation of what our soldiers are thinking on this point:

> We are now engaged in another war to "make the world safe for democracy." Most of us have scorned and held this slogan in ridicule because of its "empty" meaning in regard to the last war. Although pessimism and defeatism still reign disgustingly formidable in our thinking in this respect, we are beginning to realize, thank God, that wars and victories cannot win the world over to the democratic way of life, *per se*. We are aware, as never before, that the war itself is only a small fraction of the fight—that the victory will not be ours until we are prepared to adjust our thinking along the lines of world coöperation and internationalism, the only smooth highway to peace for America. This constitutes, perhaps, the greatest humanitarian challenge to our educators of tomorrow.

THE CITY OF THE FUTURE

(Continued from Page 72)

to local units of government, in terms of allocation of functions, taxes, and grants in aid, need a thorough overhauling, but I do not believe there is the slightest prospect that any prospective reform along these lines would enable the cities in our generation to tackle the problem of blighted and slum land areas without overstraining their fiscal capacity. Federal aid is essential. But let me add here, parenthetically, that we envisage no centralized control over city planning. Every possible safeguard should be included in the underlying legislation against interference with the community in planning any sort of town it wants, so long as a few indispensable and obvious standards are adhered to.

Demolition and rebuilding in the acquired areas, or rehabilitation where this is feasible, should proceed as rapidly as all the attendant circumstances would permit. Meanwhile, public work activities of all kinds should be fitted into the larger program. Steady progress could thus be made, over the years, towards realization of the growing and developing master plan.

For other materials dealing with this subject see: Alvin H. Hansen and Guy Greer, *Urban Redevelopment and Housing*, National Planning Association; Guy Greer, "City Replanning and Rebuilding," *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, August 1942; Alvin H. Hansen and Guy Greer, "The Federal Debt and the Future," *Harper's Magazine*, April 1942; Alvin H. Hansen, "We Can Pay for the War," *The Atlantic*, October 1942; Alvin H. Hansen and Guy Greer, "Toward Full Use of Our Resources," *Fortune*, November 1942.

On the Local Front

Report on prostitution asks local law enforcement officers to maintain 'the same degree of vigilance in this important task as manifest the past year.'

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

THE NATION'S law enforcement officers are launching a new attack on prostitution and sexual promiscuity, according to a report of the Enforcement Section of the National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection, released recently by Paul V. McNutt, Director of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

The report presents a series of recommendations for dealing with the unorganized channels and the "third parties" to the prostitution racket, based upon the experience of members of the National Advisory Police Committee in their own towns and counties. Excerpts from the report follow:

"The nation's law enforcement officers view with considerable pride the latest venereal disease rates as reported by the Army and Navy. These reports indicate a substantial proportional reduction in venereal infections.

"A little more than a year ago the police departments and sheriffs' offices of the forty-eight states were asked to participate in a vigorous campaign for repression of commercialized prostitution. This request was presaged by an extensive survey in which it was definitely determined that the house of prostitution and the 'red light' district were by far the principal sources of all venereal infections to our armed forces.

"There was but one course of action —the house of prostitution and the 'red light' district had to be put out of business. The community which still tolerates the house of prostitution is the exception. Such a community is providing very effective aid and comfort to the enemy by maintaining a hazard to the health of our armed forces and war workers. . . .

"Records of the Army and Navy indicate that the move against 'red light' districts and houses of prostitution has reduced venereal disease coming from that source to a mere fraction of its former volume.

"Consequently, we are now in position to open a second front against the next important source of venereal disease. This is prostitution as practiced outside of the house of prostitution.

"Engaged in this are the streetwalker, the call-girl, the resident of upstairs side-street hotels, the hostess in the cheap saloon, the tourist camp and trailer girl. These may include some of the professionals who have been driven out of the old district.

"In preparing a definite plan of attack upon this type of prostitution, the law enforcement officer has many allies, particularly the local health officer, and the specially trained VD Control Officers now present in many of our Army and Navy camps. These men have information of immediate value to the enforcement officer in locating the places where these women operate. Their information comes from several sources, including clinics, private doctors, and particularly the infected soldier or sailor.

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The Researcher's Digest: February

Behind the ballots with slide rule and adding machine; penal administration in the old south; research bureau Dick Tracys; catholicity of legislative council interests.

NOT so long ago it used to be that a social scientist who used the bizarre instrument of the public opinion poll had to justify himself all over the place. Now, however, anyone who is so old-fashioned as *not* to use the poll seems to feel it necessary to give his reasons a good airing. Harold F. Gosnell who, if memory serves, was himself a pioneer in a rudimentary sort of public opinion poll years ago in Chicago, is the researcher who now, for good and sufficient reasons, is studying *Grass Roots Politics,* or Voting Behavior of Typical States, by the old-fashioned expedient of going behind the election returns.

The study, published by the **American Council on Public Affairs,** is the result of several years of analysis of the influences behind the vote in a number of states. Although the approach is strictly scientific and mathematics and the map are liberally in use, the orthodox student of American government will have no difficulty in recognizing the technique whereby Dr. Gosnell examines, in turn, industrial politics in Pennsylvania, progressive politics in Wisconsin, farm belt politics in Iowa, utopias in California, rural-urban conflict in Illinois, and Long's Louisiana. It is, in a way, a relief to have someone again oppose election returns to economic, sociological, and religious factors, and to come out with some good *ex post facto* reasons for what happened. Dr. Gosnell lays great store by economic and religious motivations for the vote, and easily proves his point time and again.

A conclusion predicts a great change in the American party system should a long war force economic cleavages into the open.

Bloodhounds and Such

Anyone who remembers that blood-stirring (at least to a Northerner) movie called "I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang" would enjoy *State Penal Administration in Alabama* by the **University of Alabama's Bureau of Public Administration,** if only because of the sheer contrast in mood. On the one hand you have white-hot anger; on the other you have Dr. Malcolm C. Moos' scholarly attempt to report objectively upon a local governmental institution and still not rouse the enmity of the whole state.

They still whip prisoners in Alabama; they still have road gangs—under the supervision of the State Department of Highways and not under the correctional authorities; on the other hand, in some Alabama prisons they show movies and have prisoner self-government. Dr. Moos spent months in intimate study of every aspect of penal administration, and it was not library research either, for he lived among his subjects and talked to them and ate with them. He reports upon his findings in calm, scholarly accents, refrains from epithets, and exhibits a nice professional interest in the fine points of tracking down escaped prisoners with bloodhounds. And he asks for the abolition of certain features of the system with such unexcited finesse that you hardly know he's done it.

Stop-Watch Research

A little old-fashioned snooping on the part of the staff of the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** produced some interesting observations on the work habits of some of Baltimore's city employees.

Your Tax Dollar for November 27, with supplements A, B, and C, describes in strict diary form the activities of a traffic officer on the southeast corner of "A" and "B" streets between the hours of 11:47 A.M. and 4:45 P.M. on a certain day; of street sweepers in many parts of the city, and of park, highways, and fire department maintenance crews. The minute-to-minute check on the traffic cop showed that his production consisted in large part of conversation, conducted with his back to traffic. As for the street cleaning force—covered under the literary title of "A Night with the Street Sweepers"—the Bureau's force watched four different crews working through the long urban night. The Bureau found that supervisors characteristically appeared after most of the work was done, that the hours worked are inordinately short, and that the plan of work is haphazard in the extreme. The account of the work habits of the park, fire, and highways people sounds like a radio announcer at a prize fight: i.e., "he's up—he's down—he's resting."

The Bureau's conclusion is that the city should regularly employ its own "snoopers" and reduce city employment thereby.

Legislative Councils

A bumper crop of legislative council researches illustrates the variety of topics in which the law-makers are interested. Most of the studies currently at hand follow the established legislative council approach. There is a historical analysis of the subject in question, an exposition of the way other states do "it," and an explanation of the various proposals for "doing it" at home.

From the **Illinois Council** comes *Overhead Organization of State Conservation Activities,* with a rehearsal of board versus single-head type of organization. The same council is interested in *Payments in Lieu of Taxes* under housing and federal land purchase programs, of particular importance now that public war housing by the federal government has become rampant. A third Illinois study considers *Service in the Armed Forces as a Disqualification for Legislative Membership* and finds that any local change would require constitutional amendment which could not, in any event, come into effect before 1944.

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Voting

Grass Roots Politics. By Harold F. Gosnell. American Council of Public Affairs, Washington, D. C., 1942. 204 pp.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 58)

self-examination; others are revolting against local waste because they are being pinched by war taxes; some see it as a primary wartime duty to attempt to make every governmental activity as efficient as it can possibly be.

The staff is in frequent touch with virtually all of these improvement efforts. Most of the efforts are led by people who have had little or no experience in public affairs and who need considerable guidance. The calls for assistance are numerous and varied. Many present special problems which require individual attention. Others require only the application of one or more of the models which the League's committees and staff have developed.

These guides are applied in various ways. A few recent applications will illustrate. In November 1941 the League held its 47th annual National Conference on Government in St. Louis.

One of the principal problems facing the St. Louis area was the possibility of revising Missouri's constitution. In line with established policy to assist in immediate situations, part of the Conference program dealt with constitutional problems. The League invited a corps of outstanding constitutional experts to the meeting to give the people of Missouri an intensive three-day "civics lesson." On the final day of the Conference the nucleus of a campaign committee was formed by Missourians and in November 1942—just a year later—the people of Missouri voted to hold a convention to revise the constitution. It is not unusual for Conferences to leave immediate results like this in their wake, in addition to providing other inspiration and encouragement of a long-term nature.

Another recent example is found in Houston, Texas, where early in the year a group of citizens launched a campaign for adoption of the council-manager form of government and then wrote to the League for advice. The campaign won overwhelmingly against resourceful opposition, and Houston now seems to be well on its way toward achieving the goal set by a small group of determined citizens. After the election, the editor of the paper with which we coöperated wrote that the League's help contributed much to the victory.

Three years ago we were approached by a young writer in Augusta, Georgia, who was worried over the bad political and governmental situation in his community. Constant correspondence has given him what amounts to a course in civic leadership. He was instrumental in establishing the Citizens Union of Augusta with a sound program.

The president of a lumber company in Vancouver, British Columbia, has been corresponding with the staff for ten years on methods of improving conditions in his city. Last summer he helped to organize the Vancouver Municipal League with a highly constructive program. We advised these people by mail and through our publications and, in addition, put them in touch with broadly experienced leaders of the Seattle Municipal League who gave them "on the spot" assistance.

Whenever possible we work through established organizations, for in this way we can multiply our effectiveness and conserve our own resources. The leadership of the Oregon League of Women Voters, in an effort to obtain a constitutional amendment to permit the reorganization of counties, is an illustration. We have advised this group closely, even to the point of preparing a rough draft of the proposed amendment and editing the manuscript of an educational pamphlet issued by the Oregon group.

While the city of Rome, New York, was going through an unprecedented war production boom, its Chamber of Commerce informed us of its fear that, beneath its apparent prosperity, the city was in essentially bad shape and would, therefore, find it difficult to cope with the situation it would face after the war. A brief financial and administrative survey of Rome's government, conducted by the League and paid for by the Chamber of Commerce, has confirmed that organization's fears and has recommended remedies and safeguards.

The reformation of Kansas City has continued during the past year. It will be recalled that that city was for fifteen years our greatest embarrassment, for it was the shining example of how badly the council-manager plan could work when dominated by a corrupt political boss. The business men and other leaders helped bring about a change which in two short years has placed Kansas City firmly among the best governed communities of the country.

The ease with which their people can reach the League office has made it possible for many communities close to New York to receive an especially large amount of attention. Yonkers, with which we have worked closely, won an overwhelming success in November's campaign. Glen Cove, New York, has a charter commission in operation. Long Beach, New York, has a vigorous citizens organization and has won a reduction of more than $100,000 in its budget as a direct result of consultations with the staff which led to a survey of the city's government.

There have been other similar instances too numerous to detail. This cross-section will illustrate, however, something of the nature of the problems and the fact that the League is the only organization which stands ready to render a kind of service which helps citizens become effective community leaders.

A Model Fiscal Program

The Committee on a Model Fiscal Program has completed, except for publication, three model laws: *A Model Bond Law, A Model Accrual Budget Law,* and *A Model Cash Basis Budget Law.*

Work has been begun on other models which will be designed to help meet some of the difficult problems of the assessment of real estate and the collection of taxes.

This work has been done by a committee composed of distinguished authorities in the field of municipal finance who have contributed their time freely. Incidental expenses, publication and education costs have been underwritten by contributions from the Investment Bankers Association, Chase National Bank, National City Bank, and Henry L. Shattuck.

This program is designed to provide better fiscal controls and to put the financial affairs of cities and other political subdivisions in a healthy condition to meet whatever problems emerge after the war. The various models will decrease the likelihood of a repetition of the disastrous cycle through which thousands of our units of government went after the last war. They will also help to relieve the pressure when war-boom cities attempt to absorb swollen populations, depressed cities try to tax lost values, and cities generally begin to spend for deferred capital improvements and other public works.

Currently the Committee is seeking financial assistance to complete its work.

Metropolitan Areas Problem

Excepting the actual winning of the war, the greatest problem confronting American cities is the so-called metropolitan areas problem. It is faced by every city of 100,000 or more and, to a lesser extent, by smaller cities. For years there has been an outward movement of families, business, and industry from the core cities. This exodus of those who are generally the most productive has thrown the entire economic and social systems of metropolitan areas out of kilter. The great values concentrated in city centers deteriorate. Blight and decay creep forward, slum areas spread, the flight of citizens whom the city can ill afford to lose is hastened, and rich soil is prepared for the seeds of discontent, delinquency, and crime among the more dependent who remain.

It is not a single or a simple problem. The entire economic welfare of urban people is involved. The social problems are exceedingly large and complicated. The tax problem becomes acute. The political and governmental problems which result are already causing a near breakdown which is far from localized.

A pattern which will solve these serious problems has been sought for years. No one city, no one metropolitan region is finding the solution which each needs. Developments growing out of the war, meanwhile, are rendering the best information of yesterday obsolete. There is need for a new study, national in scope, to find out what is happening to this country's metropolitan areas and to develop a plan or plans for coping with the decay and threatening collapse.

The League has been urged by persons and organizations who have gone deeply into their own local situations to lead this exploration. The problems involved in accepting this challenge have been under discussion for more than a year. At the League's call, the nucleus of a Committee on Postwar Problems of Urban Peoples was formed and met last July 1 and 2 in Chicago.

The Committee is seeking foundation support to finance the program over a period of five years. Should the war end during that interval, a continuing study will be more desperately needed, for there is no question but that the resumption of highway construction and the production of automobiles and airplanes for civilian use will bring a sudden and unprecedentedly strong impact of all the phenomena associated with the metropolitan areas problem.

Municipal Reporting Service

In August the Municipal Reporting Service which the League established as an experiment in California and which was financed by the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco, was discontinued. Before the west coast's preoccupation with the war interfered, the Service had demonstrated its value in setting standards and developing new methods of teaching people basic facts about their local government by reports prepared for Berkeley and for the civilian defense activities of Oakland and San Francisco.

National Conference

For the first time in the League's history the usual three-day National Conference on Government was omitted in order to comply with the government's request that, because of heavy wartime burdens imposed on transportation facilities, conventions be foregone or be of a limited nature. The annual meeting was limited to officers and members of the Council who met December 22 at the Hotel St. Regis in New York as dinner guests of Carl H. Pforzheimer, League treasurer and chairman of the Steering Committee.[1]

Consultant Service

The League since 1933 has conducted a Consultant Service which has made surveys of many cities and counties the cost of which was paid by local civic organizations or by the governments involved. During the past year the Consultant Service has been concerned with three surveys—Rome, New York, Long Beach, New York, and the Town and Borough of Wallingford, Connecticut.

It appears that all three surveys conducted this year are likely to lead to fundamental changes in the charters of the communities involved.

These three surveys demonstrate again that, if needless waste and inefficiency could by some quick magic or businesslike action be squeezed out of local, county, and state government, the savings would be great—perhaps enough to pay the interest on the war debt.

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[1] See p. 59 for Minutes of this meeting.

National Municipal Review

This year the REVIEW has made the war and its effect on local government one of its major interests. The experience of English cities has been discussed in articles by such local government authorities as A. Emil Davies, former chairman of the London County Council; Eric H. Biddle of the American Public Welfare Association, who has spent considerable time in England; Connery Chappel of the London *Sunday Dispatch;* and C. Kent Wright, town clerk of Stoke Newington, England.

Numerous articles and editorials dealing with problems faced by municipalities in this country—defense, finance, housing, utilities, postwar planning—have also been published, with emphasis on citizen action on the home front.

A series of short articles on cities which in 1942 celebrated twenty or twenty-five years of manager government was also published.

One new department has been added: "On the Local Front," edited by Mrs. Zilpha C. Franklin. chief information officer of the U. S. Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

Orders were received for a total of 20,050 copies of reprints of articles which appeared during the year.

Sale of Publications

During 1942 there has been a large demand for the *Model City Charter* which for many years has been credited with having had more influence on the improvement of local government than any other single document. Of the first printing of 1,500 copies of the fifth revision, published in November 1941, about 250 remain in stock.

The *Model State Constitution,* which also was revised and re-published in November 1941, has met a similar reception. More than 1,200 copies were sold during the year.

Considering the technical nature of these publications and the fact that they are useful principally to serious students of government, this sales record may be taken to indicate a greater than normal interest in the improvement of local and state government.

A total of 11,308 copies of the League's publications were distributed of which 10,341 were sold.

Membership

During the last two years it has been increasingly difficult for organizations of all types to retain a normal flow of income from memberships. The League has managed to keep its losses smaller than those of many comparable organizations.

Enemy action has cost the League the greater part of its foreign membership which normally extends to twenty-five countries. The foreign memberships do not represent a total loss, however. We have made arrangements with the American Library Association to lay aside some copies of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW each month for later distribution to foreign library members. For this the Association pays the League at a reduced rate.

There have been other bright spots in the struggle to preserve our membership. For example, last year Mr. James W. Clise, a civic leader of Seattle who for some years has been a loyal and enthusiastic supporter of the League, purchased thirty-seven memberships for the members of the board and chairmen of committees of the Seattle Municipal League to bring them into closer contact with similar efforts in other communities.

Curtailed budgets of both organizations and individuals and the movement of many of our members into the armed forces have caused a net loss of membership during 1942 of seventy-two. By no means all of those who went into the armed forces have dropped their membership, however. One lieutenant colonel who used to belong to many organizations reported that he had dropped every one of them but the League. A private in the army renewed his membership recently and also sent a contribution. He wrote: "I'm only a private in the army and I don't have much money, but I'm all for the work you're doing. Here's my check." Another lieutenant colonel wrote from what he described as "a south sea island" renewing his membership, making a financial contribution, and asking that he be brought up to date on progress during the months he had not seen either a newspaper or the REVIEW.

Progress in Government

During 1942 there were twenty-two adoptions of the council-manager form of government, including one county. This was the largest number of adoptions in any one of the past ten years. There was one abandonment. The staff is coöperating with and advising civic groups in scores of cities and counties seeking improvements in the structure of their governments.

Petroleum County, Montana, became the first county in that state and the seventh county in the United States to adopt the county manager plan. Montgomery County, Maryland, elected a commission to draft a home rule charter. An amendment to the constitution of Oregon, to permit reorganization of county government in that state, has been prepared, with the League's coöperation, for submission to the 1943 legislature. Movements for the improvement of county government are also in progress elsewhere.

The people of Missouri approved a proposal to call a convention for the revision of its constitution, while a similar effort in New Jersey was blocked by the legislature and other elements. Michigan voters rejected a proposal for a constitutional revision.

There was considerable progress in the extension of the merit system in civil service. By July 1, 1943, the merit system will be in full operation in all counties in the State of New York. Merit system legislation will be introduced in various state legislatures including Iowa, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Oregon, and West Virginia.

Yonkers became the first city to use a recount of the previous election's proportional representation ballots to fill a vacancy in the city council. An attempt to repeal proportional representation in Yonkers was defeated by a two-to-one vote.

The Future

After the war the need for improved leadership, personnel, and structure of government will be accentuated as our communities face problems of demobilization, reconversion of industry, temporary unemployment, migratory populations, shifting sources of revenue and other serious questions.

The need for such guidance as the League can give by drawing attention to and seeking solutions for emerging problems will be at least as great as it has ever been if not greater. We may logically expect another municipal renaissance like that which followed the last war when cities reorganized their governments at a faster rate than ever before along the lines of the League's recommendations.

There have been many encroachments on the powers of cities not only during this war but prior to it. The League should expect to be a potent force in the emerging fight to preserve local self-government.

Respectfully submitted,
HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*
ALFRED WILLOUGHBY,
Executive Secretary

Contributors in Review

ORIGINATOR of the observance of Citizenship Day as celebrated in Manitowac County, Wisconsin, **R. J. Colbert** (*Education for the Postwar World*) now turns his attention to education of the citizen for things to come. Dr. Colbert has been chairman of the Social Science Department of the University of Wisconsin's Extension Division for a dozen years or more, and on the University's faculty for over twenty. He has done municipal research bureau work and has been counsellor to many local governments, as well as leader in the development of community round tables on public administration, in his state.

LUCIUS N. Littauer professor of economics at Harvard since 1937, **Alvin H. Hansen** (*The City of the Future*) is well known for his writings not only on economic problems but on postwar planning, especially as it relates to the rebuilding of our cities. Some of his recent articles have appeared in *Harper's Magazine, Fortune, The Atlantic.* Dr. Hansen has held numerous appointments in the economic field. He has been director of research and secretary to the Commission of Inquiry on National Policy in International Economic Relations, economist to the U. S. State Department, economic advisor to the Prairie Provinces before the Canadian Royal Commission in Dominion-Provincial Relations, member of the Advisory Council on Social Security.

A "PHILOSOPHER-politician who, without interrupting his academic work, once occupied the center of the municipal stage in Chicago and later sat close to the center of national authority . . . his sense of the important in practical affairs was not less keen than his insights in matters intellectual." These words, from *The Future of Government in the United States,* authored by several of his former students now themselves well known in the political science field, give a fitting description of **Charles E. Merriam** (*"Make No Small Plans"*). Dr. Merriam has been teaching political science at the University of Chicago since 1900, traveling from instructor to chairman of the University's Department of Political Science. He is a member of the National Resources Planning Board (since 1933) and of the President's Commission on Administrative Management. His many books, well known to the student of political science, need no listing here.

STARTING as a reporter on the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle,* **Harold W. Sanford** (*Rochester Plans for Peace*) is now editor of that publication as well as author of two of its forward-looking columns—"The Civic Scene" on local civic affairs and "The International Scene" on foreign affairs. Carrying through his interest in public affairs both at home and abroad, Mr. Sanford has been chairman of the Rochester World Court Commission and of the Planning Committee of the Rochester Citizens Planning and Housing Council, as well as member of the Monroe County Charter Commission, the New York State Defense Committee, and numerous other civic enterprises.

Letter to the Editor

He Doubts 'The King Can Do No Wrong'

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

I am much interested in the controversy in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, between Mr. George A. Warp of the University of Virginia and Mr. Philip Nichols of the city of Boston, on the subject of governmental liability for the negligence of public officers.

As a member of a city law department, I cannot help but feel that Mr. Nichols has a much more realistic grasp of the elements involved. I agree with him that it is better to go on mitigating a few hardships arising under the present situation "than to open the Pandora's Box of Troubles that would afflict us if we attempted to assimilate in the application of tort liability two things that are so definitely different as the governmental functions of a municipal body and the business activities of a private corporation."

In his reply to Mr. Nichols, Mr. Warp says: "The fundamental principles on which the governmental-proprietary distinction rests are, first, the maxim that the king can do no wrong and, second, the concept that the government is above the law."

Such a statement is, to my way of thinking, unsound. The maxim that "the king can do no wrong" has no application whatever. In a constitutional monarchy, the king can do no wrong because he acts solely on the advice of his ministers, and his ministers are the leaders of the duly elected representatives of thê people. Nor is the government "above the law"—it is the creature of the law, subject to change at any time by the people or their elected representatives.

A government is not, in any true sense, a corporation. A private corporation is a creature of government. It is a voluntary organization, usually for profit, of individuals engaged in a joint enterprise. It is proper that the law should hold the stockholders responsible for the results of their corporate activities so far as other persons are damaged by them. Furthermore, being business organizations, they can provide, out of their business, for financing liability.

A government, on the other hand, whether state, county, or municipal, is an instrument primarily for the maintenance of public order, secondarily for the providing of services considered necessary for the public health, safety, and welfare. Its first need is to collect revenues, its second, to determine how they are to be used. It does not start off with a capital stock.

While the legislature in a state government is the closest approximation to the board of directors of a private corporation, it is not a board of directors. Properly speaking, it is a lawmaking body establishing rules and regulations for the conduct of the people with reference to each other, and determining what activities the administrative officers of government shall undertake. There is no corporate body. Most state constitutions provide for the election of state officers with functions entirely independent of each other and subject to no control by the legislature, except such as may be exercised through its appropriating power.

A county government is even less a corporation than a state government. It is hardly more than a skeleton arrangement set up by the state for the government of the county area.

Municipal governments are generally referred to as municipal corporations, but properly speaking they are nothing more than area governments, resembling state governments in having a legislative body and resembling county governments in having their governmental arrangements set up, more or less, from the outside.

The residents and property owners of a municipality are not voluntary members of the so-called municipal corporation. They have no alternative but to submit themselves and their property to the control of the law. Yet, on the theory of governmental tort liability, their property could be held subject to answer for the act of any underling of any officer acting in the name of the government, without even any provision for limited liability.

The line of distinction between governmental and proprietary functions has not always been clear, and at times the rulings of courts have seemed arbitrary. In some jurisdictions courts formerly ruled that the operation of a public park or of a public hospital was not a governmental function. Later decisions have recognized practically every governmental activity as governmental where it is provided for the public without charge, or even where charges are imposed if the revenues are definitely not expected to be ample, as in the case of public hospitals charging for service where the patient is able to pay.

On the other hand, the operation of a waterworks, being a self-supporting business, has generally been treated as a proprietary function. Some years ago, however, the United States Supreme Court held that the provision of a water supply for a city was an essential governmental function.

It would seem that the proper line of distinction ought to be business and non-business, counting as non-business such enterprises, as public hospitals, which are in the main eleemosynary in character even though fees are charged to the extent practicable.

If a government goes into a business, such as the operation of a public utility, it must go in on the same basis as a private corporation does, assuming all the liabilities that attach to it and providing for them out of its revenues. It is more or less thrust into its non-business operations because no private corporation will render services not revenue-producing.

Nevertheless, in spite of the gratuitous character of most governmental activities, it may for practical purposes be desirable in the case of some of them to impose a degree of liability upon the people and property located within the particular area. It should be understood, however, that the liability in these cases arises not out of the equities, as in the case of stockholders of a private corporation, but rather as a kind of penalty to induce compliance with the law.

Many states, for example, have imposed liability for the operation of motor vehicles by public officers and employees, because of the danger to the public safety in permitting increasingly large numbers of such vehicles to be operated without financial responsibility.

The theory of governmental non-liability might perhaps be summed up in the following two statements:

1. The institution of government within a given area does not create a contract obligation or a moral obligation on the part of the residents and property owners of that area to be responsible for the acts of the agents of government.
2. The people cannot, without the consent of their representatives, be held to answer in damages for the acts of those who conduct government for them.

Ed F. Alexander,
Assistant Solicitor
City of Cincinnati

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Many States and Cities Make Postwar Plans

Local reserve funds few in number

DEVELOPMENT of public works programs, as direct means of preventing widespread postwar unemployment and of utilizing for constructive public benefit the vast resources of manpower mobilized by war, is under way in large measure.

In the state field a survey of the planning situation by the National Resources Planning Board shows that eight states have completed such plans, to provide immediate postwar employment on a large scale to returning service men and wartime industrial workers. They are Idaho, Maryland, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, and Virginia. Four more states—Alabama, Massachusetts, New Mexico, and Washington—are expected to have programs completed soon. In fifteen others it is indicated that from six months to a year will be needed to finish plans and specifications: Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, New Jersey, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, and Utah. In the other twenty-one states the work has been mainly confined to listing of the projects that are considered desirable.

The NRPB points out that with the completion of many war construction projects more engineers and architects are now ready to undertake the planning of postwar public works; state and local governments are urged to utilize the services of such specialists as they become available.

The state and local section of the NRPB, headed by Sidney Thomas, has coöperated with a majority of the states and many cities in planning postwar projects; private industry, real estate interests, and labor have likewise assisted.

Inquiries made of the larger cities by *The American City* and the *Architectural Forum* resulted in replies from 108, nearly all of which reported that they had begun to plan for postwar municipal improvements of great variety—city buildings, streets, sewers and sewage treatment, waterworks, hospitals, parks, playgrounds, grade separations, bridges, and many others. The major agency for preparing plans has been the city engineering department, with city planning commissions acting in an advisory capacity, or, in a few cases, actually making the plans.

In most cases the cities are dependent on future taxes or borrowing for the financing of postwar construction, but a movement for at least the legal power to set up reserves for such a purpose is in progress. The Council of State Governments has prepared model legislation for establishing state public works reserves and enabling municipalities to do likewise. Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and California have laws permitting municipal postwar reserves, and a few other states allow certain classes of cities or public agencies to set aside funds for specific purposes.

Only fourteen of the 108 cities referred to above reported reserves for postwar construction; sixteen others stated that financing plans are in preparation.

Going beyond the public works idea about one hundred cities in Pennsylvania have undertaken "self-appraisals" at the suggestion of the State Department of Commerce, involving studies of local employment, estimates of the number of people expected to lose their immediate employment after the war, and plans for re-employment by business and industry and on municipal projects. Governor Arthur H. James, writing in the November *Architectural Forum,* said in explanation, "Through analysis of these local facts, each community may know in advance which industries may close at the end of the war, which ones must convert to peacetime production, and what industries have the best chance of prospering because of local markets, raw materials, and skilled labor."

Cities by themselves can do much to ease the transition from war to peace whenever that becomes possible; but they are handicapped by many forces beyond their control. The states are in a better position, particularly as to legal powers, but are also subject to complications beyond their jurisdictions. In the federal field the NRPB is doing important work, with its limited means and scope, to prepare for postwar adjustments, in collaboration with national, state, and municipal agencies.

The federal government as well as states and cities has a large reservoir of public works plans, and these are in an advanced stage of readiness. Whether more comprehensive planning and action to convert the human and material resources of the country to the vast needs and potentialities of peacetime will be possible depends on the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the federal government and on the coöperation of states, cities, and citizens.

State, Municipal Governments Control Own Pay Rates

Following by thirteen days the decision of the War Labor Board on December 15 not to assume jurisdiction in municipal labor disputes,[1] the WLB and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue issued a joint statement to the effect that responsibility for state and municipal salaries and wages would lie with state and local governments.

The statement referred to the procedure that had been established on November 12, 1942, pursuant to the regulations of the Economic Stabilization Director, for approval of wage increases by the WLB and approval of increases in higher salary levels by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Many wage and salary adjustment proposals have been presented to the Board and the Commissioner, but despite detailed examination there has been no occasion to question the adjustments. This was said to indicate "that statutory budgetary controls are operating to keep salary and wage movements of state and local agencies within very narrow bounds."

The two agencies have accordingly decided that in all cases where an adjustment in wages or salaries by a state, county, or municipal body is necessary to correct maladjustments, inequalities, or gross inequities, and would not raise wages or salaries above prevailing levels in the community, "the adjustments will be deemed approved without the necessity of filing certificates for the information of the Board or Commissioner."

In all other cases the state or local body is requested to consult the Joint Committee on Salaries and Wages, Department of Labor Building, Washington, for advice as to whether the adjustments are in accord with the national stabilization policy. It was emphasized that the duty of public employers to conform to that policy is as plain as that of private employers.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1943, p. 32.

In connection with the Newark controversy, which was one of those in which the WLB on December 15 declined to intervene, Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey, who had asked the WLB to review the situation, has stated that he did so because the state, with its outmoded constitution, lacked power to handle it, and the city was also deficient in proper appeal machinery. In New York City, where the Transport Workers Union had sought the intervention of the WLB, a committee of fifteen prominent citizens issued a statement on January 4 calling for immediate establishment of adequate machinery to deal with differences between the union and the city.

Regional Planning Gains in 1942

Development of regional planning as an aid to the war effort on the home front, particularly in meeting problems that cross city and state lines, is reported in a review of 1942 planning activities by the American Society of Planning Officials.

In the city of Baltimore and in Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties the Baltimore Area Joint Committee, established in November 1941, attacked problems common to city and counties, including streets and highways, zoning, parks, schools, waterworks, and fire protection. In Cleveland the regional association acted as technical adviser to the Cuyahoga County Defense Council on one of the first civilian evacuation programs perfected. In Pennsylvania the Harrisburg Regional Planning Commission worked on traffic relief plans in connection with war industries.

Detroit's mayor appointed a regional planning committee for the metropolitan defense area. In Alabama the Central Planning Committee, including the towns of Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia, and Muscle Shoals City, worked with the Tennessee Valley Authority on housing for war workers, site selection, and plans for future development.

A wartime transportation survey, looking toward a master transportation plan for the entire Los Angeles area, was made by the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission.

Of larger scope were activities of regional offices of the National Resources Planning Board, the New York Regional Plan Association, the Pacific Northwest War Industries Commission, and the Northwest Regional Council.

A Midwest Regional Planning Commission with headquarters in Chicago was set up by the NRPB, which earlier in the year opened a regional office in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Other regional offices of the NRPB in California and New England were especially active in developing plans for the areas served.

The New York Regional Plan Association worked with business and industry in the area on postwar plans growing out of present economic changes.

As Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams in the Pacific Northwest opened to full production, the Northwest War Industries Commission surveyed industrial possibilities of the area and made recommendations to the War Production Board. The Northwest Regional Council issued its second economic atlas of the region containing detailed information on population, migration, climate, industries, and other matters.

Three Joint Authorities Function in Pennsylvania

At present there are three groups of communities in Pennsylvania utilizing the joint authority principle, according to the December issue of the *Pennsylvania Borough Bulletin.* A fourth authority is inactive. Intercommunity action was at first informal, but in 1935 the legislature authorized the formation of joint sewer boards as advisory and administrative agencies; and a 1937 amendment provided that municipalities may jointly organize an authority, as a corporation, for bridges, tunnels, highways, waterworks, sewers and sewage treatment, parks, airports, etc.

Two of the present authorities are in Delaware County, southwest of Philadelphia. Both of these deal with sewers. The Central Delaware County Authority includes five boroughs and three townships, and the Darby Creek Joint Authority consists of representatives of eight boroughs and two townships.

Council-Manager Plan News

A resolution submitted on January 6 to the Council of **New York City** urged the appointment of a committee of fifteen to consider the feasibility of the manager plan for that city.[1] The resolution was introduced by Councilman Louis Cohen, from the borough of the Bronx, who is one of the Democratic group opposed to the fusion administration of Mayor LaGuardia and the Board of Estimate, dominated by the three city-wide elective officials—mayor, comptroller and council president. Mr. Cohen is also secretary of the Bronx County Democratic organization.

He stated that the manager plan is operating successfully in over 500 American cities, and charged that the present administration has not effected the economies hoped for when the existing charter was adopted. He said:

"It may be that the exact form of council-manager government employed in other cities and recommended by informed civic groups is not precisely adaptable to New York City. Only a survey by persons familiar with the manifold problems connected with the conduct of the business of New York City can determine how far the theory is applicable and with what changes it may be employed."

In his third term inaugural message to the legislature, on January 6, Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota recommended council-manager government for **Minneapolis**, and proposed that the legislature submit a modernized charter for popular vote in that city, coupling therewith provisions for increased state aid for its schools, its welfare boards and its tax structure. He contended that more assistance would be of little value under the present "archaic" form of the city's government.

Augusta, Maine, and **Augusta, Georgia**, are both showing interest in the manager plan. On December 17 the Kiwanis Club of the Maine city devoted a meeting to an explanation of the plan by George Harrison, a member of the City Council of Portland, Maine, a manager city. On the same day the *Herald* of Augusta, Georgia, carried endorsement of the manager plan by its columnist L—K—S, who urged citizens to study the plan and develop the best form for that city and its problems.

A well attended meeting of **Florida** city managers was held in connection with the annual meeting of the Florida League of Municipalities in Jacksonville on December 10. Fifteen managers from that state and two from neighboring states were present. Among subjects discussed were municipal personnel and finance in wartime, consolidation of activities, economies of operation, and postwar planning.

Twenty-one cities and counties were added to the manager list in 1942, according to the International City Managers' Association, as compared to nineteen in 1941, eighteen in 1940, and twenty in 1939. These twenty-one additions make a total of 561 manager cities and seven counties. Of this number all the counties and 537 cities are in the United States, eighteen cities are in Canada, five are in Ireland, and one is in Puerto Rico. Charters or general state statutes were adopted in Bennington and Brattleboro, Vermont; Hazel Park and St. Louis, Michigan; Houston, Texas; Indian Hill, Ohio; Laramie, Wyoming; Lowell, Massachusetts; Mechanic Falls, New Portland, and Smyrna, Maine; Petroleum County, Montana; and Trois Rivieres, Quebec. Municipalities that came under the manager plan by ordinance included: Asheboro, North Carolina; Giddings and West Columbia, Texas; Lower Merion Township and West View, Pennsylvania; Ludington, Michigan; Mill Valley, California, where the ordinance was adopted by a vote of the people; and Mountain Brook, Alabama. During the year four cities were investigated and found to be operating under an approved manager plan: Mapleton, Maine, and Weslaco, Texas—charters; and Scottdale, Pennsylvania, and Shorewood, Wisconsin—ordinances.

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[1] See also p. 115.

In 1942 five municipalities defeated proposals to adopt the manager plan as compared to ten in 1941 and twenty-one in 1940. These were Baker, Oregon; Berkley, Michigan; Chester, Vermont; Grand Island, Nebraska; and Newark, New Jersey. One community voted in 1942 to abandon the plan, Bloomfield, Connecticut, effective January 1944. This makes a total of twenty-eight cities that have abandoned the plan in the thirty-four years since the manager plan was inaugurated.

The Association's list includes one municipality (West Columbia, Texas) not previously mentioned in these columns; on the other hand it does not as yet include Coqueville, Oregon, and Palm Springs, California, which adopted manager plans by popular vote in 1942.

Low Voter Interest in Municipal Referenda

The Bureau of the Census has issued a report on city proposals voted on in 1942, based on reports received by November 23 from 206 of the 410 cities with populations exceeding 25,000. Out of the 206 cities, forty-seven submitted 104 proposals to their voters. The data collected included for the first time the number of registered voters, for comparison with the votes cast on the proposals. The average percentage voting on measures was 33, with a range from 68 down to 3.6 per cent in a group of forty-four cities reporting the necessary data. In these cities sixty-nine measures were approved, by votes ranging from 50 per cent of all registered voters down to 2 per cent; the average was 24 per cent.

More Cities Adopt the Merit System

In addition to the six counties listed elsewhere in this issue[1] the merit system was approved at the November elections in East Paterson and Point Pleasant, New Jersey. Civil service proposals for four other municipalities and one county in that state were defeated.

The city council of Ironwood, Michigan, has been authorized to establish a merit system for all city employees as the result of a charter amendment adopted in November.

Ways of Meeting Public Personnel Problems

Based on observations of the trend of thought at the annual conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, twenty-one recommendations for meeting personnel problems have been submitted to the California State Personnel Board by William K. Smith, acting executive officer. Among major points are the following:

1. That residence restrictions be eliminated at least for the duration of the war.

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[1] See p. 111.

2. That "duration appointments" be provided for in classes where shortages exist.

3. That more effective use be made of the probationary period in rejecting persons unsuited for employment.

4. That practically all examinations be opened to both men and women.

5. That consideration be given to provisions for cash overtime payments to employees paid on a monthly basis.

6. That a study be made of the feasibility of a system of manpower priorities for state agencies.

7. That a study be made of the skills and abilities of present state employees so as to make the most effective use thereof.

8. That non-essential operations and paper work in state agencies be curtailed; and that persons released from work in curtailed private industries be approached for state employment.

Legislatures of 42 States in Session

Forty-four state legislatures meet in regular session this year—forty-two convening in January and two in the spring—according to the Council of State Governments which points out that this is the second time—the other being in 1917—when so many state legislatures have met with the nation actually at war.

The legislatures with sessions beginning last month are those in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Florida's legislature convenes April 6 and Alabama's May 4. The Alabama legislature, which heretofore met quadrennially, will meet biennially beginning this year.

The volume of state legislation during a war period is not likely to be much heavier than usual, according to experience during the World War, the Council predicts.

Ten of the states meeting regularly in 1943 called special sessions during 1942—their "off" year. Most of the special sessions were called solely for the purpose of meeting war emergency problems. They were in California and Michigan (two each) and in Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, and Pennsylvania.

One-House Legislature Again Urged in Missouri

Renewal of efforts to obtain a legislature of one house only[1] has been announced by the Crusaders of Missouri, nonpartisan organization for political reform. The attempt will be directed primarily toward favorable action by the coming constitutional convention. If that is unsuccessful it is expected that new initiative petitions will be circulated.

Ohio Penalized under Hatch Act

On January 6, as a sequel to previous action in the case of Harry J. Patterson,[2] the United States Civil Service Commission directed the Federal Security Agency to withhold from its grants to the state of Ohio or its Bureau of Unemployment Compensation the sum of $7,200, representing two years' salary for Mr. Patterson, who had been discharged from the Bureau for political activity but was reemployed six weeks later by another state agency in violation of the Hatch Act provision prohibiting such reemployment within eighteen months. This is the first case of its kind to arise since the adoption of the act.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1942, p. 345, and September 1942, p. 449.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1942, p. 38.

Eight Questions from Vermont

In a 1943 message to the people of Vermont, Governor William H. Wills said that never before have we so vividly realized that we have a pattern of government and of life utterly unlike the totalitarian pattern of Germany. He then propounded the following questions:

> Cannot the home make more liberal contribution to the attitudes and insights and behaviors which will enable youth to make democracy work as a complete success?
>
> Cannot schools and colleges provide a more vital, practical, and dynamic introduction and initiation of youth into their share and part of the public life of town, city, state, nation, world?
>
> Cannot the churches be more aware and wiser in their statements and applications of moral and spiritual values to the world of reality?
>
> Cannot the public library really be the master force for democracy that Librarian of Congress McLeish says it is or should be?
>
> Cannot public buildings and streets and monuments do more to create an inspiring influence and atmosphere?
>
> Cannot town meetings and other official gatherings be marked by more dignity, more significance, more sentiment?
>
> Cannot all organizations of citizens more fully perform their primary fundamental duties as schools of citizenship, the universal profession?
>
> Cannot individuals come to realize to the full that there is no such thing as a private person, a person of himself, by himself, for himself?

Blanket Suspensions of State Labor Laws Opposed

Seven agencies of the federal government joined in a declaration early in January that long-time production has been aided by preserving state laws regulating hours and conditions of labor. These agencies were the War, Navy, and Labor Departments, the War Production Board, War Manpower Commission, Maritime Commission, and Office of Defense Transportation. They found no need of blanket suspension of labor standards in any of the states.

Billboard Regulation Aided in Vermont

The "right of view" possessed by an owner or occupant of land abutting on a highway does not include the right to display advertising matter, other than for a business conducted on the property, according to the Vermont Supreme Court in *Kelbro, Inc.* v. *Myrick*, decided early in January. The plaintiff, a billboard concern, had obtained an injunction against the Vermont Secretary of State, restraining him from removing certain of the plaintiff's billboards for violation of statutory provisions as to distance from the highway and highway intersections. The legislation was claimed to be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court dismissed the injunction. It emphasized that billboard advertising is more a matter of the use of public property—the highway—than of private property.

On a point of alleged discrimination by the legislature in favor of certain classes of billboard advertisers, the court said there was no inherent right to use the highways for commercial purposes, and the legislature could permit billboard advertising by some persons and not by others, for the general good of the public.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Communities Urged to Solve Postwar Problems

U. S. Chamber Calls Civic, Labor, Business Groups to Examine Future of Cities.

TO encourage communities throughout the country to examine their postwar futures, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has organized **The Conference Committee on Urban Problems.**

"The National Chamber undertook to set up this Conference Committee as a result of suggestions made in the first instance by men in the government," said F. Stuart Fitzpatrick, secretary of the Committee, at its first meeting in December.

"These men were very much concerned with the situation which will confront our cities following the war. They felt that non-governmental groups, professional, civic, business, and labor, could perform a useful work by encouraging through their local contacts in communities throughout the country the undertaking now of studies which would examine realistically the postwar possibilities in these communities for maintaining employment and providing useful outlets for investment funds."

Committee Membership

Chairman of the Committee is Mr. Leyton E. Carter, long known to REVIEW readers as secretary and director of the Cleveland Foundation. The Committee's secretary, Mr. Fitzpatrick, is manager of the Construction and Civic Development Department of the National Chamber.

Represented on the committee are more than seventy-five civic, business, labor and professional groups.

Outlining further the committee's field of interest Mr. Carter told the first meeting:

". . . While called together to discuss urban and related industry problems and developments from the point of view of employment and investment opportunities, we will concern ourselves only incidentally with the complex social, economic, and political factors which are involved in the proposals for adoption by this country of a full employment policy after the war. Our task is the more modest one of taking a look at our cities, which are admittedly in a traffic, housing, industrial, and financial tangle, and of seeing what we can agree on as to helpful measures to get them out of this tangle, having in mind two things:

Findings for Local Uses

"First, that we are aiming our suggestions at local organizations, and second, that we assume that in reaching suggested solutions for our urban problems we will be able to suggest important opportunities both for useful employment and for sound outlets for investment funds, private and public."

The opening session of the Committee considered problems cities will face in converting war industries to peace uses, in financing improved highway and street systems, and in providing needed community facilities including housing. Speakers were Thomas H. MacDonald, Commissioner, U. S. Public Roads Administration; Donald H. Davenport, Bureau of Labor Statistics; Dr. Glenn E. McLaughlin, Chief of the Industrial Section, National Resources Planning Board.

A program committee is being set up to plan an agenda for the future work and meetings of the Committee.

May Revive Wayne County Home Rule Campaign

Michigan voters last fall rejected an initiated constitutional amendment which would have provided home rule for Wayne County. The vote was so close, however, that an effort to resubmit the same or a like amendment in 1944 seems feasible. The brunt of the 1942 campaign for Wayne County home rule was carried by the State Committee for Proposal No. 2, Clarence E. Wilcox serving as chairman of a membership representative of all parts of the state. In addition, a number of citizens served as chairmen of specific county committees.

The state committee maintained headquarters with a campaign director and a supervisor. It forwarded instructions to the county chairmen. They were requested to organize county committees; to establish speakers' bureaus, to provide for a local publicity director, to contact local newspapers and radio programs, to arrange for distribution of literature, and to provide personal contacts with voters.

Local Groups Assisted

To assist local groups the state committee issued a mimeographed handbook for speakers and provided ample supplies of a brief pamphlet of handy pocket size. This leaflet contained a forceful, short, parallel statement of the existing county organization and the proposed principles of administration incorporated in the amendment. It was particularly effective as a follow-up to a five- or ten-minute talk before clubs and organizations. Of similar value was a publication of the League of Women Voters.

The state committee also supplied local committees with a series of five mimeographed press releases. These emphasized why Wayne County reorganization required a constitutional amendment, how the amendment was placed on the ballot by initiative petition, how current defects in Wayne County organization could be met within the terms of the amendment. The state committee also encouraged the work in local areas by seeking newspaper support, by using the radio and sending speakers and representatives on tours into particular areas.

One of the most useful efforts was the sending of 100,000 postal cards throughout the state over the personal signatures of residents of the Detroit area. Lack of funds, however, prevented the state committee from sending into the field a sufficient number of representatives and from maintaining adequate, active contacts with county chairmen. Exhaustion of campaign funds in the last two weeks proved fatal, for the opponents of Wayne County home rule redoubled their efforts during this period.

In Wayne County the state committee was fortunate in having the enthusiastic support of the metropolitan press. The daily, urban newspapers throughout the state gave good press space and editorial support to the campaign. Opposition was most frequently and strongly encountered among rural groups and rural weeklies.

Help from Washtenaw

In Washtenaw County a committee representative of the cities and villages in the county was organized. Specifically, Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, Milan, Manchester, and Chelsea were represented by the personnel of the Washtenaw County Committee on Home Rule for Wayne County. A member of the League of Women Voters, serving as one of Ann Arbor's members on the committee, acted as chairman of the speakers' bureau. Opportunities were secured for five-, ten-, and fifteen-minute talks before such organizations as the

Kiwanis Club, Lions Club, public school PTA's, women's clubs, organized labor, veterans, county and municipal employees. In addition to short talks before clubs and organizations, a more adequate discussion was presented in the Ann Arbor Community Forum.

The Washtenaw Committee wrote its own releases for local county newspapers, the chairman serving as publicity director. These local stories emphasized the geographical proximity of Washtenaw to Wayne and the importance of being good neighbors by helping Wayne County out of a serious dilemma. The *Ann Arbor News* gave good news space and substantial editorial support. The *Washtenaw Post-Tribune* invited the chairman of the campaign committee to write a "guest" editorial. The support of this newspaper was important because it reached farm and labor groups throughout the county. Material was sent to every newspaper, daily and weekly, in the county. The county affairs committee of the Ann Arbor Citizens' Council issued a concise statement supporting the Wayne County amendment. This report was carried in the press and in the *Citizens' News,* publication of the Council.

Rural-Urban Conflict

An analysis of the vote in Washtenaw County demonstrates the urban-rural difference of opinion. The cities of Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, as well as Ann Arbor Township, gave the amendment an overwhelming majority which the rural areas could not overcome. The vote in Washtenaw County was: Yes, 7,252; No, 5757, with some 75 per cent of those voting for governor casting ballots on the issue. The Ann Arbor Citizens' Council is readily geared through its committees and ward-representation groups to carry on an action campaign and the vote in this city was a two-and-a-half-to-one majority in favor of the amendment. However, opposition of the State Grange to Wayne County home rule carried more weight in rural Washtenaw townships than all the efforts of the citizen-action groups.

In spite of a reasonably well organized state campaign, the amendment was defeated by some 23,000 votes. The result must be judged in the light of previous efforts in 1934 and 1936 for home rule amendments. This campaign, unlike previous ones, almost carried to victory. Another day, perhaps 1944, should be another story, provided a better integrated and more comprehensive educational campaign is maintained throughout the state.

A. W. Bromage

University of Michigan

Civic Federation Surveys Promise Results in Chicago

The **Chicago Civic Federation** was incorporated in February 1894, and thus is among the older of the middle west's citizen-supported groups working for more effective local government. Its early activities were of a rather general nature, but as the years passed more and more of the attention of its staff was directed to the organic and financial aspects of Chicago's governments.

In 1932 the Federation and the **Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency,** which was established in 1910, merged. Both organizations had, for several years, been carrying on similar work and it was felt that greater results could be achieved more economically if they worked as one.

The best definition of the objectives of the Federation is that carried on its masthead:

> A citizen agency for promoting efficiency and economy in the organization and management of public business; for guarding against

wasteful expenditure of public funds and excessive taxes; and for furnishing the public with accurate information concerning governmental revenues and expenditures.

The organization is supported entirely by local taxpayers interested in more effective and economical government. Its governing board is made up of twenty-seven trustees selected for their knowledge of and interest in local affairs. The trustees elect from their own number a president, three vice-presidents, treasurer, and executive secretary. The first five of these officers form the executive committee which handles all routine matters. The assistant executive secretary is appointed by the trustees on the recommendation of the executive secretary.

In addition to officers and trustees, there is a large advisory committee. Its members participate in all trustee meetings. Technically they do not vote, but practically they have equal influence in determination of policy. Character, broad civic interest, and acquaintance with tax problems are primary considerations in choosing trustees and advisory committee members. A well balanced representation of all local taxpayer interest also is desired.

Whenever possible, it has been the policy of the Federation to work with elected officials to secure more effective and economical government. This has not meant that the recommendations of the Federation ever have been in any way dictated, or always fully agreed to, by the elected officials. The policy has resulted, however, in slow but sure improvement in many phases of local government.

During the period 1932-1938, the Federation's work was largely concerned with the financial aspects of Chicago's six local governing units—i.e., budgets, tax levies, accounting systems, audits, etc.

Administrative Study

Early in 1939 Mayor Kelly conferred with representatives of the Federation concerning the growing difficulties of the city's corporate fund. The Mayor expressed interest in the suggestion that an administrative study might develop possibilities of economies. The Federation was not in a position at that time to direct such a study. A year later, however, with the coöperation and financial assistance of the **Chicago Association of Commerce**, it became possible to inaugurate detailed studies of certain phases of the city's operations. This study was continued in 1941 with emphasis on the water fund and again in 1942 with particular attention devoted to the Bureau of Streets and to inspectional services. The staff was directed by the Civic Federation and reported to a survey committee composed of three representatives of the city and one man representing both the Association of Commerce and the Federation.

Direct reductions of about $1,000,000 in the 1941 corporate fund budget resulted from the staff's work in 1940 and another $1,000,000 might well be claimed as the indirect effect of the survey. Further economies of approximately $500,000 were achieved in 1942, although these were offset by increased appropriations for defense purposes. The final report on the city survey will lay the foundation for fundamental improvements for civil service, purchasing, and other administrative procedures.

Cook County, the Sanitary District of Chicago, and the Chicago Board of Education each appropriated sums of money in their 1941 budgets for administrative survey of their principal operating funds. Citizen members of the Survey Commission were nominated by the Chicago Association of Commerce and the Civic Federation. The Civic Federation was, in each instance, selected as the agency to supervise the carrying out of the detailed studies.

County Changes Needed

Cook County is—and will so remain until the state constitution can be amended—a whole conglomeration of governments within itself. Recommendations for a reduction of about $1,000,000 in personnel costs were largely ignored in 1942, but there is prospect that a large part of the survey program will be realized when the 1943 budget is passed. Already accomplished is a complete revision of the county's antiquated purchasing system. A modern compensation classification plan appears to have better than an even chance of success. Reduction or complete elimination of the county highway police has been one of the main points of contention in the county study.

Definite economies of $275,000 were achieved in the Board of Education survey on the basis of the preliminary report submitted late in 1942. The final report will be released shortly and it is hoped that fundamental improvements may be achieved.

The Civic Federation believes that the proper admixture of sound and tried theory, friendly contacts with officials, and the widest possible publicity and coöperation of citizen groups in presenting either facts or theories, will result in slow but sure improvement in our complicated local governmental setup.

Douglas Sutherland
Harland C. Stockwell

Civic Federation of Chicago

Civic League Urges Voters to Take Part in Politics

The **Civic League of Westchester** (Westchester County, New York) has appointed a Committee on Self-Government which will seek to find the reason for the lack of interest in local government, and to encourage citizens to participate in the selection and election of candidates for office.

Before the fall registration days the League published a full page "Political Primer" in the Westchester County newspapers. It urged every citizen to enroll in a party, to begin at the bottom and work with his district leader, or to go farther and become a district leader, infusing new blood into both parties.

Information for Voters

A list of the sources of political information available to the average voter was published; on the page also appeared a complete list of the elected officials of the county, with spaces to fill in local officials of the villages and cities. Westchester officers, town chairmen, and the members of the State Committees of both the Republican and Democratic parties also were given.

The tenor of the primer is embodied in the closing sentence: "Democracy is probably the most important moral and social enterprise that mankind has ever attempted. If it is to survive we must not only feel democracy emotionally, but every American must actually participate in its practical accomplishment."

The Committee feels that the "Political Primer" was well received, but that the voter needs continual stimulation to arouse his interest in local politics. The average citizen seems to feel that American democracy is a miraculous institution that will keep on living and functioning without any attention on the part of those for whom it is designed.

The committee plans to continue its work, for it is only when the public is jarred into action again and again, year after year, that individuals participate to make the party system represent the citizens.

The "Political Primer" statistics show what a small minority controls nominations and elections in Westchester County as well as in the nation. The Committee felt the Primer would serve as a starter to stimulate further inquiry and study; unfortunately interest seems to be shown primarily by those who were already active in party work. Evidently an even simpler analysis of the basic fundamentals of representative government must be given in easy doses to John Doe.

For example: Are you an enrolled member of your political party? Do you know your election district leader? Do you realize that your district leader is your representative in the political convention that controls nominations? Are you willing to be a district leader yourself? Why shouldn't you know your district leader and your party officers just as you know members of the American Legion, the school board, the church vestry, the Girl and Boy Scouts, or the members of the social organizations in which you take an interest? How can you expect your government to work in a truly representative fashion if you and your friends pay no attention to it? This is the type of question that needs asking and answering.

Why don't we start in our schools and in our homes to make it logical, normal, and natural for us all to know and take part in the politics of our government?

Certainly, we can't have and won't have a democratic form of government if the voters continue to "leave it to the politicians" and take no interest themselves.

Allan Coggeshall, *Chairman*
Committee on Self Government
Civic League of Westchester

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Knox County, Tennessee, Reorganization Delayed

Citizens temporarily defeated in efforts for new charter

THE PEOPLE of Knox County, Tennessee, apparently will have to wait at least another two years before they will have opportunity to vote on a plan to modernize their county government. The Knox County legislative delegation, chosen in the November general election, has indicated that it will not introduce a bill calling for a referendum on the question of reorganization. Among the reasons advanced for delaying a vote on the proposed plan were (1) the present system is satisfactory, and (2) during a war is no time to change the governmental structure. One candidate expressed opposition to the proposal on the ground that no changes should be made in the county government when so many young men are away at war and thus unable to vote!

The government of Knox County has all the defects found in other Tennessee counties as well as some of its own. It has been characterized as "an unimproved governmental grist-mill which has long been hopelessly out of date, inefficient and uneconomical." A Quarterly County Court, composed of justices of the peace elected from civil districts, constitutes its central governing body. This body of thirty-eight members is too large and unwieldy for effective action. Because of its size, there has been a tendency to divide its work among some eighteen paid committees, a practice which disperses responsibility and weakens control by the people.

Since 1937 the government of Knox County has been complicated further by the establishment of a second governing body, a Board of County Commissioners. This board, consisting of three commissioners elected by the people, is virtually independent of the Quarterly County Court as to certain designated legislative and administrative functions including highways, health, public welfare, and some financial matters. While the legislation creating the Board of County Commissioners may have been well intentioned, it has not worked out in practice. As pointed out by Griffenhagen and Associates, in their survey of Knox County government in 1940, the Board "was superimposed on the antiquated organization already in existence. The transfer of functions from the old organization to the new was not expertly done. The lines of cleavage were not well drawn, nor were provisions for concerted action between the old and new well established. Jagged scars of overlapping jurisdiction and duplicated powers were left, as well as broad areas in which failures to provide for unification of effort leave gaps in the structure. On the whole, what may have been a worthy effort operated to confound the confusion already existing."

Modified Manager Plan Proposed

Provisions of the Tennessee constitution requiring election of the sheriff, justices of the peace, trustees, and other county officials seriously handicap efforts to improve Knox County's government.[1] It is impossible under the constitution to abolish the Quarterly County Court and substitute another legislative body elected from the county at large. The judicial courts have held, however, that certain changes can be effected in the Court through state legislation. Hence while constitutional changes remain a necessary prerequisite to thorough-going reorganization it is nevertheless possible to secure some improvements through legislative action.

Under the proposed county reorganization bill for Knox County, the following improvements would be effected:

1. The Board of County Commissioners would be abolished and all county affairs vested in the hands of the Quarterly County Court. The size of the Court would be reduced from thirty-eight to five members.

2. The Quarterly County Court would be required to appoint a county executive who would serve as administrative head and be responsible for administration of all county affairs under jurisdiction of the County Court. The county executive would be appointed with regard to merit only and would serve at the pleasure of the court. All administrative officials whose election is not required by the constitution would be made appointive; such appointments to be made by the county executive subject to civil service regulations.

3. The functions of the county would be departmentalized. A department of finance would be established and made responsible for administration of the budget, for assessment of property for taxation, and for centralized purchasing and accounting. Furthermore, an annual outside audit of the books of each office of the county handling county funds would be required, a practice now followed by only a few

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[1] See Howard P. Jones, "Constitutional Barriers to Improvement in County Government," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, August 1932, Supplement.

Tennessee counties.[2]

4. Other departments would include a department of highways and public works with responsibility for construction, improvement, and maintenance of highways and other public works; a department of health and welfare with control over all health and welfare activities; and such other departments as may be required.

While the people of Knox County have been defeated temporarily in their efforts to secure improved and more economical government, it seems certain the issue is not dead. Improvement in the governmental structure of Knox and other Tennessee counties cannot be delayed indefinitely. When the people become sufficiently conscious of the waste and inefficiency now practiced, the "exponents of the status quo" will no longer be able to prevent adoption of improved methods of government.

M. H. SATTERFIELD
Tennessee Valley Authority

Kenosha County, Wisconsin, Builds Fire Cisterns

Kenosha County, Wisconsin, is building a county-wide system of fire cisterns for protection of rural communities having inadequate water supplies, according to a recent report of the American Municipal Association. Eighteen cisterns, one to a village, will be constructed. They will be placed in areas where buildings are clustered in order to make it possible to protect all points of the rural community by pumping directly from the cistern. The cisterns also will be convenient refill stations for tank trucks in fighting fires beyond the central community.

The cisterns will be built of reinforced concrete completely underground with only the manhole cover visible. They may be filled from nearby wells or by rain water from roofs of nearby buildings. Most of the cisterns will be located on private property with easements obtained from the land owners.

Six More Counties Adopt Merit System

Six more county governments will operate under the merit system as a result of affirmative votes in the November elections, the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada announced recently. They are Wayne County, Michigan (Detroit), St. Louis County, Minnesota (Duluth), Ramsey County, Minnesota[1] (St. Paul), San Mateo County, California, Burlington and Warren Counties, New Jersey.

In the large counties, namely Wayne, St. Louis, and Ramsey with populations exceeding 200,000 each, the newly adopted merit system will embrace 4500, 800, and 300 employees respectively. Wayne County's system will be administered by the county, but the remainder will make greater use of state civil service machinery.

The number of counties under the merit system now totals 226.

Wayne County to Continue Home Rule Fight

That Wayne County, Michigan, will try again for home rule is the hope of those taking active part in the recent campaign, lost by a narrow margin. An interesting account of that campaign, and prospects for the future, are described by Dr. A. W. Bromage, of the University of Michigan, on page 105 of this issue.

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[2] See M. H. Satterfield, *County Government and Administration in the Tennessee Valley States,* Government Printing Office, Washington, 1940, pp. 43-46.

[1] See also "Two Minnesota Counties Adopt Merit System," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1942, pp. 44-45.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Will Higher Federal Taxes Depress Local Collections?

City officials prepare for possible slump in receipts

ONE of the most troublesome problems facing local officials as they prepared their 1943 budgets was that of forecasting probable revenues, and especially that of trying to determine what effects the higher rates and broadened scope of the federal income taxes would have on local property tax collections. Budgets which have thus far become available for analysis indicate a very general feeling that local collections will be adversely affected, but there is little agreement, apparently, as to how much of a reduction will be experienced.

One factor of some importance is how well—or how poorly—the local tax collection calendar coincides with the dates for initial and quarterly payments of the federal income tax. Where the first, or final, delinquency date on local property levies falls before March 15, there is some disposition to feel that no very great changes in local collection trends will occur until later on. Where, however, the local levy becomes delinquent, either in whole or in part, shortly after March 15, or later in the year, more anxiety is evident.

Concern is also felt in communities where a considerable portion of the property tax is paid by middle-income group homeowners, as in a number of the more substantial residential suburbs adjacent to large metropolitan centers. Increased income in this group has not been general, or has not been in proportion to the increased earnings of working-class communities, and there is considerable fear that the higher federal levies will drastically affect property taxpaying ability.

In all situations there is evident also a conviction that large numbers of federal income taxpayers, both new and old, have not yet determined approximately or exactly what their federal income tax will be. As the date for filing federal returns nears, and calculations are made, these taxpayers are expected in many instances to suffer a rude shock. Finding that the amount due the federal government is much more than they had anticipated, and with inadequate or no accumulations to meet the federal tax, these laggards are expected to meet the federal payments by letting their local property taxes go delinquent.

To what extent these fears will prove well grounded will of course not be evident until after March 15, at the earliest, and little conclusive evidence will be in hand until near the end of the year. It appears to this column, however, that some of the more extreme expectations will not materialize.

In the first place, it is believed that few homeowners will be found in the class of the laggards who have not yet informed themselves as to the prospective amounts they will owe the federal government this year. While homeowners as a class are admittedly not financial wizards—else many of them would never have crawled under the mortgage burdens they willingly assumed in the 1920's—they are accustomed in the main to figuring tax and mortgage payments and to making advance provision for the payments. Making the provision will not be easy, of course, and the big danger is that the concessions and indulgences granted to delinquent taxpayers in the 1930's may have loosened the moral fibre and determination to pay on the part of some of these.

In the second place, it is to be remembered that the bulk of the property tax, except in a few special cases, is paid not by homeowners but by business, industrial, and real estate operators. The larger of these customarily provide reserves in advance for all their tax obligations, and may be expected to do so except in cases where the businesses are actually insolvent or are being liquidated because of war restrictions diminishing their volume of trade. In war boom communities—of which there are a considerable number—even the little fellows among the business and corporate taxpayers will probably face no insurmountable difficulties in meeting their tax obligations.

Finally, it must be observed that few taxpayers who own property subject to local ad valorem rates will fail to discover that property taxes are a deductible item in figuring their federal taxes. In former years, with the federal rates moderate, the value of this deduction was often nominal and sometimes non-existent. Now, however, with the personal exemption low and the initial rates high, every dollar of property tax paid represents as a minimum a saving of nineteen cents in federal income tax, with the saving proportionately greater as the surtax rates increase.

Every property taxpayer will of course have to figure out for himself just how much the deduction of his property taxes is worth to him, but it is evident that the saving if property taxes are paid will be a great incentive to meeting the payment, even by resort to borrowing. This will be particularly true when it is observed that in the postwar period, when federal income tax rates descend from their wartime peak, the deduction value of payments clearing up delinquencies will be much less than the present value of keeping property taxes current.

Lucrative Investment Proposed for Cities

In the closing days of the Seventy-seventh Congress a bill with interesting possibilities for local government units was introduced by Congressman Alfred F. Beiter of New York. The bill (H. R. 7867), directs the treasury to establish a special series of war savings bonds for sale to states, local units, the territories, and the insular possessions, with the object of providing an investment outlet for funds presently being accumulated for postwar public works. The bonds would be sold on a discount basis, and would mature in five years, with interest, price, and redemption value to be such that the yield would be 4 per cent if held to maturity or if cashed after the end of the war and 3½ per cent if cashed during the war or before maturity. The bonds would be neither transferable nor negotiable.

Proposed Yield a Subsidy

A yield of 4 per cent, or even 3½ per cent, is so far above anything which local units—or anyone else, for that matter—can presently secure in first grade securities that the bill will surely have wide support among local officials. As a matter of fact, such high yields might very well fit into a comprehensive program of planning for postwar public works, since they are sufficiently high to constitute a direct subsidy to local government.

This subsidy would be evident to all officials and taxpayers—especially when it is remembered that much of the Treasury's financing is done at 1½ per cent to 1¾ per cent, and the widely sold series E War Savings Bonds, which carry the highest interest of any U. S. issues now being sold, carry but 2.9

per cent if held to maturity. And being evident and substantial, it might well serve as an incentive and stimulus to the accumulation of funds now for use later. To this extent passage of the bill would serve a highly useful purpose, although of course the use of the bonds locally would depend on a number of other factors.

Treasury Opposition

Considerable opposition to the bill—which Mr. Beiter intends to reintroduce in the new Congress—may of course be expected from the Treasury, which understandably wants to borrow money to finance the war at the lowest possible cost and would certainly be reluctant to establish precedent for interest rates higher than those now prevailing. This reluctance might well be concurred in by the Congress after some deliberation, and it is certain that many local officials would view with alarm any action which would tend to break through the present interest rate ceilings as influenced by rates on federal obligations.

Local government taxpayers have, after all, a very considerable stake in maintaining low-cost public borrowing; they have profited by it tremendously during the last ten years, both to finance capital projects and to refund old obligations at lower interest rates, and they will have increasing need of low-cost borrowing during the postwar years. If a special, high-yield, Treasury issue for local governments such as Mr. Beiter proposes served to drive the initial wedge into existing interest levels and start an upward movement which became general by the time cities were again entering the money market to finance postwar relief programs and public works, the subsidy inherent in a present 4 per cent yield would be lost many times over.

Census Bureau Revises City Reporting

It has been noted here previously that in recent years the usefulness of the Census Bureau's *Financial Statistics of Cities* has been progressively enhanced by a more realistic attitude toward the actualities of municipal finance and the recognition that local financial transactions couldn't be added into a few grand totals and still be meaningful.

Beginning with the volume for 1937, prepared under the direction of Mr. C. E. Rightor as chief statistician of the Division of State and Local Government, a number of much needed changes were made, including conspicuously the segregation of those transactions for public service enterprises from those for purely governmental purposes. In the preliminary report on 1941,[1] with Mr. E. R. Gray now chief statistician, further desirable changes are made.

The new report preserves the segregation of public service enterprises, and introduces—although incompletely as yet—a segregation of so-called long term debt on the same basis. A few cities—ten out of the ninety-two of over 100,000 covered—do not have records making it possible to set up complete group totals showing separately net long-term debt incurred for governmental purposes and the net incurred for public service enterprises; it is to be hoped that in another year the Division will solve the problem of how to estimate the share of lumped sinking funds which may be fairly held applicable to general purpose debt in the case of the few cities where adequate sinking fund records are not presently kept.

The real innovation this year is the elimination from the general government section of trust funds. Heretofore, the totals shown as governmental revenues have included trust fund receipts. As any one who takes the trouble to think about it knows, such receipts are revenues of trust funds, but are by their very nature not governmental revenues of the unit receiving them. Nonetheless, these items have been added in heretofore, inflating the total of "city revenue."

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[1] *Financial Statistics of Cities: 1941.* Volume 3—preliminary. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. December 31, 1942.

Another change is in the treatment of payments on debt. Heretofore, only interest payments have been shown as an expenditure. In the data for 1941, provision for debt retirement is included and shown. With this addition, the data begin to take on a completeness previously lacking.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Governor Edison Joins P. R. Council

Manager—P. R. Proposal in New York City Council

GOVERNOR Charles Edison of New Jersey has accepted the invitation of the trustees of the Proportional Representation League (now functioning as a department of the National Municipal League) to serve as a member of the P. R. League's Advisory Council. His reply to the invitation says, "I am glad to accept because I have long been interested in the principle of proportional representation."

Governor Edison's public sponsorship is peculiarly appropriate and helpful to P. R. at the present time because of his active leadership in the movement for a new constitution in the state of New Jersey. Advocates of P. R. in that state are hopeful that constitutional revision will at least remove present possible barriers to future adoptions.

A list of the present officers and council members of the P. R. League will be found at the end of this department.

Manager Plan Urged to Go with New York's P. R.

Councilman Louis Cohen of the Bronx, who has been the most active opponent of P. R. in New York City, has withdrawn from the attack, temporarily at least, and come forward with a proposal that, since the people of New York have expressed a preference for P. R., they should have also its customary associate, the city manager plan.

At the first council meeting of the new year he introduced the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, informed opinion based upon exhaustive study by unbiased civic organizations has led to the general conclusion that the so-called council-manager form of municipal government is the best device for the economical and businesslike administration of city government, and

"WHEREAS, the experience with this form of city government in over five hundred cities in the United States has been satisfactory, and

"WHEREAS, in numerous instances this form of municipal government has been found to produce most satisfactory results when coupled with a council elected by proportional representation, and

"WHEREAS, the council-manager form of municipal government is widely recognized as a peculiarly American contribution to the theory of local government, and

"WHEREAS, by amendments to the charter of the City of New York, in effect January 1, 1938, that charter erected a municipal governmental structure peculiarly adaptable to the council-manager form of city government, and

"WHEREAS, notwithstanding the reforms in city government effected by said charter amendments the ultimate in efficiency and economy in the government of the City of New York has not as yet been attained, and

"WHEREAS, thorough study of the council-manager form of municipal government should be undertaken to determine its adaptability to the peculiar problems of the operation of the government of the City of New York and should be initiated under the auspices of an authoritative governmental agency in said city and should result in an informative report to such agency and to the taxpayers of said city to determine what changes, if any, should be made to the charter of the City of New York to effect better administration of and further economies in the government of said city; now therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, that the Council of the City of New York does hereby direct that there be appointed by the Rules Committee of said Council, with the approval of said Council, a committee of fifteen persons to investigate the adaptability of the council-manager form of municipal government to the City of New York and to report back to the said Council, on or before the 18th day of May, 1943, on the desirability of amending the charter of the City of New York to effect such change in the governmental structure of said city or to recommend any changes in the said charter to effectuate a more economical and businesslike administration of the government of said city, said committee to include five members of the City Council."

In a release accompanying the introduction of the resolution Mr. Cohen developed the advantages of the manager plan further and commented on the fact that in this country "New York City is the only city that does not have a city manager form of government where the council is elected by proportional representation. Similarly, New York City is the only city where the powers of the city council in matters of appropriation, etc., are severely restricted and curtailed."

When the charter revision commission was working on the draft of the present charter in 1936 most of the leading civic bodies recommended the combination of the manager plan and P. R. which is used in the other American P. R. cities, but the manager plan part of the recommendation was rejected by the commission, partly because P. R. was being submitted as a separate question and its adoption could not be taken for granted.

Because the New York City Council was given far less power than the councils of other P. R. cities, it has received less attention from the voters at election time. In consequence the beneficial results of P. R., though striking in comparison to results in the old Board of Aldermen, have been less extensive than in most of the cities where the council has been given full control over the city government.

Annual P. R. Meeting Omitted

Because of the request of the federal government that conventions be omitted wherever possible to conserve transportation facilities, and the decision of the National Municipal League, with which the P. R. League has always met in recent years, not to hold its annual convention, no meeting of the Proportional Representation League was held in 1942.

With the sufferance of the League's members the trustees of the P. R. League, whose terms would normally have expired with an annual election in the fall of 1942, will continue to function until another meeting and election can be held. The fact that all the trustees have been re-elected each year without contest for several years past makes it seem likely that this emergency expedient will be generally acceptable.

Voting membership in the P. R. League is open without extra dues to all members in good standing in the National Municipal League. Applications should be sent to the P. R. League's assistant secretary and treasurer, Elsie S. Parker, at the National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York.

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William Allen White, Emporia, Kan.
Charles H. Woodward, Philadelphia

Books in Review

Edited by **ELSIE S. PARKER**

Tax Yields: 1941. Compilation of Tax Collection Statistics for 1941 with Preliminary Tax Data for 1942. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. xi, 184 pp. 150 tables, 57 charts, $2.50.

This is the fifth in the annual series of compilations of state tax collection statistics prepared by the Tax Institute (formerly the Tax Policy League). The volume presents, in addition to the usual annual data for the last completed fiscal year, a month-to-month comparison of state tax collections for the first five months of 1941 and 1942. Also included, and of special interest to students of taxation at the local level, is a chapter, "Effect of the War on Local Revenues," wherein finance officers of nine cities discuss revenue collection trends for the forepart of 1942 and their expectations for 1943. As in the last several volumes, federal tax collections since 1913 are also detailed, and data are presented for the territories.

An innovation this year in the setup of the volume is the presentation of statistics for each state in a separate section, facing tables and a graph providing the data on a two-page spread so as to obviate the necessity of turning to one table for income tax yields, another for amusement tax yields, etc.

The treatment of governmental revenues which do not fall into the "tax" classification or which the tax economist finds it difficult to classify as tax or non-tax continues troublesome in this volume as in the past. Certain "non-tax" revenues are again excluded and state liquor monopoly profits are again carried in footnotes to the tables and excluded from state totals. This, although by count state liquor store profits produced more than the third most productive **tax** in three states and more than the fourth most productive **tax** in seven states. Perhaps in a future volume the Gordian knot will be cut, and the effort to hold to the tenuous distinction between tax and non-tax revenues abandoned in favor of the fiscally more satisfactory setup where all governmental revenues might be included and all non-governmental or proprietary revenues excluded.

In the meantime, however, those more interested in the fiscal aspects of state collections than in the tax aspects can rely on the footnotes, in a volume which in its broad execution continues excellent.

W. S. S.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Administration

Dynamic Administration. The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett. Edited by Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1942. 320 pp. $3.50.

County Government

Modernizing County Government. Portland, Oregon League of Women Voters, 1942. 21 pp.

Crime

Crime—The Causes and Extent of Criminal Behavior; Its Prevention and Treatment. By Thorsten Sellin and Paul R. Busey. Washington, D. C., National Association of Secondary School Principals and National Council for the Social Studies, departments of National Education Association, 1942. 64 pp. 30 cents.

Democracy

Teacher Education in a Democracy at War. By Edward S. Evenden. Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1942. vii, 118 pp. 75 cents.

The High School's Obligation to Democracy. The report of a Special Committee. Ann Arbor, Michigan, Classical Association of the Middle West and South, 1942. 16 pp. 10 cents.

Highways

New Hampshire Rural Towns' Comparative Road Burdens and Road Services. By W. Robert Parks and John C. Holmes. Durham, New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station, University of New Hampshire, 1942. 50 pp.

Housing

An Appraisal Technique for Urban Problem Areas as a Basis for Housing Policy of Local Governments. Illustrative Results from Three Test Surveys. A Report of the Subcommittee on Appraisal of Residential Areas, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, and American Public Health Association. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. 28 pp. 10 cents.

Law Enforcement

Law Enforcement in Missouri—A Decade of Centralization and Central Control in Apprehension and Prosecution (1931-1941). By J. G. Heinberg and A. C. Breckenridge. Columbia, University of Missouri, 1942. 77 pp. $1.25.

Local Government

The Challenge to Local Government. Round Table Radio Discussion by W. H. Blucher, M. C. Krueger, and W. W. Wyatt. Chicago, University of Chicago, 1942. 26 pp. 10 cents.

Report of the Department of Local Government, State of New Jersey, for the Year 1941. By Walter R. Darby. Trenton, Department of Local Government, 1942. xvi, 598 pp.

Manpower

Manpower. A Summary of the British Experience. By Eric H. Biddle. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1942. viii, 28 pp. 75 cents.

Municipal Government

Municipal Government and the War. Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Conference, Chicago, October 21, 22, 23, 1942. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1942. v, 101 pp. $1.

One Year's Experience of American Cities at War. A Report by the Committee on Wartime Legal Problems of Cities. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1942. 104 pp. $3.

Personnel

The Occupational Research Program of the United States Employment Service. Including a Report from the Technical Board for the Occupational Research Program to the Secretary of Labor and to the National Research Council, Social Science Research Council, National Occupational Conference, American Youth Commission, and Spelman Fund of New York. By William H. Stead and W. Earl Masincup. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1942. xlvii, 219 pp.

Planning

A Selected List of Recent British Official Publications on Planning. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1942. 1 p.

Postwar Planning

Economic Problems of the Postwar World. Democratic Planning for Full Employment. By Alvin H. Hansen and

Laurence E. Leamer. Washington, D. C., National Association of Secondary School Principals and National Council for the Social Studies, Departments of the National Education Association, 1942. 64 pp. 30 cents.

International Economic Development—Public Works and Other Problems. By Lewis L. Lorwin. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1942. iv, 111 pp. 30 cents. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

The Modern Government in Action. By Ernest S. Griffith. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1942. vii, 91 pp. $1.

Relief for Europe. The First Phase of Reconstruction. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1942. 59 pp. 25 cents.

State Government

Reorganization Report, State of Montana. Submitted to the Twenty-eighth Legislative Assembly by Governor Sam C. Ford. Helena, 1943. 132 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Federal Tax Legislation in 1942. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Fiscal Controls in Wyoming. A Critical Study of Accounting, Budgeting, Reporting, and Purchasing Methods for State Government in Wyoming. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1942. 36 pp.

Governmental Debt in the United States: 1942. By Lynden Mannen. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1942. 15 pp.

A Program for the Use of Tax-Abandoned Lands. Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, 1942. viii, 38 pp. 50 cents.

A Spendings Tax. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Tax-Reverted Properties in Urban Areas. By A. M. Hillhouse and Carl H. Chatters. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1942. viii, 183 pp. $2.50.

Transportation

Meeting Wartime Demands for Passenger Transportation in the New York-New Jersey Metropolitan Area. New York City, Regional Plan Association, 1942. 16 pp. 25 cents.

Local Transportation—War Bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1942. 30 pp.

War and Defense

Paying for the War. By Chester D. Babcock, Eber Jeffery, and Archie W. Troelstrup. Washington, D. C., National Council for the Social Studies, a department of the National Education Association, 1942. 69 pp. 30 cents.

Public Documents and World War II. Papers presented before the Committee on Public Documents, American Library Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 23 and 25, 1942. Edited by Jerome K. Wilcox. Chicago, American Library Association, 1942. 119 pp. $2.

Together We Serve. Voluntary Agencies and the War Program. By Olga Jones. Washington, D. C., U. S. Office of Education, 1942. 22 pp. 15 cents. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

U. S. Government Publications and the War. A Selected List. By Carl H. Melinat. Chicago, American Library Association, 1942. 23 pp. 25 cents.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Pay as You Go in City Taxes
Editorial

My Life As a Spy
Anonymous

Rent Control Stands Test
Dorothy Rosenman

Two Strikes; Home Run!
Harold F. McClelland and Laurence N. Woodworth

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Herman C. Loeffler

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

League Personalities in New Activities

Howard P. Jones, secretary of the National Municipal League since 1933, and a member of the League staff since 1929, has been appointed Deputy State Comptroller of New York in charge of the augmented Division of Municipal Affairs. The appointment was made by Frank C. Moore, newly-elected State Comptroller in the Dewey administration. Mr. Jones, who has had long experience with municipal finance problems in connection with the preparation of the League's model fiscal laws, as research director for the New York State Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws, as lecturer at the American Institute of Banking, professor at Columbia University, and in other capacities, has resigned from the New York State Civil Service Commission, a post he has held since 1939.

John N. Edy, honorary vice-president and former member of the Council of the League, has been appointed the first city manager of Houston, Texas, which began operation under the council-manager form of government January 1. Mr. Edy, who resigned as assistant commissioner for administration of the Federal Housing Authority to accept the Houston position, had previously served as city manager of Dallas, Berkeley, and Toledo.

E. N. Thompson, the League's assistant secretary, is serving as a member of the Conference Committee on Urban Problems, called by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States to consider postwar problems of our cities. On the Committee are representatives of a cross section of non-governmental groups in the civic, professional, business, and labor fields. It will work as a clearing house to stimulate and encourage responsible organizations in local communities.

League Loses Three Prominent Leaders

Frank L. Polk, distinguished statesman, lawyer, and former president of the National Municipal League, died on February 7 at his home in New York City. Mr. Polk was president of the League and chairman of the League's Council from 1923 to 1927. During his long career of public service he had been Undersecretary of State in the cabinet of President Woodrow Wilson, a member of the Board of Education and the Municipal Civil Service Commission of New York City, in addition to carrying many other responsibilities. He was actively engaged in his law practice until a week before his death at seventy-one.

A. Lawrence Lowell, president emeritus of Harvard University and author of many books on government and politics, died January 6, 1943, at Boston, Massachusetts. Dr. Lowell was long associated with the League, serving at various times as a member of the Council and as a vice-president.

Horace D. Taft, founder and for forty-six years headmaster of the Taft School for Boys at Watertown, Connecticut, died January 29 at the age of eighty-one. Like other members of his family, he was actively interested in governmental improvement problems. He was a member of the National Municipal League and from 1936 to 1939 was president of the Connecticut Merit System Association.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Pay As You Go in City Taxes

DURING the current scramble for the taxpayer's money it would be provident for cities which have not already done so to consider the advisability of placing their own taxpayers on some kind of pay-as-you-go basis.

Payrolls and other municipal obligations are met constantly during the year, once a month or oftener. It would be much more convenient for both governments and taxpayers if municipal income were spaced at similar intervals. It should be as easy for cities as it is for public utilities to submit their bills once a month.

Many smartly run cities have long since provided for the payment of real estate taxes in two, four, six and even twelve installments. The trend has been in that direction for some years. It should be hastened.

Although tax delinquency has been decreasing, it is quite possible that this situation might undergo a change for the worse because of greatly increased federal taxes withheld at frequent intervals at the source of income. An entire generation has been educated away from the idea of saving in anticipation of major purchases and obligations and has become accustomed to the installment plan. The old custom of paying real property and other local taxes once a year is based on nothing but habit. Our cities, as well as the federal government, must be kept in sound condition for they are the homes and custodians of our vast industrial system.

Why the People Don't Trust Politicians

THE lower house of the Indiana legislature recently voted down the proposal to submit to the people a constitutional amendment which would give cities an opportunity to modernize their governments.[1]

Clearly there was sinister and cynical politics at the heart of this move. Two years ago the same house voted unanimously to submit the amendment. This fact probably tended to disarm the strong citizen groups such as the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the League of Women Voters which were leading the home rule fight.

The crux of the matter is that two *consecutive* legislatures must approve before an amendment may be submitted to the people. So now the good government forces must start all over again.

As the *Post-Tribune* of Gary, Indiana, remarked editorially, "Pressure by 'practical politicians' is the only possible answer." The "practical politicians" were the organized mayors of the state, many of whom were in a position to crack the whip over representatives from their areas. It is worthy of note, however, that some Indiana mayors clung to their independence and refused to go along with the trick.

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[1] See also p. 149.

The quality of the oratory with which the assassins of the resolution sought to justify their act was illuminating, although not in the way those who spouted it intended. The measure was described by one as a "damnable thing, born in sin and raised in iniquity." He said: "It attacks the vitals of our democratic constitution. It is anything but home rule. A city manager would be just a front man for some sinister group."

If he is right, then the constitutions of the large majority of our states are in rather bad shape and the 572 cities now using the council-manager form of government, most of them with notable success, are simply fooling themselves.

The obvious truth, of course, is that the politicians have sabotaged a simple proposition to permit each city to decide for itself what form of government it wants. The politicians are afraid of losing their hold on the situation. And well they might be, for they can remember that it was Indianapolis, their state's principal city, which adopted the council-manager plan by the record majority of six to one, only to have its victory nullified by court action.

Now the test will lie in whether the good government forces will follow through with a campaign to defeat the legislators who did this thing, and who presumably will be difficult to defeat because their recent action has won them the support of their local political leaders, the mayors.

By Way of Contrast

FORTUNATELY there are places where political leadership is very different from the Indiana type. Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota recently served notice on Minneapolis that it could strengthen its plea for increased state aid for education and welfare if it would modernize its administrative organization by adopting the council-manager plan. The *Minneapolis Star-Journal,* in supporting the Governor's position, doubts that any legislature will grant the increases asked unless the city acts to "clear up the whole financial and governmental morass into which years of archaic and decentralized administration have led us."

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

My Life As a Spy

True confessions of an "administrative analyst" in a large federal agency.

ANONYMOUS

PUBLIC administration has lately looked with increasing favor on an amiable institution known as the "administrative analyst." The theory is that a bright young hopeful with a good background in public administration and government is the ideal instrument for making procedural surveys which will aid the busy administrator in increasing efficiency in his own "shop."

The administrative analyst, so the classificationists believe, can see the forest better than the executive who is surrounded by the trees. Armed with a tool kit full of principles of public administration, he is supposed to represent himself to subadministrators as a kind of roving handyman who will be glad to help find procedural leaks and make recommendations for the patching thereof. Everything is to be on the friendliest basis possible, runs the theory, and the advent of the analyst is to be welcomed by the administrator as a means of helping him do the job better.

How optimistic is this theory! Its only flaw is its omission of that little feature known as the human element. I know. I am an administrative analyst.

The agency for whose interests I strive from 8:30 to 5, not including Sundays, is some two hundred strong, a young giant which has recently grown up from a dwarf of sixty due to a liberal infusion of wartime hormones. I was brought in by a man who was himself brought in by the Washington central office to act as broom in the great reorganization. My chief job, I was told on my auspicious first day, was to help effect the transition from littleness to bigness. Just as the small town grown suddenly to a great community from an influx of war workers must discard informality and handwritten records and turn to machine bookkeeping and mechanized procedures, so my agency had to be assisted in a similar transition.

My first assignment was a survey of a division of the agency whose complaint was overloading and understaffing. From the outset the division head was opposed to my injection into his overworked little family. Perversely he rejected the explanation that I was to "help" him overcome the problem of his large work load. I was an outsider, it was clear from his stubborn expression. He tolerated me, but that was all.

My investigation cheered me considerably. It was obvious that the understaffing was simply illusion. Certainly there was plenty of work, but it could be handled, given the tonic of more logical division of the work load. Gleefully I ticked off the violated public administration principles on my mental check list. No specialization of labor. No filing system. No check on output. Uneconomical use of personnel. Illogical use of space. The textbooks could have used the place as an example of how not to do. Compassionately, I descended upon the division head and told him—with real tact, I maintain!—how he could keep his staff from working till midnight and still do the job.

I waited for congratulations.

But the human being I was dealing with was, unfortunately, a human being. "Young lady," he said, "I have been in this business for twenty years."

That was the gist of his rebuttal. It was clear that, in his mind, principles of public administration be damned. It's seniority that counts.

My boss got the story and was comforting. "Never fear," he said, in effect, "your recommendations will percolate in his mind and then he'll adopt them as his own ideas."

A week later there was, indeed, a phenomenal increase in the output in the accounts division. The Big Chief heard about it and was on the point of putting a laurel wreath on the proud head of the administrative analyst. The only trouble is that the administrative analyst's head is more bloody than proud. Privately, I know that my study had precious little to do with the improvement. It was simply a case of working till 2 A.M. instead of midnight!

My next great venture was into the lair of the professionals, that proud group who boasted of eating red tape for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. Prima donnas all, their approach to their work was as the musician to his art—it was practically mystic. I found, paradoxically, that these demons for getting things done had wound themselves up in a net of signatures. Papers were passed from one to the other and solemnly and meaninglessly initialed. No document emerged from the sancta sanctoria until it was dog-eared from the trip and as thoroughly surnamed as a schoolboy's slicker.

They Don't Want Freedom

I was jubilant with the discovery. How they must hate all this signing, I said to myself. I shall be as Lincoln and the slaves: I shall free them!

Free them! Such a howl arose as could be heard almost to the White House. The great artists' prerogatives had been threatened! They were being denied access to valuable papers. Things were being kept from them. It was practically a conspiracy to keep them from knowing what was going on.

Their signatures were restored. Some day one of them is going to sign his own dismissal papers. He will not know the difference. There is a legend that one of them once signed a tissue copy of Lewis Carroll's "Jabberwocky."

My next adventure was with the labor problem. Stenographers were not to be had, and some divisions were crying for assistance. Why not make a survey, ferret out those spots where, inevitably, the girls were not as overloaded as they might be, and institute a share-the-work program? Surely no man would want to have idle stenographers around.

The search was, once again, highly fruitful. I uncovered a veritable literary guild in one office. The stenographers were keeping themselves well up on world affairs and the latest novels during the many intervals when their bosses were closeted with long distance telephones or with earth-shaking conferences.

I need hardly add that there has been no improvement in the situation. I met that good old factor, pride of office. What man would admit that he couldn't keep one, nay, two or three girls busy all the time? It was a veritable challenge to his administrative ability! The literary guild remained undisturbed.

Lebensraum was the next subject which called itself to my analytical attention. Take a building with nonelastic walls—the rubber shortage, you know—and a procession of eager new employees forming longer lines into the elevators every day and you have what is known in administrative or any other parlance as a space problem. It did not take the howls long to percolate into my superior's realm and he dispatched me and my principles to solve the problem equitably and scientifically. Alas! A logical arrangement on paper was a matter of hair-pulling and black eyes in practice. So-and-so couldn't share an office with thus-and-who because thus-and-who had B.O. Miss X refused to sit near Miss Y, be it ever so logically sound, because Miss Y was a CAF-2 and Miss X a lordly CAF-4. And as for Mr. Zilch! Never mind that draughty vacant expanse in his impressively private office. "*I* have *confidential* sessions in here," he announced impressively. To put a stenographer into some of that emptiness was tantamount to jeopardizing the war effort.

We finally moved an office boy from one side of a room to the other and called the space problem settled.

Vindication at Last

My tale is not all bitterness. No, not even the knowledge that my nickname in the vineyards where I labor is Miss Snooperviser. For science's sweet sake, I can take it. For one day I knew I had achieved the great goal of all womanhood, and knew at last that it was All Worthwhile. It happened in this manner. One of the subadministrators on my professional calling list had a lapse of pride of office one day, and went so far as to tell me his troubles. It seemed that he needed a professional assistant at a grade low enough to be consonant with a shrunken personal services budget. Unfortunately, the labor market in the outside world had anything but shrunken budgets. No one was to be had except at double the figure my friend was ready to pay. What to do?

I had a wonderful idea. In the course of my snoopervising activities, I had run across a girl with excellent technical background who had, force of circumstances, accepted a stenographic job. Wouldn't she do? She'd come cheap.

I met my subadministrator the next day. "Did I tell you *my* idea?" he enthused. "Remember Miss So-and-so? Why not use her? She'd come cheap!"

I congratulated the man for his acuity. Then I went home, looked into the bathroom mirror, and congratulated myself. I am now a Power Behind A Throne. Hallelujah!

Rent Control Stands Test

Despite hasty formulation, federal restrictions stop inflationary trends and prevent estimated billion-dollar increase in 1943 rent bills.

By **DOROTHY ROSENMAN**
Chairman, National Committee on the Housing Emergency

RENT control is working. Rents are no longer spiraling. The lid has been clamped upon the rent source of inflation—no mean source, for rent is the second largest item in the family budget. Rents are being stabilized, frozen as of a given date. Therefore the in-migrant war worker and the permanent resident are being protected from unconscionable rent rise and eviction. Three hundred million dollars have been cut from the 1942 rent rolls. It is estimated that a billion will be kept from being added in 1943.

When Congress enacted the Price Control Act on May 18, 1942, rents were already skyrocketing in many parts of the country. It was therefore necessary for OPA to get under way at the drop of the Congressional hat. Paul A. Porter, Deputy Administrator in Charge of Rent, was given the job of building the boat and sailing it at the same time. Working against time, he launched it fast, building up administrative machinery as he put rent control into active operation. He is first to admit that errors were made, errors attributable to the speed required.

There are many complaints against the administration of rent control. When analyzed some of them vanish into thin air; others have merit and should be corrected; others have merit but cannot be corrected because they spring from injustices which must be borne by the few for the good of the many. Fortunately, those with merit can be corrected now that the period of gestation is over and the administrative personnel can catch its breath.

Without merit are the complaints and contentions voiced by an organized minority that rent control registration forms are too complicated, that a uniform freezing date should have been set, that regulations regarding eviction are too drastic, that regulations regarding sale are too drastic, that there is no adequate machinery for raising rents where they are too low. Proof that these contentions are not shared by a majority of our people is the fact that many millions of property owners are complying with rent control without a whimper, and violations are comparatively few.

Rent control registration forms, unlike many OPA blanks, are simple. None of the questions is difficult to answer, and there are not too many questions. The task of filling out rent control forms is not too burdensome for the individual landlord who owns a few houses. It is burdensome, of course, for the real estate management firm that operates hundreds of homes or scores of apartment houses. Added to the paper work already imposed upon their war-depleted staffs in filling out social security and various tax forms, it is a chore.

Registration a Protection

Every landlord in an area under federal rent control must file an official registration statement with the area rent office covering all dwelling quarters for which rent is collected. This is filed in triplicate. One copy goes to the tenant so that he is informed and can check the landlord's facts, one is filed in the regional office, and the landlord retains one. Thus registration protects the landlord by making the maximum rent and minimum services a matter of official record so that he may not be harassed in the future by unjustified complaints; it protects the honest and scrupulous landlord from unfair competition from a possible minority seeking to take advantage of emergency conditions; it protects the tenant by giving him a clear statement of the services he is entitled to receive and the maximum rent he is obliged to pay; in any future change of tenancy it provides the new tenant with the necessary information as to the maximum rent and the minimum services applicable to the particular dwelling unit; it permits the area rent director to refer to a written statement of facts made at the time when the facts were not in dispute; it provides an accurate picture of the general rental market and furnishes a valuable basis for the determination of comparable rents.

Rent control is being tried in Cincinnati without registration but its effectiveness is doubtful. To be successful rent control is dependent upon registration. Therefore the paper work burden which is admittedly placed upon the firm managing many properties must be borne.

It is contended that a uniform freezing date should have been set. So far as practicable that was done. In the majority of rent control areas March 1, 1942, stands as the high water mark of rents. In several areas, however, rent spiraling had made such progress before May 18, 1942, that it was necessary to set the freezing date back to the time when the spiraling impact was felt—as early as January 1, 1941, in some cases. Rent control would be high-rent-license if it froze rents at the March 1, 1942, levels in those areas.

It is contended that the ninety-day stay now imposed on residential sales is unnecessary and cantankerous. It is drastic, but a drastic measure was necessary to stop wholesale evictions for improper reasons. Any tenant can still be evicted for any normal offense for which he is evictable in his community in normal times. Rent control was being evaded through whimsical evictions and false sales. Therefore the ninety-day stay was accompanied by another order requiring a one-third down payment to effectuate a sale—another drastic but necessary measure. Thousands of false sales of homes were being made! No deed or other binding documents accompanied the contracts, which were never intended for consummation. Stern measures were necessary. Perhaps, now that the lesson has been brought home, the regulation can be made less spectacular and more in tune with normal procedure which, in ordinary times, requires only a 20 per cent down payment. Certainly the flimsy and often nebulous 10 per cent of wartime FHA Title VI would be an insufficient guarantee of earnest intentions. False sales and bad-faith evictions must be stopped.

Adjustments Can Be Made

It is contended that there is no adequate method of raising rents where they are too low. But the truth is that the landlord has redress if taxes are raised in the area, if costs go up in the area, if he spends money making a major capital improvement, or if there were some unusual circumstances attending the prior leasing. The pinch is felt because the landlord has no redress unless taxes and costs go up in the area. If his particular costs go up, and they are not reflected in the general costs of the area and he has added no capital improvement to his property, he has no redress. Relatively few are harmed by this hardship. The rent control laws of the 1920's proved the utter futility of individual computations. Red tape, confusion, contradictory decisions there served to befuddle rent control administration.

Of course many landlords were in the red before rent control became effective. It is argued that they should have an opportunity to get out of the red. But many landlords *are* out of the red even though they cannot raise rents because they are running at full capacity where there were many vacancies before the war. Over the nation there is a mere trifling percentage of vacancies. Locally you will find them in particular neighborhoods and price ranges. In Boston, for instance, there are empty mansions in the Beacon Hill section. No single family wants them, and the area is zoned against the use of multiple dwellings, so they cannot be converted to small apartments.

Wartime landlords have another advantage in productive areas. In figuring the income from rented property, 10 per cent is usually allowed for vacancy and collection losses. This can be written down during the war because the population is at work, able to pay its bills. The landlord by picking up that loss is collecting an additional 10 per cent which may increase his net earnings 20 per cent or 40 per cent. He also saves the cost of redecoration every time a tenant would have moved. Tenants stay where they are if they can.

If some landlords are still in the red it may be comforting for them to know that it is not all boom for all the tenants either. Former injustices are frozen as stiffly for them as for the landlord. The underprivileged wonder why rents should be frozen to their disadvantage. For years many of them have paid too high a price for squalid hovels. But there is no redress for them in this law. The complaints of the individual landlord who has no redress and the underprivileged tenant who pays an unjustified rent are merited but uncorrectable at this time.

The complaint that action on appeals for rent adjustments is too long delayed is justified, and should be corrected now that the rush of setting up shop and getting under way is over.

The rent control administration has often misjudged the amount of staff required, taken on too many people, and neglected to use the large number of volunteers available in most communities. Mr. Porter admits there are too many local offices, and he has just started a consolidation program by telescoping two in Atlanta. He has authorized 23 per cent less personnel in the offices opened in October and November, and 21 per cent less for those opened in December.

Some claims of overstaffing are bloated. Spartanburg, South Carolina, had twenty-two on the OPA rent control staff during the forty-five days allotted to registration, and was left with a permanent staff of eight, which seems a lot for such a little town. Fact is, the eight—which still may be too many—had to cover not only Spartanburg but the three adjoining counties with a 1940 peace population of 192,000, an influx of $24,000,000 war manufacture, and the establishment of Camp Croft.

OPA has kept its eye on methods of saving staff, even as it is overstaffed. It has experimented in Valdosta, Georgia, using the voluntary local fair rent committee to register all rental units. Into this small community with a county population of 31,000 came Moody Field, upsetting the housing balance. The pressure is not very great. There are few petitions for adjustment, so the local committee has been able to handle things well with the assistance of some paid clerical help.

Use Fair Rent Committees

The complaint that local participation in rent control administration has not been utilized to its fullest advantage is justified. In recognizing this fact caution must be used to differentiate between those who truly seek local participation and those who are demanding more local participation as a cloak to defeat the rent control process. For there are those who are calling upon local participation with a view to using just those people in the community who would best serve their purpose—to hamstring rent control.

But OPA often completely snubbed the services of the Voluntary Fair Rent Committees that had been established before the enactment of the Federal Price Control Act.

It is true that these voluntary committees had been ineffective because they had no enforcement power. Recognizing their helplessness, they welcomed the broad powers given to OPA to curb inflation and injustice. But they did not wish to be swept into the wastebasket when the proper mechanism for functioning was prepared by Congress. They expected to be made a piece of that mechanism, to aid OPA in enforcement, to aid government in interpreting the needs to the communities, to be a part of government, and not apart from it.

Now that OPA has spread its protecting arm to so many communities it would be well for it to tighten its organization and thereby make it more effective. It is good to know that already many of its temporary employees used during the registration period have been dropped and that local staffs have been cut nearly one-third. However, it can go further. In many places it can use a skeleton trained, paid staff which could function efficiently with the assistance of volunteers. Those experienced members of the staff who can be spared from established rent control areas can be used to good advantage as OPA sets up new rent control areas—and that it very well must do.

OPA now has time to catch its administrative breath. As it sets up new areas it will save time and gain support by working more closely with the citizens of the communities. These citizens will then discount rent control nuisance value as they recognize that rent control is a cornerstone of price and inflation control.

Many people wonder whether rent control has become a new bureaucratic octopus which will remain with us as a part of government when the war is over. No one knows. But there is opportunity to watch rent control administration, to judge its effectiveness, to adapt any parts of it to the needs of the future, or to reject any parts because of proven inadaptability. There is opportunity to use this war measure as a laboratory experiment in government's relation to the community. Perhaps the feared octopus will turn out to be a mainstay of strength. Certainly we have never before collated such a body of housing facts. It is good to work in the light instead of the dark.

Preparedness is an overused word, but it still smacks of common sense. Directly after the last war our communities were struck by a greater housing shortage and more rent fireworks than during the war. Lack of normal construction during the war piled up. Returning soldiers scrambled for homes for their families. Rents rose. Unworkable rent laws were rushed onto statute books.

There is opportunity now to eliminate the kinks in the present rent control operation and be prepared to face the future, to face emergencies that will come, to face the facts of this country's housing needs.

A fact that cannot be disputed in reviewing our present needs is that rents would be exhorbitant and severe inflationary tendencies would plague us if it were not for the rent control administration.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Two Strikes; Home Run!

Grand Junction, after trying both mayor-council and commission forms of government, finds satisfaction in council-manager plan.

By HAROLD F. McCLELLAND,
St. Louis Governmental Research Institute
and LAURENCE N. WOODWORTH,
Kansas City Civic Research Institute

GRAND Junction, Colorado, is now enjoying its twenty-second year under the city manager plan, after having experienced both the mayor-council and the commission forms of local government.

From its founding in 1881 until 1909 Grand Junction was governed by the traditional mayor and council. At that time the government was probably neither better nor worse than that to be found in the average town of 4,000 population in what might be referred to as one of the frontier sections of the west. There were occasional charges that city government was controlled by two powerful pressure groups operating through a bipartisan machine and a "rotten borough" ward system. At any rate, both parties were formally aligned in opposition to a movement for change, and it was only after an exceedingly bitter campaign that a charter establishing the commission form of government was adopted in 1909.

Commission government was adopted as a reform, but it became apparent by 1920 that it left much to be desired. Divided control and lack of coöperation among the commissioners caused considerable difficulty. Personnel was politically appointed, large bond issues were coming due with no funds available to meet them, and the city was generally becoming embroiled in financial difficulties.

The movement for a change to council-manager government was inspired by the editor of the local paper and was underwritten by most civic groups within the city. Despite the opposition of incumbent officials, the new form of government was approved in 1921 by a conclusive two-to-one majority vote. A short ballot making the policy-determining council the only elected group established a governmental organization in accordance with the best manager theory.

Almost immediately residents witnessed improvements under the new council-manager plan. Nearly a half-million dollars worth of bonds issued on the water system were refunded on terms more favorable than previous issues, with a corresponding improvement in the credit of the city. There was no longer a complete turnover of personnel after each election. Experienced employees, who knew their jobs were secure as long as they rendered satisfactory service, replaced political appointees.

Grand Junction continued to grow at a steady rate and is now a city of 12,500 population, the largest within a radius of 300 miles. It has attained considerable importance as the center of a retail trade area with higher per capita retail sales than any other city in Colorado.

During recent years governmental service has continued to improve. No sinking fund bonds have been issued since 1922, and all debts are now serial obligations at interest rates as low as 1.5 per cent. The techniques of management have been developed; departmental reports have improved and public reporting has been instituted; budgeting has been refined, basic cost accounting records started, a highly successful motor equipment fund is in operation, and the government generally is run on a more efficient basis.

In addition to careful financial administration the regular services provided to the citizens are well performed. The police department has recently been reorganized and a system of police records installed which is superior to any other in the state. Park area—contrary to most cities—is in accordance with the standards established by the National Recreation Association. The newly constructed public library and an active recreational program provide leisure-time occupation for citizens.

In the utility field the city has much of which it may be proud. A new sewage disposal plant was constructed in 1938 and a modern water purification plant was completed in 1939. Adequate care of the city's two cemeteries has been assured by "perpetual care" funds. Last year a grant of $300,000 secured from the federal government provided the city with a truly modern airport.

Objective standards in so far as they can be applied show Grand Junction is exceedingly well governed; value is received by the citizens for each dollar spent. The most striking indication of the success of the manager plan, however, is the local pride exhibited by residents in the operation of their nonpartisan council-manager government.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Price Control Is Felt by States and Cities

The federal government's economic stabilization program has significance for both the day-to-day operation and for the long range future of state and local governments.

By HERMAN C. LOEFFLER
Assistant Chief, Fiscal Division, Bureau of the Budget

ON THE basis of action taken by Congress and by the Chief Executive last October, economic stabilization has become the law of the land. Developments growing out of this action have important implications for the budgets of every state and municipality in the United States.

This article can only sketch what the economic stabilization program means for state and local finances generally. Those general observations establishing the broad perspective must, of course, be tempered in individual cases by local circumstances.

First, as to expenditures. The economic stabilization program will tend to stabilize the level of state-local expenditures and to facilitate expenditure reductions. Control of the cost of living has already helped indirectly to relieve state and local governments of some of the pressure from their employees for salary increases to compensate for rising prices. Direct controls over wages and salaries will also simplify greatly other problems of governmental units, and reduce somewhat the loss of government personnel to industry. Such losses of staff cannot be entirely avoided; indeed, the wartime shortage of our labor force will surely require some further transfer of manpower to essential uses, however inconvenient that may prove to be. But with industrial wages and salaries stabilized, there will be somewhat less incentive for individuals to leave state and local employment. More and more they will transfer when they can contribute to the war effort; less and less will the possibility of increased income alone determine their choice.

Likewise important in holding down expenditures is the effect of stabilization on the prices of material and equipment.

During the last two years rising salary and wage rates and rising prices for material and equipment have increased some expenditures of state and local government but the adverse factors have been more than offset by declining unemployment and relief rolls, by the rapid tapering off of construction and reconstruction, by the unavailability of new equipment, and by deferment of expenditures wherever possible. Total expenditures of many units of government have therefore declined.

Now that we have in operation a comprehensive program of economic stabilization, further expenditure reductions may be expected. Even when there is little or no unemployment relief left to reduce and no more capital outlay projects or other activities which can be postponed, there should be no rise in present expenditure levels so long as needs remain unchanged and inflation is controlled.

Property Values Stabilized

Second, the effect of the stabilization program on state and local revenues. The property tax, the dominant source of local revenue, is affected by the stabilization program in two principal ways—through its effect on property values, and through its effect on tax collections.

By and large, the economic stabilization program implies a ceiling upon property values. War activity has brought a great migration of population, and the rubber shortage has put a greater premium than ever upon property located near public transportation facilities or places of work. Some real estate for which there was little demand two or three years ago finds an easy market today at greatly advanced prices. Other parcels are undergoing a decline in value. Some of these local declines—to the extent that they are occasioned by transportation difficulties—may prove temporary, but the effects of mass population movements may indeed be permanent. Rent ceilings and restrictions upon the sale of real estate are cancelling a great many speculative dreams and expectations. Thousands of retail business establishments may have to close in the next year or two because of inventory shortages or reduced volume of business. Inventory reductions, moreover, will affect total personal property assessment adversely.

These scattered considerations suggest that a successful campaign against inflation may very well mean that the peak of real property values for this particular cycle has been reached. Assessed valuations, however, are notoriously slow to follow market values. It may be that two or three years will elapse before aggregate assessed valuations on real estate stop rising just as during the depression there was a delay until 1935-1936 before they reached their depression low. In that event the effects on taxable values of the stabilization program and of commodity shortages will be delayed.

Collections Good

Meanwhile, property tax collections have reflected wartime prosperity for the average man. Delinquencies have been greatly reduced and collections placed on a current basis in many communities. The stabilization program will undoubtedly slow down the rise of individual incomes through limitation of wage and salary increases and profits but at the same time it will ease the pressure of living costs upon these same incomes. Hence, it will give greater assurance of a margin available for paying property taxes. Although heavily increased federal taxes will absorb part of this margin, by no means all of it will be used up under present and pending legislation. In general there is good reason to expect that the current high level of property tax collection will continue under the stabilization program.

Less optimism is warranted respecting the principal sources of state revenue—which are also an important source of local revenue through grants and tax-sharing. With total income payments to individuals and corporation profits before taxes continuing to rise, the yields of state taxes upon the incomes of individuals and corporations may be expected to continue their recent advance. The rates of federal taxes upon the same bases are being raised substantially, however, and the deduction of these higher taxes may leave a smaller base for state taxation. Bearing in mind the further effects of the stabilization program upon income increases, the net result may be at least retardation in the rise of state revenues from income taxes and possibly a reduction.

Sales Taxes Shrink

Correspondingly, price ceilings will restrain the rise of revenue from sales taxes to the extent that this rise reflects the result of advancing retail prices. At the same time, the conversion of industry and the consequent curtailment in the volume of goods available for civilians will shrink the base to which sales taxes apply. Because of gasoline rationing, the ban on pleasure driving, and mileage limitation, highway revenues have already dropped off, especially along the eastern seaboard.

All in all, the future of state and local revenues is none too bright. The prospects at this stage of the war are that local property tax revenues will be maintained at a rather stable level but that state income and sales taxes may drop off and that highway revenues will suffer a further drastic decline.

One good feature about the whole future situation will be that revenue declines are not likely to be precipitate or extreme, except in the case of the gasoline tax—and that exceptional case is made easier by the halt in road construction and by reduced travel and limited speeds, which reduce the needed expenditures for current maintenance and traffic regulation.

"Surplus" Funds

Given these probable future developments what financial policies are prudent for state and local governments? As a whole reduction in their revenues is only beginning to appear, whereas reduction in expenditures has largely been made. That is why reports of an apparent "surplus" of revenue have been common recently. It is important to remember, however, that much of this excess of revenue over present expenditures is not real surplus but only a transformation of fixed assets into cash. When we do not replace what we use up, when we consume our capital equipment instead of maintaining it adequately—and that is what the war is compelling us to do—the cash that backs up in the state and local treasuries might properly be viewed as a reserve for capital replacement—a fund to cover depreciation. Many governmental units would have no present excess of revenues over expenditures if they were engaging in the usual amount of maintenance and construction. Some would be incurring new debt instead of paying off old debt. Today's apparent surplus, therefore, should be considered—and should be held—as a trust fund for the future financing of deferred construction and maintenance.

If the governmental unit has indebtedness outstanding, the best way to apply the current excess of revenues is in the retirement of the debt. There are ways of doing this even when the obligations are not callable and command a premium in the market. The state of Virginia, for example, has appropriated $10,000,000 of surplus to its sinking fund, thereby in effect eliminating the entire outstanding debt, some of which will not fall due until 1962.

Funds for Postwar Use

Where the governmental unit has no debt to retire or offset, it still would be provident to accumulate reserve funds for postwar use. Establishment of reserves of cash and credit—provident from the point of view of the local community—would be of utmost benefit to the national war effort. It is a policy that dovetails exactly with the economic stabilization program, for it helps to reduce to manageable proportions the gigantic task of inflation control. Widely adopted by state and local governments, it will help us to win the extremely important economic battle on the domestic front.

The establishment of state and local reserves of cash and credit for postwar public works is also of great moment to those of us who stress the future financial independence of states and cities in order that they may continue to play a vital part in a healthy democratic process. Without such reserves we will be faced again with the dilemma of the last depression when the federal government poured large sums into programs of public works construction, only to have that effort to stimulate recovery vitiated in part by a contraction of the usual public works activities of the states and cities.

The only protest of moment to such a policy which has come to my ears has been the argument that the building up of reserves by maintaining tax rates merely makes it possible for bad local administrations to benefit by using those reserves built up by good administrations for tax rate manipulation. On this score my major reaction is that we cannot allow the determination of sound policy for a sound democracy to be upset because in a few communities the people elect inefficient or corrupt administrations. Even in such cases, however, local groups may be able to bring successful pressure to have the reserves for postwar public works invested in federal war bonds. A bad administration would probably hesitate to subject itself to the charge that it was unpatriotically attempting to dissipate reserves in order to pay for current expenditures. Parenthetically it should be added that the federal government has made deep cuts in its non-war expenditures over recent years while it has been raising its tax rates to meet the war emergency.

Now Is the Test

It is clear that local government after the war will be weakened or strengthened by its performance during the war. There is no alternative to the conclusion of Viscount Bryce that "the best school of democracy and the best guarantee of its success is the practice of local self-government."

(Continued on Page 141)

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

The Maneuver Army Goes to Town

AS PART of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services program of community organization for recreation in defense areas, an intensive period of temporary community planning was undertaken during the 1941 and 1942 maneuvers in North and South Carolina, central Tennessee, and in parts of Louisiana.

The 1942 Tennessee fall maneuvers, which began early in September and ended late in October, serve to demonstrate what is done by the recreation representatives of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services to aid the Army in combat areas. Scores of communities were organized for service in Tennessee alone. Many were oddly named settlements—Bug Tussel, Fudge Around, Hoodoo, Bell Buckle, Wartrace, Three Cornered Gardens, Pumpkintown—but all came forth with one of the great expressions of neighborliness wartime America has witnessed.

The Governor of Tennessee wrote personally to each mayor apprising them of the maneuvers and requesting that they give the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services assistance in meeting the problem. The recreation representative asked the mayors to have a schedule of information available and explained the plan of community organization. He then went to each local community and organized a Defense Recreation Committee. Organization proceeded at a rapid-fire clip. Meetings were held at the rate of six or eight a day. Resources were surveyed, programs planned, volunteers organized.

A program of community services and recreation activities was developed after the recreation representative explained how the influx of soldiers would affect the town and what the needs of the soldiers would be. A survey of existing resources and an appraisal of supplementary needs were made. Assistance that communities could expect from the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, the USO, and the WPA was explained. Information on the facilities and programs which the various communities could provide were pooled and summarized in a *Maneuver Recreation Guide*. This was distributed to the Army Special Service Officers and others concerned in the recreation program.

All phases of the work were thoroughly planned. Operating under the direction of each local Maneuver Recreation Committee were subcommittees which had specific responsibilities for mobilizing one part of the job. Responsibility for showers, towels, toilets, drinking water, etc., was turned over to a subcommittee on comforts. A publicity subcommittee was set up to provide for information centers and bulletins of events. This committee was also charged with the interpretation of the program within the communities.

Subcommittees were organized on community facilities to provide lounges, stationery, pens, ink, and magazines. Home and church hospitality subcommittees served as clearing houses for invitations to homes. There was an inventory committee to catalogue the resources of a community that were available for recreation purposes.

A subcommittee on commercial recreation was set up which interpreted the needs of the soldiers to shopkeepers and policed against profiteering. Wherever possible this subcommittee attempted to secure reduction of fees on commercial entertainment.

Subcommittees on activities were set up for athletic and social programs. Every phase of community life was touched and Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, mending clubs, men's clubs, churches had special tasks allotted them. The recreation representative stayed on the ground during maneuvers with mobile units of the USO, aided the local communities to provide for the men who were off duty.

The facilities of recreation centers were generally adequate to the size of the communities and the needs for service. Centers were housed in antebellum mansions, private club houses, armories, and store buildings. Usual facilities included ample writing tables and chairs, couches, beds, and toilets. Entertainment was provided by radios, juke boxes, victrolas, and pianos. The soldiers wanted telephones, water coolers, soft drink dispensers; these were generally available. Magazines and newspapers were collected and distributed. Game rooms were improvised. Items necessary for shaving and pressing were always on hand. Four centers provided sleeping accommodations, two had ballrooms for formal dances, five had kitchens and service equipment. High school gymnasiums were usually available for special dances arranged for officers and enlisted men.

Showers were the first thing that soldiers looked for when a field problem had been completed and they had entered upon a rest period. In many cases the shower facilities of schools, armories, and clubs were used. In other instances, as in Lebanon, Gallatin, Hartsville, Portland, Watertown, and Carthage, it was necessary to improvise temporary showers. In Lebanon a garage store room convenient to the soldiers' center was fitted out with twenty-seven plastic showerheads and approximately 15,000 showers per week were provided, with about one-third of the load on weekends. Along with these facilities, laundry service was given prime consideration. Responsibility for this service was delegated to the subcommittee on necessary comforts and arrangements worked out prior to the arrival of the troops.

Water Problems

No maneuver recreation committees were organized in a community unless the recreation representative had assurance that the water supply was approved by the State Health Department. Likewise swimming pools had to be approved before their use by soldiers was recommended. Inspection of all water facilities was requested by the recreation representative.

Ingenuity and initiative prevailed in all actions of the Maneuver Recreation Committee. In Westmoreland, a settlement with a population of four hundred, there was no water supply except that which came from individual wells. A committee was set up whose sole job it was to dip water from the well and supply the amount needed at the Soldiers' Center for shaving, washing, coffee making, and drinking.

Incidents of the hospitality of the people were countless. Over one weekend 5,000 soldiers visited Portland, a town with a population of 1,200. The churches responded by arranging picnic dinners for hundreds. There were affairs where every family brought a large lunch basket filled to the brim with food. Large tables were placed in the church yard and numerous baskets provided a banquet that rivaled the best hotel. The soldiers, just free from a maneuver problem, did ample justice to it, and when the tables were cleared a program of entertainment was provided.

Townspeople to the Rescue

At 11 o'clock one cold rainy night the Hartsville center learned that a ration truck of an outfit encamped two miles away had not arrived and that the men were hungry. Pots of coffee and hundreds of sandwiches were quickly made and taken to the camp.

A little town with a center "on the square" learned that many times soldiers coming in late could not find food nor lodging. After that, the town watchman directed them to the center where a light burned in the window. The stove gave warmth, a pot of coffee was kept hot on it, sandwiches were ready, and cots and blankets were found in plenty. Few nights passed without visitors. Often notes of thanks were left by grateful soldiers.

One town wanted to offer soldier entertainment. No building was available, so a building was purchased for $4,200 and used as a lounge!

The Work Projects Administration of Tennessee, acting upon a request made by local communities through the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, placed a staff of recreation leaders in the Tennessee Army Maneuvers Area. Personnel were assigned to work in soldier centers which were generally open from nine in the morning until midnight. Three supervisors assisted communities with the planning and execution of special events, decoration, and the supervision of established centers. Their services were further utilized by a number of towns where full-time recreational personnel was not available.

As in previous maneuvers the USO again responded to help meet the needs in serving the soldiers. The USO was responsible for providing financial assistance, program materials, and in some cases, professional leadership to communities requesting assistance from the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services. They provided mobile service for service men in the field, bivouac areas, and base camps. In communities the USO worked through the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services and was subject to the direction of the Maneuver Recreation Committee. In the field, bivouac areas, and base camps, the USO was responsible directly to the Special Services Branch of the Army.

In this dress rehearsal for war, community recreation played a vital role.

PRICE CONTROL IN STATES AND CITIES

(Continued from Page 138)

As Harold Smith recently stated: "This principle of local government must be clearly understood by city, state, and federal officials. Understanding it, they must unite to preserve it, just as they must unite to further the all-out effort at home and abroad."

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Excerpts from address before annual conference of American Municipal Association, Chicago, October 22, 1942.

The Researcher's Digest: March

A researcher's measuring rod for relief; 'high jinks' from Detroit; fourteen years of Houma; Kansas City investigates tax delinquency; western researchers hold a wartime meeting.

How does a research bureau do it? Sidney Detmers, managing director of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** answers that question with respect to public welfare administration, a subject which may be of lesser importance at the moment but which may unfortunately again become of great importance after the war. Forehanded research bureaus take heed.

NO DEPARTMENT of government enjoys being put up against a measuring stick by research bureaus. It escapes sometimes by not making sufficiently detailed reports. It sometimes disputes the implications of the measurement figures by claiming that "lots of things are not taken into account," or that "outsiders do not understand." There is some ground for the protest. Even the best management has conditions to meet which cannot well be covered in statistical reports. Yet the taxpayers are entitled to know the results, however they may be explained.

In New York State a great part of public relief is given through local departments of social welfare. The reports of the local department show its expenditure in two parts: (a) Direct, which is the amount paid to recipients of relief or for their use, and (b) Administration, which is the amount spent for the salaries and expenses of the commissioner of welfare and his staff.

The Rule of Thumb

It is the common practice of "outsiders," or even of the welfare departments, to measure their efficiency by computing the ratio between the Direct and the Administration expenditures, and comparing the ratio of one year with that of another. In other words, if it costs twenty-five cents of Administration to disburse one dollar of Direct in a given year, and only twenty cents in the next year, the latter year is said to show increased economy and efficiency; if the amounts are reversed, economy and efficiency have decreased. The application of this method often results in figures which are wholly misleading in their import.

Usually we have found the welfare department willing to accept the ratios obtained by this method as long as they show no increase—no apparent loss of efficiency. When they do show an increase, the claim is made that by tightening administrative supervision, increasing the cost of Administration, the Direct cost is reduced. This is true within uncertain limits, but it cannot be indefinitely applicable. If it were we would some day arrive at a point at which all expenditures would be for Administration and none for Direct.

It sometimes happens, too, that if an attempt is made by the research bureau to verify the ratios obtained by this method, by reference to comparative case loads, the department refers in general terms to the amount of work it does apart from that on the cases which actually receive relief and which constitute official case loads. Specifically it may mention, when pressed, the number of applicants for relief which after investigation it has rejected, the number of preliminary investigations of those finally admitted to the relief rolls, or later removed therefrom. In such cases the department should be asked for the actual figures. In the checkup of a department recently the record showed that its supplementary work of this sort ran close to 3 per cent of the case load total year after year. We concluded that the comparative case load was a sound index of the whole comparative amount of work it did.

The rule-of-thumb method, in our opinion, as we shall further explain, is not one which the welfare departments are always ready to accept, and is in its application also open to proper objection from the statistical viewpoint.

The Statistical Data

Any sound analysis of a welfare department in this state must deal with a number of factors which affect the annual money cost of Direct and of Administration. Some of the more outstanding are these:

Categories: The numerical case load total is composed of the sum of the case loads in each of several categories, such as old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, children in institutions, home relief, and the like. In one local welfare department there are nine of these categories. Each of them has its own numerical case load, varying from year to year, and its own average Direct cost per case. In case numbers, as one check-up showed, they differed one from another, ranging from 200 in one category to 25,000 in another in the same year; in average Direct cost per case per annum they varied from $205 to $642. It is evident that variations from year to year, in either relative numbers or per case costs, will make the *totals* incomparable unless we take account of the elements which compose them. To illustrate: in a recent instance the reports showed a reduction in total Direct costs between two years as $6,263,129. A simple analysis showed that the reduction, had the relief rates not been increased, would have been $6,546,245. The rate increase cost $283,116.

Administrative Employees: The number of employees used to handle the relief load is another means of checking the Administration cost. It eliminates variations in salary changes as well as variations in the average Direct relief rates. The number of employees should be computed on a full-year, full-time basis, and all classes of employees included from the commissioner down the line to welfare visitors, clerks, stenographers, and the rest. Results such as this are obtainable, showing either an increase in intensity or supervision, or too many employees:

	1939	*1941*
Number of employees	1,000	600
Case load, total	36,500	13,500
Cases per employee	36.5	22.5

Other Tests: There are many other tests possible which are useful as general indications of the trend in the department, though none of them, perhaps, as conclusive as the two we have quoted. Some of these others are comparative case load total and by categories, Administration cost per case load, salary cost per case load or per employee, and others which will suggest themselves to the careful student.

The more breakdown that can be given to the totals, the more light will be thrown upon the question of the efficiency and economy of the department in comparative years. Unfortunately no standard is known or officially endorsed by the state as to the right cost of Administration as compared with that of the Direct. Local economic conditions and the capability of the local department affect each year's ratios of all sorts and kinds. To compare the analyzed ratios of one year with those of another seems to be all we can do. But we may not as "researchers" be satisfied with a single ratio of total costs, the rule-of-thumb method.

Big Ones Out of Little Ones

An admirably short, clear, and concise summary of findings and recommendations prefaces a long report by the **Civic Research Institute of Kansas City** on *Personal Property Taxes in*

Kansas City and Jackson County. A bad tax delinquency record prompted the survey, which discovered a disproportionately large number of small personal assessments as one of the chief reasons for the high cost and poor results of collection. Besides raising the minimum assessment for personal property, the Bureau recommends combination of city and county tax assessments and collections as a first requisite, then numerous other smaller changes in procedure.

Food for Thought

Plenty of bite, a lot of meat, high seasoning—a description of Lent Upson's rare little privately printed pamphlets is apt to sound like a swell meal. They are that, and more besides. The casual page-flipper might think that *A Letter From a Dean of Public Administration to His Graduates About How to Graft* or *Statistical Theory in One Easy Lesson,* both recent emanations from the fertile pen of the director of the Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research, are the *hors d'oeuvres* of government research. Not so. Ironical, occasionally bawdy, sometimes extremely funny they may be, but the style is simply a remarkably effective dressing for a brilliant collection of sound truths.

The "Graft" pamphlet (third in a series which includes, besides the "Statistics" job, the older *Being An Executive* and *The Tools of Administration*) is divided into seven main sections and numerous subsections according to "A Tentative Classification of Graft": Staple and Fancy Thievery, Larceny by Extortion, Public Buying and Selling at Private Profit—get it? There is so much that is quotable it is almost dangerous to single out one passage. Better select one for yourself. You might also look at the bibliography at the end, which revives the memory of such politically ribald classics as William L. Riordon's *George Washington Plunkett of Tammany Hall* and Samuel Pepy's *Diary.*

In *Statistical Theory in One Easy Lesson* Dr. Upson, who was apparently bitten by a statistician at some early stage in his life, really bares his claws. While the statistical problems which he uses for illustrative purposes are pleasantly irreverent, his remarks upon the principles are seriously cutting. Since there are many who have also been bitten by statisticians, this should be a popular piece.

Houma

A fairly unusual venture by a research bureau results in a slick paper pamphlet called *Our Home Town, A Municipal Report for the City of Houma to Our Citizens 1928-1941,* prepared by the **Bureau of Government Research of Louisiana State University**. Students did the research under direction of the bureau staff. There are a good many pictures and charts, but the approach is somewhat in the traditional style. Certainly this type of report could be immensely useful as a civics textbook in the local schools.

Researchers

One day of meetings had to suffice for the wartime fifth annual conference of the **Western Governmental Research Association.** Enthusiasm for the meetings was evidenced by the excellent attendance of over a hundred at the Hotel Mayfair in Los Angeles on November 6. Stressed at the meetings were the question of loss of trained governmental personnel, developments in psychological testing for the air corps, problems of forecasting governmental revenue, planning for use of human resources in the postwar world, and planning and research in a nation at war. Professor Edwin A. Cottrell of

(Continued on Page 161)

Contributors in Review

THE heartfelt wail of an eager, sincere, and ambitious public servant may be detected in the offering of **Anonymous** *(My Life as a Spy)*. Anonymous went to her present work with a proper background for constructive public service but with a poor one for boondoggling. She was graduated from (censored) and (censored) and also studied at (censored). Prior to her recent ordeal she served as (six sentences censored).

GOVERNMENTAL research has been the chief interest of **Herman C. Loeffler** *(Price Control Is Felt by States and Cities)*. Immediately after World War I he joined the staff of the New York City Bureau of Municipal Research, then spent several years in the civic work of the Citizens Union of that city. Deserting New York, he became a senior staff member of the St. Louis Bureau of Municipal Research and in 1933 took charge of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau, serving there for eight years. Since 1941 Mr. Loeffler has been with the U. S. Bureau of the Budget as assistant chief of its fiscal division. His work in the governmental field has been broken only once—by a sojourn in Paris, not long after World War I, where he did disaster relief work, as well as research and writing.

GRAND Junction, Colorado, was the scene of an administrative survey and audit conducted by **Harold F. McClelland** and **Laurence N. Woodworth** *(Two Strikes; Home Run)* during the latter part of 1941. The work was done as part of the curriculum of a professional training program in government management at the University of Denver under the auspices of the Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Foundation. Mr. McClelland is now a member of the staff of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis and Mr. Woodworth is with the Kansas City Civic Research Institute.

REPLACEMENT of our slums and blighted areas with well planned housing at rentals which people can afford has long been the full-time activity and interest of **Dorothy (Mrs. Samuel I.) Rosenman** *(Rent Control Stands Test)*. Mrs. Rosenman is chairman of the National Committee on the Housing Emergency, whose nation-wide program calls not only for the housing of workers in war industries but also stresses problems of postwar urban development. Mrs. Rosenman's interest in housing dates back to the 1920's when she became a member of the Housing Committee of the New York Women's City Club. She helped organize the Citizens Housing Council of New York and became a charter member of its Board of Directors; was active in securing a housing amendment at the time of the 1938 New York State Constitutional Convention, as well as subsequent enabling legislation which made New York State the first to adopt a program of state-financed low-rent housing.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

States and Cities Attack Manpower Questions

Governors Seek to Help Direct National Program

HOW to attract and hold competent employees for governmental service is an increasing problem, especially for states and municipalities. Removal of some of the less urgent restrictions heretofore placed around public employment, and positive efforts to draw men and women of ability into public civilian employment, are being accelerated. Restrictions dropped in various jurisdictions include residence requirements, racial and sex discrimination, and unduly rigid qualifications. Among affirmative aids are the speeding up of examination and employment processes, wider scope of recruiting, increased stabilization, and more pay.

Some cities are encouraging overtime work on the part of present salaried employees by providing for additional compensation in the form of overtime pay. For example, Glendale, California, recently wrote provisions for overtime pay at time-and-one-half into an ordinance when no qualified workmen could be secured for its new power plant and men were working twelve-hour shifts. It also applies to other employees. Los Angeles is considering an overtime proposal for firemen, to increase the time on duty, because of the dearth of young and physically fit candidates to replace men now in service.

Overtime with pay is not a new idea with municipal governments: 144 of the 189 cities over 25,000 population reporting in a current survey by the International City Managers' Association pay overtime to at least some groups of employees. Of these cities, forty-three compensate all employees for overtime, ten include only employees on a monthly or annual basis, eighty-five those on an hourly or daily basis, and six those paid by the hour, day, or week. A number of the cities, however, compensate for extra hours worked by granting time off instead of overtime pay to monthly or annual-rate employees, which is of no advantage in alleviating a manpower shortage.

Day laborers on city payrolls are going on a monthly or annual salary basis in a growing number of cities, according to the Association. Demand for their services elsewhere at higher wages is contributing to the trend. Milwaukee, which started the move during the depression, with seven hundred employees, has increased the number so that now only fifty laborers in the entire city service still are paid by the hour. Various other cities have placed such labor, or some of it, on a salaried basis. It is reported that this action has resulted in higher quality of workers and lower turnover, and more people are interested in applying for the jobs.

In connection with wages, the New Jersey State Civil Service Commission has recently recommended to Governor Edison that $1,200 a year be set as the minimum rate of pay for all full-time employees in the classified service and that a 15 per cent pay increase be given all employees earning $3,000 a year or less, with a bonus for those earning between $3,000 and $4,700 yearly. It also suggested that "duration" appointments should be made for work where shortages exist, and that the priority principle of essential work be applied to state departments and agencies to allow shifting of employees to the most essential jobs.

Stabilization

In order to coöperate with the War Manpower Commission's employment stabilization plans, the Detroit Civil Service Commission has adopted special procedures for releasing city employees and for taking on new employees during the war, according to the Civil Service Assembly.

A classified employee leaving the city service for any except military reasons must request a release from the Commission through his department head at least ten days before he wishes to leave the service. Failure to do so is grounds for dismissal in "bad standing," forfeiting of all rights to reinstatement, and barring from any city civil service examination for duration of the war and two years after. It is expected that many employees with training useful in war industries can obtain releases for such work, with the privilege of returning to city employment after the war. It is hoped that the plan will prevent the crippling of service by migrations to highly paid but temporary jobs.

On the other hand, no person will be given a city job whose last employer is an industry or agency covered by the WMC stabilization plan, unless he presents a release from his employer.

Governors and Manpower

At the final session of the general assembly of the Council of State Governments, on January 26 in Baltimore, the report of the manpower committee, headed by Governor Stassen of Minnesota, was unanimously approved. It urged the federal government to accept state and local coöperation in solving war manpower problems. Specific recommendations included adoption of a nation-wide policy of keeping trained farmers on the farms; lengthening the industrial and commercial work week; reducing absenteeism in industry; improvement of safety, transportation, and housing; use of men confined in prisons and reformatories, not convicted of crimes of violence; use of governmental employees in peak harvest seasons; transfer of civilian production from areas short of manpower to those with adequate manpower; and utilization of persons on old-age assistance by modifying earnings restrictions.

The council decided on the appointment of a special committee to confer with the federal government for the purpose of better handling of manpower.

Council of State Governments Treats Emergency Problems

Meeting late in January, in Baltimore, the general assembly of the Council of State Governments was attended by twelve governors and several hundred other representatives of the states.

Besides urging state coöperation upon the federal government in connection with the manpower question (see preceding item) the council adopted resolutions authorizing appointment of special committees to confer with federal agencies on any proposals for extending the social security program; to coöperate with federal agencies to protect small business in the war situation; and to study the timberland problem. The state attorneys-general were called on to safeguard states' rights against federal legislation; and federal and state legislation was urged for the purpose of authorizing joint administrative action if a general retail sales tax were to be adopted by Congress.

Reapportionment Proposals in Various States

In Kansas, which has had no state senatorial redistricting for ten years, and where some districts for state representatives have not been revamped since 1901, a general legislative redistricting may result from the attempt of Senator B. E. Griffith of Topeka to obtain more equal distribution of voting population in the three districts of Shawnee County, one of which contains nearly four times as many voters as another.

In Michigan reapportionment seems to hinge on the attempt to limit the possible numerical strength of Wayne County (containing Detroit) in the legislature to 25 per cent. A joint resolution to that effect was introduced in January with a hope that it might be submitted to popular vote in April. The proposal would permit an increase for Wayne County in case of general reapportionment, but would hold down its representation in the future.

In New York Governor Dewey has urged reapportionment, and as the legislature is dominated by his own party it is hoped that a long delayed equalization of legislative representation can be achieved.

Tennessee Discards Poll Tax, Adopts Permanent Registration

The poll tax which has been in effect in Tennessee for fifty years was discarded by the legislature on February 1, when the State Senate, by a vote of twenty-two to ten, approved a repealer bill sponsored by Governor Cooper and previously passed by the House of Representatives. The Senate also approved permanent registration, nineteen to thirteen, in slightly different form than as passed by the House. It is hoped that both bills will be tested in the State Supreme Court before the start of registration in August 1944.

The poll tax is still in effect in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.[1]

Retirement Systems Cover 62 Per Cent of Public Employees

A study of public retirement systems by the Municipal Finance Officers Association indicates that 62 per cent of federal, state, and local governmental employees are now included in such systems and may thus look forward to old-age incomes.

The study shows that thirty-five states have set up retirement systems for school teachers, at least sixteen operate systems for their employees, and ten allow local governmental participation in state retirement plans. About 75 per cent of all cities of 10,000 or more operate retirement systems for employees although only 17 per cent of the cities cover all employees.

Retirement plans for government employees provide benefits as high or higher than those for private employees under the federal social security act. While the retirement pay is larger for some public employees the amounts paid by them usually are far greater than the 1 per cent contributed by private employees and may run as high as 5 per cent.

New York State Has Lend-Lease Law

Participation of the State of New York in the national war effort was broadened when Governor Thomas E. Dewey on February 2 signed a bill, passed unanimously by the legislature, initiating a "lend-lease" of state facilities to private firms engaged in war production. The new law authorizes the governor to make such facilities available. It legalizes his order of the previous week directing a state barge canal shop at Syracuse to do work on equipment needed to complete a large new oil refinery in the southwest.

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[1] See "The Poll Tax Stirs Revolt," by Virginius Dabney, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1942.

Council-Manager Plan News

After fostering hopes that it would permit the people of **Indiana** to vote on the proposed constitutional amendment enabling cities to choose their form of government[1] the Indiana House of Representatives on January 25, by a vote of sixty-three to twenty-eight, killed the resolution that would have submitted the amendment to popular vote. The resolution was almost unanimously approved by the legislature two years ago, but required favorable action by the present legislature also.

The amendment had been drafted in 1940 by a special legislative commission in the appointment of which the council-manager plan was emphasized. Neither that nor any other plan was required by the amendment, which was purely permissive. It was supported by the Home Rule League of Indiana, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the League of Women Voters, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Taxpayers' Federation, prominent newspapers, and some public officials including Mayor R. H. Tyndall of Indianapolis and other leaders of the capital district. Indianapolis had voted overwhelmingly for a manager charter a number of years ago, but the law then in effect was held unconstitutional.

Powerful opposition to the amendment developed this year from mayors organized in the Indiana Municipal League. The Cities and Towns Committee of the House of Representatives voted seven to five against the measure after a public hearing on January 18, at which advocates led by Virgil Sheppard, chairman of the Home Rule League, presented their arguments, and were opposed by Mayor Vincent Youkey of Crown Point, secretary of the Municipal League, and certain other mayors. On the following day the House by a vote of sixty-two to thirty-three approved the favorable minority report of the Committee, thus keeping the amendment alive. Six days later, despite the previous approvals of the legislature, the support of the non-political civic groups, and the home rule nature of the amendment, the mayors had their way and the House reversed itself. The amendment was voted down, reconsideration was defeated, and no similar measure can be presented during the present session.

At a hearing before the rules committee of the **New York City** Council on January 29, regarding the resolution of Councilman Louis Cohen for the appointment of a committee to study the manager plan,[2] Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary of the National Municipal League, endorsed the manager plan, and George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the Citizens Union, stated that the latter favors the manager plan, but cautioned that such an important proposal should have ample time for study, especially in view of New York's unique problem of five-borough government.

A bill to provide town manager government for **Brunswick, Maine,** subject to local referendum, was placed before the legislature on January 27. It is stated to embody the recommendations of the Brunswick Charter Committee. A council of seven, with staggered terms, would choose the manager. The town clerk, tax collector, and school committee would continue to be elected at the annual town meeting.

In **New Bern, North Carolina,** Alderman T. G. Blow is proposing a charter amendment for the introduction of the manager plan, subject to approval of the General Assembly and a local referendum.

The Citizens' Improvement Committee of **Winder, Georgia,** is advocating the manager plan.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1940, p. 638.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1943, p. 115.

In **Thomasville, Georgia,** a movement for the manager plan is strongly supported by the *Times-Enterprise.*

The voters of **Denison, Texas,** will consider the council-manager plan at the general election in April, as a result of a petition signed by approximately five hundred taxpayers.

Forum discussions in **Hastings, Nebraska,** sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, have revealed much interest in the possible establishment of the manager plan in that city.

In **Sheridan, Wyoming,** the *Press* is conducting a discussion of the manager plan and is urging a close watch on development of the plan in Laramie, where it was recently adopted.

On January 21 the voters of **Tillamook, Oregon,** turned down by a vote of 136 to 125 an ordinance to provide a city manager, to elect the council at large, and to place the water commission under the council.

In **Burlington, Vermont,** a petition bearing thirty signatures and addressed to the Mayor, asking that a proposal to establish the manager plan be submitted to the voters, was filed on February 1 with the city clerk. John E. Booth, leader of the movement, hoped for an expression of opinion at the March election, while realizing that more time will be needed to formulate the plan in detail. However, the Board of Aldermen, at its meeting on February 5, declined to take action. City Attorney Hopkins stated that it was impossible to get an enabling act through the legislature in time for popular vote in March.

The city commission of **Battle Creek, Michigan,** failed to act on a proposed manager plan, thus preventing a popular vote at the April 5 election. B. E. Godde, candidate for mayor, is advocating the plan and hopes that two other candidates for the commission, also favorable to the manager idea, will be elected. He expects an intensive educational campaign to be conducted, possibly culminating in a special election.

The International City Managers' Association has determined that five more municipalities qualify for its official list of manager cities and towns: Bridgewater, Crystal and Portage Lake, Maine, which adopted manager government in 1942; Grosse Pointe Park, Michigan, which had operated informally under manager government and adopted the plan by ordinance on December 28, 1942; and Livingston, Texas, which operates under a manager ordinance. On the other hand, Elk City, Oklahoma, where a manager charter was adopted in 1929, has not had a manager since 1938 and has therefore been dropped from the official list. The list now includes 565 municipalities (including twenty-four outside the United States) and seven counties.

Instead of Coqueville, Oregon, recently reported as adopting the manager plan, the correct name of the city is Coquille.

Town-Borough Consolidation for Wallingford, Connecticut

Simplification of government through the consolidation of the town and borough of Wallingford, Connecticut, is provided in House Bill 511, introduced on February 4 in the Connecticut General Assembly. The proposal, which includes a charter drawn by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, carries out recommendations of a recent National Municipal League survey directed by Dr. Reed, and is designed to eliminate duplication of offices and functions and result in more efficient government, while retaining forms traditional to Wallingford.

The bill proposes that the present town meeting and the borough meeting of freemen be replaced by a representative town meeting, comprised of one member for every 150 voters. A board of five selectmen would be elected by the voters, who would also choose the town clerk and tax collector as at present.

The new board of selectmen would replace the present water board, electric board, board of finance, court of burgesses, and the present board of three selectmen. It would appoint a superintendent of operations, with engineering and executive qualifications, to administer the business affairs of the new town government. The comptroller and tax assessor would also be appointive. The regular full-time appointive employees of the town and the borough would be utilized, and a retirement fund is provided for, under a board of one selectman, two appointees of the selectmen, and two employee representatives.

It is provided that this new charter is to be submitted to popular vote at a special election in June.

House Deletes Funds for Postwar Planning

On February 17 the House of Representatives passed the 1944 fiscal supply bill for independent agencies, from which the Appropriations Committee had deleted the funds for the National Resources Planning Board. An amendment to preserve at least a skeleton organization for the planning agency was ruled out of order. President Roosevelt had pointed out that the NRPB had been working especially on a "backlog" of public works to provide jobs and national wealth after the war, and that getting ready for postwar problems now will save billions later through prompt action in stimulating full employment.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

New York State Plans War Goal Discussions

Civic, Business, Education, Labor Agencies Cooperating

IN THE light of recent acute interest in the goals of America and the United Nations in the war, it is hard to recall the state of mind immediately after Pearl Harbor when few people were either interested or willing to discuss the shape of things to come. Discussion of war goals seemed to most people officially involved in civilian and war activity to be an idle and untimely activity. "Let's win the war first," said they with more than a touch of impatience.

Back in people's minds, however, was the realization that we need to do something this time almost completely skipped in 1917 and 1918. That something, of course, is to draft the people's fourteen points so that our emissaries to the councils of the nations will be able to speak for the people they represent. The importance of a strong, clarified public opinion pertains, of course, not only to winning the peace—it is the one sure foundation for wartime morale.

One of the most striking psychological facts about this war is that parades, street hullabaloo, and slogans don't catch on. Whether we recognize it or not, the temper of this war is one of deep-seated questioning. The fighting faith of the American people, like that of the British, Chinese, and Russians, must be built on lucid understanding and high voltage devotion to common aims.

The **New York State War Council** jumped the gun on public opinion by forming a **Citizen Unity** program on January 1, 1942. The state, superficially at least, was not ready for it, but action was taken on the recommendation of men like Owen D. Young who had lived close to the tragedy of the "peace" after 1918. The New York program survived the first six months with difficulty. It did not fit into the OCD pattern of thought. Local war councils were too busy to give it their time. The mental atmosphere changed dramatically, however, about midsummer. Mr. Willkie helped as did Welles, Wallace, Hoover, Pearl Buck, Stassen, and practically anybody you can mention whose words merit attention.

The Citizen Unity program in New York State has gradually gained acceptance since that point. Its objectives have clarified around two areas: First, the underlying current issues of the war; second, the definition of our war goals.

Plan of Action

Following four effective conferences for leaders attended by 535 state, regional, and local officers of civic, education, labor, war, and other agencies, a plan has begun to mature which New Yorkers feel has tremendous possibilities. In brief, it calls for an educational referendum on war goals.

The plan contains two points. First, it proposes that the main issues which the minds of the citizens must wrestle with be defined. These issues, of course, include the basic questions: What kind of international organization is needed to substitute peaceful means of adjudicating disputes for warlike means? What international measures should be taken to build high living and high wage standards throughout the world and how far will we go in America in supporting these measures? What steps can we take internationally to develop a culture which will nourish the freedoms on the one hand and human relationships and responsibilities on the other, making it possible for divers peoples to live in understanding and in peace?

Second, it proposes that these issues, after they are defined by a representative group, should be submitted to some ten thousand clubs, unions, Maccabees, Christian societies, 4-H Clubs, Rotary Clubs, and other groups through an educational referendum. The thinking of the groups would be gathered up and reported to public officers, civic leaders, via the press and radio.

Methods of Education

The technics and practical strategy of carrying out this referendum present a considerable problem. Among the methods available to New York State are the speakers bureaus and other discussion instruments of state and local war councils; agencies such as Rotaries, the Federation of Churches, and the Federation of Women's Clubs that have the desire and the facilities needed to bring these issues before their local units; schools and colleges; local, regional, and state labor agencies; various associations of industries and of business men; extension agencies in the rural field, etc.

The job of promotion and of guidance involved in getting some thousands of local groups to give real thought to these issues would be well-nigh prohibitive in ordinary times. It is our guess, based on some measure of experience, that the epochal significance of these issues at this time and the extraordinary flow of current interest make this project feasible. Something over 1,500 discussions of these issues through forums and radio programs have thus far taken place in upstate New York since January 1, 1942. Measured against the size of New York State this is not significant, but it is a straw indicating the potentialities of a well organized educational drive.

John W. Herring
Morale Promotion Supervisor
Office of Civilian Mobilization
New York State War Council

Vermont Poll Picks Basic Public Issues

"Vermont shows the way" has been the editorial heading used during successive years by a metropolitan newspaper editor as he has written about the annual reports of Vermont towns. The improvement of these reports has been due largely to the hearty response of citizens and town officers to the **Vermont State Chamber of Commerce** campaign for modernized reports with an annual town report competition as its spark plug.

The campaign and competition have been successful enough to attract the attention of other states. Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire now conduct campaigns and competitions along the lines of the Vermont experiment, launched ten years ago.

The movement for better town reports has been a detour from the original aim of the Vermont State Chamber of Commerce's Committee on Local Finances and Affairs to concentrate upon a study of town, village, and city finances. Ten years ago, finding that town reports which were supposed to—but then did not—present an attractive and illuminating picture of local finances and affairs, the Committee decided that its first task must be to help improve and modernize the annual reports of towns, villages, and cities. Only thus could financial trends and financial problems be clear, not only to an inquiring committee, but also to the citizens of the towns themselves.

Now that Vermont towns are modernizing their annual reports, so that the reports are revealing and illuminating, the time has come for the Committee to return to its original intention of concentrating on the financial problems of the towns.

As an initial step it is necessary for the Committee to select basic problems. It must learn what officers and citizens are thinking about, what the Vermont public wants. Accordingly, a special group of business men in close touch with the financial aspects of towns were appealed to for their suggestions as to needs and problems. Then twenty of these suggestions were printed in a referendum which gives officers and citizens an opportunity to tell the Committee what they think about their desirability and practicability. The referendum contains the suggestions briefed in a phrase and printed large, followed by some of the original comments and arguments in small type.

Expressing an Opinion

If the correspondent is busy and hurried, he can just check the items that seem to him most important. If he has more time, he can number the most significant items in what he feels is the order of their importance. If he is disposed to do a valuable service, he can write his reactions in the "What I Think" space allotted under each item. If he is in deadly earnest and cannot restrain himself, he is invited to write the Committee a letter of argument and exposition of his views. A number of invaluable letters have been received.

The two most popular suggestions were "Reduce debt as much as possible" and "Economize on all expenditures."

To the "reduce debt" suggestion 97½ per cent of the referendum voters declared their favorable attitude by checking the item, or by commenting upon it in the "What I Think" space on the sheet, or by indicating its relative importance among the twenty suggestions by giving it a number. Exactly one-half the referendum voters who numbered the "reduce debt" item designated it as Number 1 in importance.

To the "economize on all expenditures" suggestion 88 per cent of the voters indicated their favorable attitude in some one or all of the three ways, nearly one-half designating the "economize" suggestion as Number 1 or Number 2 in relative importance.

Of the referendum voters, 65 per cent react to the suggestion, "Have a study made to arrange plan and basis for assessments on real and personal property." Apparently they feel the need of improvement and the desirability of study and planning on the part of a commission appointed by the Governor of Vermont. Of those who indicate by number the relative importance of activity in this field, about one-third designate the suggestion as Number 1 or 2.

Comments on this suggestion are distinguished, on the one hand, by more pungent and powerful language and, on the other hand, by more expressions of fear and doubt of success than characterize the comments on any of the other referendum suggestions.

A public relations proposal, "Town officers would enjoy perusal of public laws," calls for the compilation in an inexpensive pamphlet of public laws which regulate and govern town affairs. Although 68 per cent of the referendum voters approve this suggestion as important, there is a significant 5 per cent who say some rather sad things about the citizens and the town officers for whose benefit the publication is proposed. The critics prophesy a document unattractive and probably unread.

Perhaps the way to meet the challenges of these invaluable critics is suggested by the comment of a village officer who says, "Would like something myself, as a village officer, something that is not wholly in legal phrases." If a humane and modernized editorial board of such a publication sheds sweat and tears in creating summaries and comments and side-headings, then citizen and officer may even "enjoy perusal of public laws."

Manager Plan

The attitude of the majority regarding the "Trend toward adoption of the town manager system" seems to be one of sympathetic interest under certain conditions. The system seems good, if just the right man can be found. It seems good, if the town is large enough. There is a disposition to raise the figure of the grand list[1] suggested in the referendum as the minimum for a manager town from $10,000 to $20,000.

While some referendum voters state that the town manager system is not a practicable system for small towns, others suggest that smaller towns might "group under one man."

Through these five suggestions, as well as others, the referendum is proving to be what critics in other states have called it, a thought-provoking device which aids the Vermont State Chamber Committee in getting its bearings.

JAMES P. TAYLOR, *Secretary*
Vermont State Chamber of Commerce

Pittsburgh Groups Cooperate to Publish New Directory

Pittsburgh's new directory of war activities, showing the part the community is playing in the war effort, originally was conceived as a mimeographed sheet and gradually grew into a forty-page booklet. A study of the directory shows what Pittsburgh is doing, as a community, to help win the war.

The writer was delegated to plan for a mimeographed sheet guide to war activities as the Civic Club's contribution to a "Forum of Women and the War."

It did not take long to discover that

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[1] Roughly 1 per cent of assessed valuation.

nothing less than a directory would adequately describe the community's various war activities and organizations, with addresses, officers, and telephone numbers. It was found that such a directory would fill a long felt need and prevent needless confusion among citizens who wanted to find out where war work was being done and by whom.

The fact that there was no money to print this information proved no obstacle, for a "Tom Sawyer" conference with some active members of the United Smoke Council, which wanted to make a little money, produced a capable chairman who was willing to solicit advertising to pay the printing bill. She was joined in her efforts by an able assistant and by the president and second vice-president of the Civic Club. Advertisers did not have to be coaxed and the printing bill was paid with a nice sum to spare for the work of the United Smoke Council.

The Allegheny County Office of Civilian Defense through its streamlined Citizens Defense Corps and the Citizens Service Corps gave enough information to start the project and only a telephone call was needed to make contacts with additional agencies.

The Red Cross section of the directory, with its fifteen services, would be applicable to any city since it covered in detail the opportunities for service.

Another division of the Directory covers the fourteen national and international war funds. The information on these would be substantially accurate for any city in the United States.

Extremely important to our readers was the explanation of the requirements for enlistment in the WAACS and the WAVES.

Additional items included information on the American Women's Voluntary Services, getting birth certificates, books, boy and girl activities, classes on celestial navigation, civil service, "dogs for defense," housing, home furnishing, mailings to service men, Memorial Gold Cross Ambulance Corps, military police, to mention only a few. There were a number of short items on training opportunities, transportation, and war-connected facts on houses, gardens, motor cars, telephone service, insurance, and, last but not least, wardrobes.

Just about enough advertising was secured to permit twenty pages of descriptive matter on the left hand page with an equal number of pages on the right for advertising.

Five thousand of these booklets were printed and the edition was immediately exhausted.

H. Marie Dermitt, *Secretary*
Civic Club of Allegheny County

Roundup—

FOR a good sample of promotion material, see a leaflet issued by the **Oakland (Michigan) Citizens League**, printed in blue and white and entitled "The League is on the job—pitching for you."

At the end of one year of manager government in **Port Huron, Michigan,** the **Citizens League** published in its leaflet, *The Citizen,* a summary of progress made. The article, prepared by the Mayor, lists accomplishments under these headings: departmental reorganization, centralized purchasing, wage increase, civil service, accounting and budget, tax rate, savings, city planning, waterworks, civilian defense, parking.

Early in January the **Chicago City Club** announced the appointment of a Committee on Postwar Planning and Progress, which as its first activity will attempt to get a concrete picture of conditions that will exist after the war. . . . This action brings the City

Club into line with a large number of citizen organizations, both national and local, which are devoting attention to postwar subjects.

At the latest election in **Needham (Mass.)** the **League of Women Voters** distributed "I have voted" tags at the polling places, which met with an enthusiastic response. . . . Here is a simple idea which other organizations interested in stimulating a sense of civic responsibility in the citizenry might take up.

The last page of the December issue of *Montana Taxpayer,* published by the **Montana Taxpayers' Association,** contains some extremely clear pictorial statistics on war finance, including national income, federal taxes, and a comparison in the rise in cost of living during the first and second world wars.

The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** issued the first number of *Tax News and Views* on January 12. Its contents included a copy of a letter from Executive Director Carter W. Atkins to Senator Maloney urging action on the Ruml plan and a collection of statements on the plan from Connecticut citizens.

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** has published its 1943 platform and program in a colorful pamphlet entitled *The Plan of Action.* Items included range all the way from such details as a change in the fiscal year of the State Highway Department to revision of the state constitution.

The January 1 issue of *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** contains information which every citizen of the state should be glad to have assembled in one place for ready reference—the names of the members of Congress from Wisconsin, state officers, members of the Wisconsin Senate and Assembly, and two maps outlining the State Senate and Assembly districts. R. M. W.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Counties Consider Charter Changes

Manager Plan Urged for Montgomery County, Md.

IN RESPONSE to questions posed by the Charter Board which was elected by the voters of Montgomery County, Maryland, last November, several civic organizations already have gone on record in favor of the manager plan of government. They also favor an independent controller responsible to the county council and adoption of the merit system. All agree that reform in size and method of selecting the county council is essential, but there remain some differences of opinion on details.

Civic organizations endorsing these changes include the Greater Kensington Civic League, the Branview-Sligo Community Association, the Woodside Park Civic Association, and the Parkside Citizens Association.

County Home Rule Revived in Wisconsin

The Wisconsin League of Women Voters has issued a broadside "Why Uniform County Government?" in order to stimulate interest in county home rule. It is attempting to secure repeal of the provision in Wisconsin's 1848 constitution that states, "The legislature shall establish but one system of town and county government which shall be as nearly uniform as practicable" and of the provisions requiring that the sheriff, coroner, register of deeds, district attorney, circuit court clerk, and probate judge be elected.

An optional charter law for counties was passed in 1921, but in 1934, after two counties had established new systems and others had voted to do so, the Supreme Court held the law to be a violation of the provision quoted above. Thus it appears county home rule can be effected only by constitutional amendment. The amendment process in Wisconsin requires passage by two successive legislatures and adoption by popular ratification.

Manager Plan Suggested for New York Counties

Under date of February 2 the *Watertown, New York, Times* editorializes: "The county manager form of government is entirely likely to gain particular headway in this state. It would not be surprising to see Jefferson County [Watertown] move for the change following the war. . . . Boards of supervisors need county managers to look closely after the affairs of the county, just as a big business must have a general manager in whom is vested responsibility."

City-County Consolidation in Philadelphia

The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research is proposing that a constitutional amendment permitting city-county consolidation in Philadelphia be introduced again in the 1943 legislature. Such an amendment was defeated by state referendum in 1937, although 47 per cent of the votes were cast in favor of the amendment, and in Philadelphia a substantial majority of the voters favored it.

Under the present structure the county continues to exist, although considerable advance in establishing a single city-county government was made in the consolidation act of 1854. However, there still remains an independently-elected sheriff, coroner, register of wills, and recorder of deeds. Complete abolition of the county as a unit would permit integration of budget control, purchasing, personnel administration, and many other functions now duplicated and in conflict with one another.

Under the Pennsylvania constitution an amendment requires passage by two successive legislatures and approval by the state electorate.

Census Bureau Releases 1941 County Finance Statistics

The United States Bureau of the Census, which issued its first (1940) report on county finance several months ago,[1] now has issued a preliminary edition of the second in the series. *Financial Statistics of Counties: 1941* continues to examine selected large urban counties, but, in addition, summarizes significant county data available from many states. The final edition of this second report will contain detailed schedules for twenty-seven urban counties and selected financial statistics for over two-thirds of the counties.

Comparison of the 1941 gross figures with 1932 data, taken from the decennial census compilation of that year, reveals decreases in property tax levies of 9.5 per cent, gross debt 19.2 per cent, and assessed valuations 13.9 per cent. County expenditures, however, increased. This was made possible by increased state aid which has given counties a major rôle in administration of welfare, health, roads, and schools. By far the largest portion of county funds in the states surveyed was expended for public welfare activities. Next largest, but considerably less than half as great, were expenditures for highway purposes. Then followed, in order of expenditure, general control, debt service, schools, hospitals, protection, health, correction, agriculture, recreation, and miscellaneous.

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[1] See REVIEW, December 1942, p. 637.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Fiscal Home Rule Urged for New York City

Revision of City-State Relationships Recommended

NEW YORK CITY is the largest of our municipalities, but its bigness merely accentuates the fact that it shares with other cities certain fiscal problems whose solution is possible only with the coöperation of the state. Foremost among these problems is that of devising an equitable and feasible division of state-local fiscal responsibility.

So far as the cities are concerned, the problem is a dual one. On the one hand, they are dependent on the state for authority to raise sufficient revenues to finance their requirements or for fiscal aid to supplement city revenues. On the other, they must have sufficient control over expenditures to be able to cut the coat to fit the cloth. In the face of property tax rate limitations, restricted sources of locally-collected miscellaneous revenues, state aid of varying degrees of adequacy, and the necessity for making mandatory expenditures over which there is little or no city budgetary control, few cities find themselves in a situation where they can be said to have any great degree of fiscal home rule.

New York City is no exception to the general rule, but recent recommendations by the subcommittee on state-city fiscal relations of the Mayor's Committee on City Finances indicate some of the changes necessary. Major recommendations of the committee, as reported in the New York City papers, were as follows:

1. An increase in city's taxing power and removal of present expiration dates for such emergency taxes as city sales tax, utilities tax, and gross business tax.

New York City is subject to a 2 per cent tax rate limitation for all purposes other than debt service. The special taxes, authorized by the legislature, are at present the budget-balancing taxes. The committee believes "that there should be delegated to municipalities the right to impose taxes other than real estate taxes, but such taxes must naturally not be of types which conflict with state tax policies."

2. Transfer to the state of certain mandatory expenses, including those for the Transit Commission and various courts.

The Transit Commission, whose function has withered away following unification, was abolished shortly after the recommendation was made. The city continues liable for expenses of the Appellate Division, the Supreme Court (which in New York State is not the court of last resort), the Surrogates' Courts, county courts, and the city court of New York.

3. Change from the present formula of meeting home relief costs, 60 per cent by the city and 40 per cent by the state, to a 50-50 basis.

4. Increasing the city's budgetary control over local courts, over non-teaching, non-supervisory employees of the Board of Education, over Board of Education equipment and supplies, and over the employees of the Board of Elections.

The city has no present control over school budgets, and while the committee does not propose that the city should extend its control to educational employees or functions, it does recommend control to bring non-teaching employees' salaries into line with those of other city employees and to have school purchases handled by the city's Department of Purchase. As regards employees of the Board of Elections, New York City and Schenectady are the only communities in the state not at present having this control.

5. Stabilization of the city's return from state-collected, locally-shared taxes. The committee recommends that instead of basing the local allocation on state collections, it be in a fixed amount based on population, so as to remove the fluctuations resulting from peaks and valleys in state receipts.

6. Adjustment of the local share of the state gasoline tax. The formula is suggested that the state base the local apportionment on the area of state highways within a city, rather than in terms of the amount of state gas tax receipts. To insure proper maintenance, the committee suggested that the state superintendent of highways have power to withhold funds if the city fails to keep the highways in satisfactory condition.

War Cuts Municipal Borrowing

Any fear that may have been entertained that American cities might maintain "business as usual" in regard to their capital improvement programs during the war has been dispelled by preliminary figures on state and local borrowing during 1942. According to *The Bond Buyer*, new municipal bond issues in 1942 were less than half the 1941 total. For the last ten years, issues were as follows:

1933	$1,127,576,331	1938	$1,229,105,539
1934	1,175,333,698	1939	1,098,604,265
1935	1,195,717,486	1940	1,497,683,294
1936	1,156,254,317	1941	1,229,493,072
1937	984,094,835	1942	570,240,728

For January 1943 the total was $60,349,091, as compared with $118,469,946 a year earlier.

Not only are the local units finding it necessary to borrow much less than normally, but they are also finding it difficult to obtain materials and labor for even "essential" construction. Seattle, which is in need of further additions to its city light and power system, has been attempting for nearly a year now to float a $7,000,000 bond issue for the construction, only to be repeatedly held up by the uncertainty as to whether necessary materials can be secured or work completed within the estimated cost. Demands on Seattle city light have increased tremendously because of the war boom there.

Another city unable to carry out essential construction is Tulsa, Oklahoma, also a war-boom town. In December 1941 Tulsa sold $3,833,000 bonds to finance additions to its water and sewer system, fire equipment additions, street improvements, etc. At June 30, 1942, only $476,935 of the bond money had been expended, and at December 31, 1942, there was still $3,217,634 of unexpended cash in the bond funds for the issues sold a year earlier. In fact, one sewer issue of $1,037,000 still showed cash of the same amount. Tulsa's experience may be extreme, but it indicates the extent to which capital programs, even in war production centers where priorities for municipal construction are highest, are being curtailed.

Census Bureau Speeds Up Finance Reports

Continuing last year's improvement in currency of publication and scope of content of the Census Bureau's annual series on finances of states (formerly called *Financial Statistics of States*), the first individual state report—Tennessee —on *State Finances: 1942* was released in January 1943. This represents a gain of eight months in comparison with the September 1942 release date of the first 1941 state report. Reports on the 1942 finances of the remaining forty-seven states will be issued shortly.

Corresponding speed-ups in publication of the Census Bureau's series on finances of cities having populations over 100,000—*City Finances: 1942*—are planned to provide up-to-date information needed in connection with development and administration of war programs and the formulation of postwar policies.

Simultaneously with this speed-up in publication, scope of the data has been greatly increased. Previously, the first financial reports for a given year contained only a few summary totals; details did not appear until a year later. The reports for 1941 and 1942, on the other hand, present detailed financial statistics for each unit of government.

Another major improvement is the modernization of concepts used. For example, statistics of sinking and trust funds are no longer consolidated with those of the general funds, but are set forth separately. Similarly, expenditures made by governments for debt services are now recognized. Separate presentation of enterprise data is not only continued but, wherever available, profit and loss statements and balance sheet items are presented. In the case of city reports, the statistics presented are those that relate to the city corporation rather than those resulting from a consolidation of figures for the city corporation and for some overlying governmental units.

The principal changes made in the 1942 reports are, first, greater emphasis on the functional distribution of expenditures, and, second (in the case of state reports), separation of payments for state aid from direct operation expenditure.

County reporting was inaugurated last year. Although county data had been collected annually by the Census Bureau since 1907, the county reports for 1940 and 1941 appearing in September and December 1942, respectively, were the first publications of such data.[1]

LEWIS B. SIMS

Bureau of the Census

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Seventh P. R. Election in Norris, Tennessee

TVA Community Chooses Advisory Council

TVA's town of Norris held its seventh PR election on February 1. Since its adoption in 1936, the townspeople of Norris have annually selected a council of nine members by the Hare system of proportional representation. While the council has no actual powers, it serves in an advisory capacity to the town management.

Sixteen candidates, including four members of the outgoing council and two women, qualified for the nine positions to be filled on the town council. A total of 289 ballots were cast, 288 of which were valid. This vote represented less than half the eligible voters of the town. The absence of important issues and the demands on citizen time because of the war undoubtedly reduced participation in the election.

Two candidates received more than enough first choices to be elected. The transfer of their surplus ballots resulted in the election of one more candidate. The elimination of the two lowest ranking candidates, however, failed to elect any additional members. One candidate was elected on the sixth transfer of votes, one on the eighth, two on the ninth, and two on the tenth and final transfer of votes. More than 90 per cent of the voters helped elect someone for whom they had voted, and seven out of ten saw their first choices elected.

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[1] See also p. 157.

Of the nine candidates elected to membership on the council, eight ranked highest on the first ballot. The other candidate that was elected ranked eleventh in terms of first-choice votes.

Two of the four members of the outgoing council who sought re-election were defeated. Although the new council will retain only two members of the outgoing council, one other member has previously served on the council and several have served on council committees. In addition, the new council will have as a member a person with approximately ten years city manager experience.

The membership of the new council will include six employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority, two housewives, and a representative of a private concern. This council, in addition to acting in an advisory capacity to management, will be concerned with relationships between the community and the school, now under the jurisdiction of the University of Tennessee, and with civilian defense and related problems.

M. H. Satterfield, *Chairman*
Norris Election Commission

Research Bureau Reports Received

Graft

A Letter from a Dean of Public Administration to His Graduates About How to Graft. By Lent D. Upson. Detroit, 1942. 29 pp.

Municipal Reports

Our Home Town, Houma. Baton Rouge, Bureau of Government Research, Louisiana State University, 1942. 36 pp.

Public Utilities

Municipal Electric Utilities in Texas. By Robert H. Gregory. Austin, Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Texas, 1942. 295 pp.

Research

Proceedings, Western Governmental Research Association, Fifth Annual Conference. Berkeley, 1942. 43 pp.

Statistics

Statistical Theory in One Easy Lesson. By Lent D. Upson. Detroit, 1943. 20 pp.

Taxation

Personal Property Taxes in Kansas City and Jackson County. Kansas City, Missouri, Civic Research Institute, 1942. 30 pp.

THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST

(Continued from Page 144)

Stanford University succeeds Professor Frank Stewart of the University of California at Los Angeles as president of the Association.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

School of the Citizen Soldier. Adapted from the Educational Program of the Second Army, Lieutenant General Ben Lear, Commanding. Lieutenant Colonel Robert A. Griffin, Editor; Lieutenant Colonel Ronald M. Shaw, Assistant Editor. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942. xvii, 558 pp. $2.40.

The jacket of this book announces that the book contains "What every one should know about the United States." The volume came into being for several reasons: one of these was the lack of soldiers' knowledge as to the resources and history of our country, another is the belief expressed in the words of General Lear that with such knowledge a soldier "will work with greater zeal to perfect himself as a soldier."

That such lack has been widespread is not news to anyone engaged in civic work. Teachers of the social sciences have made a systematic search for remedies, one of which was seen to be better teaching methods. Therein lies the excellence of this book: it is not alone the material presented but the method of presentation that makes it outstanding. The pedagogics, the approach, the style, make it so that "readable" is a weak term, it could better be called "rememberable." For instance, in describing the division of prize money after the battle of Waterloo, we are told that the share of the enlisted men "was probably enough to buy them a couple of beers."

A notable chapter is "The United States Since 1918," which comes as close to clear verbal photography as words can. Part IV is a discussion of the Armed Forces of the nation and is as valuable to a citizen who is not a soldier as to one who is.

The war should lead many besides those in uniform to want to know the sort of thing this book contains—they will find nothing better for the purpose. In the days when ballots again become the sole tools this democracy need use to preserve itself, the impression this school in book form will have left on the minds of our victorious soldiers will be only beneficial, and so long as any American citizen must also be a soldier it will be as valuable to him as actual arms.

WALTER J. MILLARD

Employee Relations in the Public Service. A Report Submitted to the Civil Service Assembly by the Committee on Employee Relations in the Public Service, Gordon R. Clapp, Chairman. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1942. xx, 246 pp. $3.

This is another in the series of studies of various phases of public personnel administration being conducted by committees organized by the Civil Service Assembly. This committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Gordon Clapp of the TVA, has done an admirable job in its treatment of a difficult subject. The reviewer found the basic principles underlying the problem to be well defined:

Management must devote attention to employee relations, since staff performance is so intimately bound up with the employee's reaction to his work situation. Employee morale has become a necessary concern of department heads and chief executives. A logical approach to the problem takes into account the basic interests motivating employees, which are perhaps best shown by analyzing the objectives which employees have organized to attain.

A matter of great import to administrators is that employee organizations have sometimes sought legislation which acted to restrict effective administration. An underlying cause for this may be the failure of management to consult employees or to deny them expression through their organizations. Conversely, some of the laws essential to good personnel administration would not have been enacted were it not for employee pressure on the legislature.

In dealing with employees at all levels of government, the administration may choose from a variety of basic policies. As one possibility, the management may refuse to negotiate with any organized group and insist upon dealing with employees individually. The administration may also choose to establish an employee representation plan similar in many respects to the "company union." A further alternative is the indiscriminate carrying on of relations with either union representatives or individual employees. Another arrangement is that under which the administration deals with an organization having representatives independent of the service, and finally, under certain specialized conditions, a closed shop agreement may be entered into. The authors state that the method of dealing with organized representatives possesses definite advantages when compared to the policy of denying collective representation. Above all, considered judgment must be exercised in dealing with employee groups.

The field of employee relations has now crystallized to the point where it is looked upon as a function requiring special attention by the personnel agency. This agency may delegate staff to act in an advisory, interpretive, or adjudicative capacity or in any combination of these, but, in the final analysis, this staff can be effective only when it has won the confidence of supervisors and employees alike. After the policy has been determined, however, the application of this policy and its interpretation in a specific situation is a responsibility of line administration, with opportunity for appeal to the hierarchy and final review by the personnel agency as the representative of the chief executive.

With public employees slowly moving toward unionism, no serious administrator can possibly overlook the problem of employee relationships, for if he does it will necessarily be forced upon his attention. For this reason alone, this volume is worthwhile.

STANLEY KOLLIN

New York State Department
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Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Fundamentals of Governmental Accounting (Successor to Introduction to Governmental Accounting, 1927, 1936). By Lloyd Morey and Robert Phillip Hackett. New York City, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942. xi, 448 pp. $4.

Assessing

Depreciation of Buildings for Assessment Purposes. By Ronald B. Welch. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1943. 66 pp. $2.

Democracy

Print, Radio, and Film in a Democracy. Ten papers on the administration of mass communications in the public interest, read before the Sixth Annual Institute of the Graduate Library School, University of Chicago. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1942. xiv, 197 pp. $2.

Education

Planning Schools for Tomorrow. The Issues Involved. By John Guy Fowlkes, with the coöperation of The Committee on Planning for Education of the U. S. Office of Education. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. vii, 26 pp. Ten cents.

Fire

The Cocoanut Grove Night Club Fire. (With Suggested Ordinance on Life Safety, etc.) By Robert S. Moulton. Boston, National Fire Protection Association, 1943. 20 pp. 25 cents.

Personnel

Careers in New York State Government. By New York State Department of Civil Service in Coöperation with the Committee of College Deans of the Association of Colleges and Universities of the State of New York. Albany, New York State Department of Civil Service, 1942. 62 pp. Fifteen cents.

The Compensation of Officers and Employees of the State and Local Governments in Nebraska. By Research Department. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1943. 59 pp.

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Community Planning in Tennessee. A progress report for the fiscal year July 1941 to June 1942. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1942. vi, 80 pp.

Taxation and Finance

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Traffic

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War

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Zoning

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Reports and Reporting

WITHIN the past generation more and more cities have adopted the wholesome custom of reporting to the people annually on how their public services have been run. This is in line with the philosophy which happily is gaining adherents that public officials are servants of the public and that they possess a public trust, not a private oyster to exploit on behalf of themselves and their personal friends and followers.

Only by having such information can citizens play their basic role of voting intelligently on issues and candidates.

With all the progress in public reporting which has been made, there is still need for the designer of a report to bear in mind that his duty is not necessarily fulfilled simply by a presentation of pertinent facts. A document which will report the facts to a trained accountant would be of little significance to the average citizen, the one to whom the report actually should be addressed.

Would it be sufficient, then, to couch the report in simple terms which anyone can understand? Not necessarily, for the author of the report, desiring that it be widely read, should have in mind the short time between dinner and a favorite radio commentator during which the citizen might feel he has time to spare. He should have in mind also that his report will be in competition for reader acceptance with a great volume of material which has been made as attractive, appetizing, and challenging as advertising men, artists, and public relations experts can make it. There is no real point in taking the attitude that it is the citizen's duty to read what is good for him and for his community. Right or wrong, things just don't work out that way.

The scientific technician is prone to question the soundness of anything which has been sugar-coated to make it more palatable and too often there is a tendency to feel that dullness must be the handmaiden of scholarship.

A shining illustration of a report that is both physically attractive and soundly informative is the one issued by Kansas City, Missouri, for the year 1941-42. From it the well informed highly intelligent citizen can gain all the information he could possibly want about how his city is run, with nothing cheap and shallow to offend him even though the retarded citizen can understand and appreciate and enjoy the many beautiful pictures which in themselves "tell a story." This report, by the way, must be like joyous spring sunshine to Kansas Cityans after the long generation of a blackout of information on public affairs while the Pendergast machine held sway.

Another interesting and perhaps pioneer example which might well be studied in some communities which are addicted to voluminous and detailed "books" is the recent report of Rochester, New York. Although this report, as a wartime economy measure, has been cut to six pages from the previous year's thirty-two, it is clear, meaty, and thoroughly informative.

There is no excuse for a municipal report, intended for popular consumption, to be dull, weighty, and unattractive. Adequate preliminary planning and study should make it possible to separate the essential and significant facts from unimportant technical detail which the average citizen is unable to understand.

Progress in the technique of fact-assembling and presentation has been very great, largely due to the influence of the International City Managers' Association and its check-list of facts which best illustrate municipal operations. Perhaps it should also be recognized that reporting, in addition to being the job of the technician, is the job of the public relations man. Some of the most effective reports issued by public agencies are those on which outside publicity and advertising agencies have collaborated.

When Are We Old Enough?

NEW support for the idea of lowering the voting age to eighteen is being won by the argument that anyone old enough to fight for his country is old enough to have a say in how his city, county, state, and nation are to be run.

This proposition seems fair enough, and there are even more logical and attractive arguments. While there unquestionably are grounds for the claim that youth is more receptive than age to radical, untested, and sometimes dangerous ideas, it isn't the mere passage of years which produces responsible, intelligent, well informed voters. Election results are heavy with evidence to the contrary.

Many young men and women of eighteen, fresh from courses which have encouraged them to examine public affairs in their own communities, are more alive to civic problems than are their parents. But as a young person moves on from high school into that painful three-year period during which he is almost

(Continued on Page 220)

Frank O. Lowden, a vice-president and former member of the Council of the National Municipal League, died on March 20 in Tucson, Arizona, at the age of eighty-two, after a long and notable career of public service. While Governor of Illinois, Mr. Lowden instituted sweeping reorganization. He also served as a member of Congress and narrowly missed nomination for the presidency in 1920. A blacksmith's son born in a log cabin, Mr. Lowden worked his way through school and to a position of wealth and influence. During his later years, when he retired to the operation of his farms in Illinois and New York, his counsel as an elder statesman was frequently sought.

Charles W. Tooke, professor emeritus at New York University School of Law and an authority on municipal law, died March 2 at seventy-two. Dr. Tooke, editor from 1926 to 1932 of "Judicial Decisions," a section of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, was identified with the American Bar Association's Section on Municipal Law in several capacities. He had taught at various institutions since 1895.

The Postwar City

It is not enough for experts to make plans. They must be down to earth, have support of public opinion, and be accepted by democratically-elected officials.

By **THOMAS H. REED**
Municipal Consultant

THOSE who expect the pattern of urban living to undergo a swift and revolutionary change in the postwar period are in all probability doomed to disappointment. We will not be living day after tomorrow in some Utopian dream city. Changes will take place but they will be gradual changes. This is inevitable because of the overwhelming mass of vested rights and the large proportion which existing buildings bear to current resources for building. Cities often grow rapidly under some special economic stimulus, but they die slowly, and even in growing cities old sections long preserve their physical characteristics if not their social standing.

Even where flood, fire, hurricane, earthquake, or bomb havoc have cleared the ground of existing structures there is a strong tendency for cities to be rebuilt on their old street patterns, if for no other reason than because the adjustment or extinguishment of private rights necessary to a new street layout is inevitably such a time-consuming process that the city's economic life cannot brook the delay. This was true in the sacked towns of the middle ages, of London after the great fire, of San Francisco after its fire, and of Tokyo after its last great earthquake. Even dictatorial authority hesitates to buck the desire of men to get back to work.

The most striking example in history of the reconstitution of a great city, the development of the boulevard system in Paris under Napoleon III, left most of the narrow streets and crowded rookeries of old Paris nestling securely in the arms of a few spectacular thoroughfares. Parisian living was not revolutionized, and in the teeming suburbs the worst of housing conditions grew up unchecked.

We may expect after the war therefore that our cities will continue or resume that evolution which has been taking place in the past few decades. Here and there the tendencies of the time will be hastened or restrained by public policy, but by and large the process of decentralization will go on.

The territorial expansion of cities which began when gunpowder released the medieval city from the prison of its walls and grew great with improved means of transportation has undoubtedly received fresh stimulus from the exposure of cities to attack from the air. Until a means of defense against bombing has been found it will be to the advantage of every country to distribute its industries and its commercial and living centers more widely than has been our habit.

But even the desire for protection from hostile blitz will have to accommodate itself to the fact that vast investments cannot be scrapped and large numbers of people voluntarily separated from their native soil, except with considerable deliberation. The chances are that a 1943 Rip Van Winkle could have his sleep out and come back to a thoroughly recognizable New York in 1963—improved but not revolutionized.

Such slow progress may not satisfy the impatience of those who want to use lavish expenditure on city rebuilding as a means of keeping the national income up to 110 billions; it is much more compatible with our actual capacities. It should be clear to anyone that the investment of vast sums in the hurried rebuilding of cities in the wrong way would be disastrous from every point of view. To be sure we were doing it in the right way would require sound master plans for every urban area, including in each case a fairly definitive land-use pattern, ideal densities of population for each sub-area, and a coordinated system of transportation and terminals, accompanied—in the words of one of the strongest "hurry-uppers"—"by the data necessary to justify all assumptions of future change."[1] This last is of the utmost importance when rebuilding for the next half to three-quarters of a century.

It is a regrettable fact, however, that there are only a handful of cities which have master plans on which any one, except in some cases their immediate authors, would desire to predicate wholesale rebuilding. Nor is there any prospect for the swift evolution of such plans for communities in general. Where can the best and wisest planners get the "data necessary to justify all assumptions as to future change." Who can foretell today where the rapidly shifting population of the country will settle down after the war—or where it should settle down?

Even Planners Differ

Wishful thinkers can find data to justify in their minds almost any assumption as to the future, but honest scientists are in real confusion. For example, there are indications to support the prophecy that New York City will lose a million inhabitants before the next census. The present trend of population and business from New York, however, may be only temporary and the conclusions of steady growth reached by the Regional Plan Association some years ago may in the long run prove reliable. Who knows? You can't very well plan a house without knowing the size of the family.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that planners differ among themselves. Take the matter of density, for example. The New York City Housing Authority, with the approval of the Planning Commission, has recently committed itself to a project in South Harlem where the density is to be 456 to the acre. The Citizens Housing Council has made the welkin ring with its indignant cries that this is two or three times too many. At the same time Professor Hansen, in his article in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for February, urges that "except for such of the population without young children as prefer to live in multiple structures every dwelling-unit should have some plot of ground of its own." Single-family homes on separate lots mean a density of fifty to sixty persons to the acre, from one-fifth to one-fourth of the average density of residential blocks in Manhattan. The cost of providing for transportation and for municipal services, if our great city populations were dispersed so thinly, leads other planners to advocate multiple dwellings and communal recreation areas. Until such questions are settled among planners, however, we are not going to be ready for wholesale rebuilding.

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[1] Alvin Hansen, "The City of the Future," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1943.

Popular Support Necessary

It is not enough, moreover, for experts to make plans. To be effective they must have the support of public opinion and be accepted by democratically elected officials. Take the matter of land-use patterns—essential to plans for city rebuilding. The New York City Planning Commission a few years ago prepared a tentative long-range land-use map. Irrespective of whether the work was well done or not, it was a beginning on the long delayed master plan of New York. The public at large never understood what was going on and remained indifferent so that when Robert Moses, a pronounced opponent of the land-use plan, was put in actual if not nominal command of the Planning Commission it was easy for him to ditch the whole project. Technical city planning in New York received a bad black eye. As this article is written, the National Resources Planning Board has been totally rejected by Congress. It would be doing no service to planning to suggest that most politicians, especially local politicians, give anything more than lip service to that fundamental function of government.

In other words, it is sheer romanticism to talk about wholesale planned rebuilding of our cities until the American people and their representatives have been sold on planning. If they are to be sold, it will have to be a whole lot better planning than, except in some isolated cases, we have yet done. We have done a lot more talking about planning than we have done planning, and many of our so-called plans are no better than pretty dream pictures which do credit to the imagination and draughtsmanship of their authors but are not real plans.

A proper plan differs from a dream, not so much in the technique of its presentation as in being so closely related to human experience that reasonable non-technical men can be induced to act on it. To make good plans it is necessary to call in the skills not only of the architect and the engineer, but of the economist, the political scientist, the sociologist, and of the masters of finance, administration, and industrial organization. To organize enough such teams to provide complete plans for all our cities is a work not of years but of decades.

It may be asked, "Would not the offer of extensive federal aid toward city rebuilding conditioned on approved plans immediately stimulate prodigious planning activity?" Yes, activity of a sort. Under such circumstances every city in the country would hasten to make a plan. There would be many more jobs for planners than there are properly qualified planners to fill them. Haste, lack of adequate personnel, absence of recognized standards, and the multiple vagaries of uninformed local public opinion would result in a flood of "plans" on which it would be folly to invest the productive energy of the country.

If the prime motive of the federal government were to improve planning, or to build better cities, many of these plans would be rejected. Federally-aided urban redevelopment would then proceed slowly in a relatively small number of communities until the rest had learned the lesson and a legion of planners had grown up to help them. This would be sound, constructive, and commendable. It would not, however, satisfy those who look on urban redevelopment chiefly as a means of pouring billions of government expenditure into the economic blood-stream of the nation. The close scrutiny of local plans would defeat their purpose. Such deliberate procedure would disappoint too those eager souls without historical sense who want everything done at once. We must beware both of the spenders for spending's sake and the starry-eyed optimists who are their first cousins if we are to do our rebuilding soundly.

There is much that can be done in the urban redevelopment field in the postwar period to counteract unemployment and a slowing down in our productive machine. It is a prime condition of success in this, however, that no more be undertaken than can be carefully and soundly planned to contribute, in reasonable proportion to the size of the investment, to the efficiency and productivity of our national economy.

Slums vs. Urban Blight

This conclusion in favor of deliberation is strongly reinforced when we consider the financial aspects of the subject. The purpose of urban redevelopment should be primarily to cure the evils of overcrowding and slum living and to counteract the influence of blight. The first is primarily a social and the latter an economic problem. It is possible to solve the first while making the second more difficult. Slums are often found in blighted areas, but not all slums are blighted. The old New York East Side, in the days of its greatest overcrowding, was a terrible slum, but it brought handsome returns to the owners of its disgraceful properties. The movement of population away from it has diminished its evil character as a slum but plunged it into a hopeless sea of blight.

Low-rent housing projects in outlying areas can relieve slum conditions. Clearance can remove them altogether, but both together cannot restore the economic status of the area. Indeed, they may make it worse. Furthermore, a large proportion of blight is caused by mere obsolescence which reduces the value of property for its present use without its becoming available for any other.

Blight, in this sense, attacks business and industrial as well as residential areas. Its chief victim, aside from the immediate owners of the property, is the city government which sees its tax base shrinking without any corresponding reduction in its spending requirements.

To check the spread of blight, and by rebuilding restore the depreciated areas to the best use for which they are adapted, should promote the economic soundness of the community and put a better foundation under the city treasury. As an economic problem, however, there would be no use in solving it by the creation of other economic problems equally or more burdensome to the community. If good plans were ready everywhere, there is no way of financing such a colossal project as the immediate rebuilding of American cities extensively enough to conquer blight without a serious threat to our economic order.

The amount involved is prodigious, and what is worse, a very great sum must be spent—it would be better to say wasted—in preliminary preparations before a brick can be laid. Professor Alvin Hansen, one of the principal advocates of large-scale rebuilding, finds—very correctly—in the high prices demanded by owners of blighted property a practically impassible obstacle to redevelopment by private initiative or public low-rent housing projects. He therefore proposes that the federal government absorb the difference between market value or condemnation price, on the one hand, and real value in use, on the other. Under this plan, the only one proposed under which immediate rebuilding would be possible, the federal government would provide funds with which the city would acquire blighted property to be developed in accordance with an approved plan. Some of the land would be used for streets, parks, and other public improvements. The remainder would be let by the city on long-term leases at a ground rent sufficiently low to encourage redevelopment either by public or private agencies. The city would pay to the federal government only the difference between the ground rent and the equivalent of normal municipal taxes—probably very little.

Making the Federal Government Pay

While it is impossible to say just what the cost of thus clearing the ground for redevelopment would be, forty-five or fifty billions is a modest estimate. The moment the federal government announced its willingness to buy blighted property at its condemnation price, speculation in blighted lots would start. The government would pay through the nose for the privilege of bailing the owners out of their depreciated investments. Whatever sum was borrowed by the United States to finance this operation would become a direct burden on the federal taxpayer, since no pretense is made that the project would be in any real sense self-liquidating. This irredeemable federal investment would, of course, start some local government and private spending for redevelopment. It is certain, however, that the total investment—federal, local, and private—would be far in excess of the value created.

There are two opinions about the Hansen-Greer or Keynesian prescription for postwar prosperity. Some accept and some reject their thesis that a program of government expenditures can be relied on to maintain the national income at the 110-billion-dollar level and that in so doing we need not be concerned that the national debt is piling up to 200 billions or more. This is not the place to argue that question. Even adherents of these doctrines, however, have reason to be concerned over the investment of billions, not in creating value or increasing productivity but in liquidating the existing losses of the owners of blighted property. Only on the theory—which no responsible economist supports—that not only can there not be too much government spending, but that it makes no difference what the spending is for, can this particular type of investment be justified. In its most favorable light it is a costly means of promoting local government and private investment of doubtful magnitude, and in view of the planning bottle-neck, of more than doubtful permanent value. Money or productive energy spent in building cities in the wrong places and in the wrong way is worse than useless waste. Even assuming a sound plan, it is no better in each case than a forced hastening of the process of decay to make possible a fresh start from scratch, a permanent assumption by the whole community of the losses of blight.

It would be truly unfortunate if a mirage of the future city—rebuilt by such doubtful means—should lead us to relax our efforts in behalf of the more pedestrian measures which experience and common sense suggest as means of mitigating and gradually solving the problem of blight. Dispersion of urban population—highly desirable as it is where densities are now too high—has been going on too rapidly and without adequate control. It can be checked and controls established over the living pattern of our rapidly growing suburbs. Subdivision control on the Cincinnati model, building and sanitary codes to protect the migrants in their new locations, improved zoning regulations covering use and density factors, will not only retard the outward movement of those who seek supposedly cheap living but will prevent the rapid growth of potential slums which is now going on in the environs of our large cities. It would be silly to spend billions getting rid of slums inside while allowing other slums to grow up outside. The federal government can greatly aid in this by directing the policy of FHA to conform to local efforts to channel the flood of outward moving population.

Improve the City

More and better enforced plans for the major transportation and other features of the growing environs can prevent in some degree at least the misdirection of the outward movement. A reconsideration of federal, state, and local spending policies, which in recent years have emphasized bridges, tunnels, and superhighways, to make it easy for people to escape from the city, to the exclusion of those improvements which might make it more comfortable to remain in the city, could check to any desired degree the suburban trend and create a motive for the rehabilitation of moderately blighted areas.

Many blighted areas are simply old districts from which the original population has followed the Joneses to new homes in the outskirts. These districts have no great anti-social conditions to combat now, though they may if present tendencies continue. They do not need to be torn down and rebuilt, only rehabilitated. Some good new schools such as they have in newer sections, more parks and open spaces, satisfactory sewers, well cared for streets, traffic safety control, and, by no means least, a workable smoke prevention ordinance, would check the progress of blight in these districts and encourage the repair and reconstruction of thousands of homes. No one doubts that within proper limits public works are a commendable means of limiting the effects of depression. Directed as suggested here, they can do much to reverse population trends.

At the same time the problem of the more seriously blighted areas can be attacked directly. Rezoning to eliminate excessive classification for commerce and industry would have a wholesome effect on the "value" of property. Courageous assessing which met squarely the problem of declining values would further help without much reducing net revenues collected. High assessments in such areas are often the cause of an excess of delinquent taxes. Unvarying adherence to the means provided by law for enforcing the payment of real estate taxes, and improvements in the law to allow proceedings *in rem,* would quickly put numerous parcels in public ownership.

Strict enforcement of tenement house and sanitary regulations would close or demolish many of the worst structures and diminish the resistance of their owners to redevelopment. Severe regulations as to the character of new construction and loyal support of master plans where they exist—and may there soon be more of them—will prevent new complications from arising.

By the combination of such means the ground can be cleared for rebuilding, not so quickly but infinitely more cheaply than by buying out all existing proprietors at a stroke, much more fairly too when one thinks of others with bad investments whom no one proposes to bail out.

Metropolitan Areas Problem

To cap this program, the local governments in metropolitan areas should be consolidated and tax burdens equalized throughout them. This would vigorously implement the means suggested for controlling suburban expansion. It would put municipal finance on a sounder basis. It would also remove one of the most powerful motives for the outward movement of population—the hope of having near the urban periphery rural taxes without giving up city advantages. If it is said that such integration is politically impossible it is the same thing as saying that effective local self-government is impossible. It would also write finis over

(Continued on Page 189)

A People's Institute for Postwar Planning

An Experiment in Democratic Group Thinking Sponsored by Temple University, Philadelphia, February 18, 19 and 20.

By **MERRILL E. BUSH**
Teachers College, Temple University

THREE enormously complex problems confronting postwar United States challenge the most searching and painstaking thought of which the American public is capable. Simply stated, they are: (1) What shall be America's relation to the postwar world order? (2) What shall be America's postwar educational policy? and (3) What shall be America's postwar economic organization?

On February 18, 19, and 20 a cross-section of the American public residing in the Philadelphia area wrestled with these problems under the guidance of experienced discussion leaders. Competent guest speakers[1] contributed the results of their thinking to clarify the issues involved, but the keynote of the Institute for Postwar Planning, sponsored by Temple University, was the cooperative exchange of ideas among the people themselves in a series of small discussion groups continuing throughout the three days.

No blue print was formulated, no final conclusions were reached; this was not our purpose. We feel that it is not the function of the people to work out detailed plans; that is the task of the experts. But it *is* the prerogative of the people to determine what they want, to lay an injunction upon the planners which stipulates: "These things we demand; those we will not tolerate."

The purpose of the project was threefold: (1) to acquaint a cross-section of the public with certain basic postwar problems and with current proposals for their solution; (2) to work out areas of agreement in terms of fundamental principles for evaluating such plans; and (3) to illustrate the democratic method of group thinking in its application to important issues which challenge the American way of life.

A continuing nucleus of some three hundred men and women representing various groups within the community was present for nearly all sessions. Over six hundred invited

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[1] Guest speakers who addressed the Institute were:

On Problems of World Organization
Dr. Mousheng Lin, Editor, Chinese News Service, representing Asia
Dr. John S. Badeau, Dean, American University at Cairo, Europe and Near East
Arthur Sweetser, United States Office of War Information, United States

On Problems of Postwar Education in the United States
President Harry D. Gideonse, Brooklyn College, New York
Clinton S. Golden, United Steel Workers of America and War Manpower Commission

On Preventing a Postwar Depression
Professor Alvin H. Hansen, Harvard University and War Manpower Commission
William Benton, Vice-President, University of Chicago and Committee for Economic Development

guests were present for one of the evening meetings. Twelve groups, four for each of the three topics, held four two-hour discussions. Each participant who agreed to attend all scheduled meetings of a discussion group was assigned to one of those discussing the topic of his choice. Since the groups met simultaneously, it was possible to maintain a fairly constant membership throughout the sessions and also to insure a reasonably typical representation of varied interests and backgrounds in each. This plan of organization enabled discussion to develop through the stages implicit in the purpose of the Institute.

Agenda Prepared

In order to facilitate this development the discussion leaders[2] met prior to the Institute to draw up discussion agenda. The result is interesting and significant. All agreed that each group, regardless of topic, should follow the same main themes, one for each of the four meetings. After considerable deliberation and in the light of the purposes of the conference, these themes were stated as follows:

1. What will be the major issues in the postwar world and out of what situations will they arise?
2. What policies are proposed to meet these issues and on what grounds are they supported?
3. Upon what elements in these proposals do we agree, and why? Upon what elements do we disagree, and why?
4. What shall be done about our disagreements? How can we forward and implement those policies upon which we agree?

Each of these central themes was somewhat reworded to adapt it to the topic under discussion by a particular group. In addition each discussion leader was asked to work out five or six discussion-provoking questions under each theme for his own use. A brief description of the Institute purposes and procedures as well as a statement of the four themes for discussion under each of the three topics was mimeographed and placed in the hands of the participants.

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[2] The success of any such project depends primarily upon the skill and experience of those whose task it is to guide group thinking. The competent leader is keenly aware that his task is to draw forth "the sense of the meeting," as the Quakers express it. No leader worthy of the name will permit himself to dominate the discussion nor to impose his own ideas upon his group. We were peculiarly fortunate in securing the services of men outstanding in their mastery of the discussion technique. They include Dr. Francis K. Ballaine, Department of Philosophy, Adelphi College; Dr. Karl R. Bopp, Research Director of the Federal Reserve Bank in Philadelphia; Dr. Le Roy Bowman, Supervisor of Adult Education, the University of the State of New York; Professor Phillips Bradley, Department of Political Science, Queens College; Professor Harrison S. Elliott, Union Theological Seminary; Dr. William T. R. Fox, Institute of International Relations, Yale University; Mr. Philip E. Jacob of the Civilian Public Service Division, American Friends Service Committee; Mr. Bruno Lasker, Research Associate, Institute of Pacific Relations; Dr. John W. Nason, President of Swarthmore College; Professor Houston Peterson, Division of Social Philosophy, Cooper Union; Dr. Ordway Tead, Chairman of the Board of Higher Education, New York City, and Editor, Economic Books, Harper & Brothers; and Mr. E. N. Thompson, Consultant for the National Resources Planning Board and Assistant Secretary of the National Municipal League.

The planning, organization, and administration of the Institute were done by a volunteer planning committee of some fifty faculty members and students from Temple University. An Executive Committee of eleven faculty members,[3] with the author of this article as chairman, took the initiative in formulating policies and carrying out the details of organization. The administrative officers of the University gave generously of their time, energy, and enthusiasm to insuring the success of the project. President Robert L. Johnson, Vice-President Millard E. Gladfelter, and University Secretary William W. Tomlinson spent many hours in consultation with members of the Executive Committee. The President presided at the two luncheon and two dinner meetings to which the Institute audience was invited as guests of the University.

Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, of Columbia University, gave invaluable assistance in formulating the original plan of the Institute, directing faculty thinking in a series of planning meetings, suggesting speakers and discussion leaders, and contributing generously of his experience with conferences concerned with similar problems. Officially Director of the Institute, Dr. Lindeman was unfortunately prevented by illness from attending the actual sessions.

It should be pointed out that, ideally, such a project would result from the joint planning of the organization sponsoring the conference and representatives of the groups invited to attend. We believe that nowhere does the American genius show itself more effectively than in the voluntary organization of coöperating groups for joint planning and action on common problems.[4] We also believe that no attack upon community problems can be truly democratic which does not bring together representatives of all the groups affected. Unquestionably, a People's Institute should be planned by the people. In the present case, however, the exigencies of the war effort seemed to preclude the actual calling together of such a representative committee to work through the details of policy, much less of organization.

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[3] The Executive Committee included Dr. J. Stewart Burgess, Professor of Sociology; Miss Nancy Campbell, Department of Music Education; Dr. Barrows Dunham, Assistant Professor of Philosophy; Dr. Walter D. Ferguson, Associate Professor of English; Mr. Daniel M. Fisk, Assistant Professor of History; Miss M. Catherine Hinchey, Department of Biology; Mr. Charles L. Katz, Reference Librarian; Dr. Russell H. Mack, Associate Professor of Economics; Dr. Henry J. Rehn, Associate Professor of Business Administration; and Dr. Raymond S. Short, Assistant Professor of Political Science. Some of these had been meeting at frequent intervals for over a year as members of the Committee on Postwar Planning, the purpose of which has been to work out ways in which the University might provide leadership in problems arising out of the current emergency. One of the projects sponsored by this Committee is a series of forums for high school youth centering in the theme, "World War II—Its Implications for Youth and the Future." Attendance at these forums has run as high as 450 high school pupils and faculty members, representing over fifty schools in Philadelphia and its suburban areas.

[4] The article, "Rochester Plans for Peace," by Harold W. Sanford, appearing in the February issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, is an excellent illustration of this form of democratic action.

Civic Groups Assist

The reader must not suppose, however, that representatives of interested groups were not consulted. An essential part of the audience-building program, preceding the Institute, was the discussion of plans with innumerable citizens who were in a position to make recommendations and to suggest participants. Business and trade organizations, organized labor, representatives of the churches, women's clubs, community organizations, service agencies, group workers, public and private educational groups, members of racial and national groups, professional associations, governmental and political personnel, all were informed in advance of the project and asked to contribute suggestions and lists of possible participants. They were approached both in personal interviews and through letters. More than 1850 names were recommended by leaders in these various groups and invitations to participate were sent to all.

Mrs. Stella Fisher Burgess, wife of a member of the faculty and well acquainted with numerous organizations in the community, performed yeoman's service in the audience-building task. Several members of the Executive Committee also took part. As a result, acceptance of invitations far exceeded our fondest expectations. In view of the large block of time consumed by the meetings—three afternoons, three evenings, and a Saturday morning—the facts that all the groups mentioned were represented and that the audience was about equally divided between men and women give eloquent evidence both of the timeliness of the project and of the far-reaching public interest in the problems discussed.

Vigorous requests for continuation of the discussions were made in each of the twelve discussion groups and subsequently in numerous letters. Two of the groups voted to continue their meetings whether the University decided to sponsor a follow-up program or not. Several suggestions have been received for some sort of a community council to coördinate studies of various problems involved in postwar planning for the Philadelphia area.

In view of these persistent appeals, the University decided to hold another meeting of the discussion groups on March 26. It is our hope that interested participants will initiate similar groups in their own local communities and that a genuine people's movement leading to the clarification of postwar policies in the public mind may result. Plans also are being made to call together representative community leaders to consider the feasibility of long-range planning under the three headings selected for study at the Institute.

Publication of the Institute Proceedings is contemplated as an important part of the follow-up program. This will include the addresses by guest speakers, a description of the organization and procedure of the Institute, an indication of the types of questions which arose in the discussion groups and the attitudes expressed, and the summaries of those discussions by President Nason representing the groups on world organization, Professor Peterson on postwar education, and Dr. Ordway Tead on economic organization.

Faculty and Students Active

A word should be inserted here to clarify the part played by the Temple faculty and students in assuring the smooth operation of the conference. Not only did the Planning Committee hold a number of meetings to formulate the general plan, but it also divided into three subcommittees to prepare outlines for the guidance of discussion leaders, to familiarize themselves with the problems involved in the three Institute topics, to work out lists of available materials for study by Institute participants, and to prepare bibliographies and summaries of factual information for the use of the discussion groups.

An official faculty representative was present in each of the discussion groups, each speaker and leader was provided with an official host, and several of the faculty served as recorders to assist the leaders in keeping track of the group discussion. When one of the discussion leaders was unexpectedly detained and unable to attend the opening meeting of his group, the faculty representative took charge of the discussion. Student volunteers contributed splendid service in the capacities of registrars, ushers, runners, secretaries, and reporters. It was possible, for example, to give each discussion leader a list of persons assigned to his group in advance and later to present each member of the discussion groups with a list of the members who attended his group.

The ready acceptance of invitations to the Institute and the many enthusiastic letters received from participants suggest that similar projects might well be organized by interested groups throughout the United States. Many there are who realize all too keenly how easily we may win the war only to lose the peace. Our experience following World War I made painfully apparent the fact that our greatest enemy is public apathy.

If we can work, and think, and plan fast enough and wisely enough, we shall enter the most exciting, challenging, and inspiring era the world has ever known. Almost within our grasp lie a standard of living and a mutual understanding for the peoples of the world hitherto impossible. The United States is peculiarly fitted—by fate, by circumstance, by temperament, by ideals—for this feat of human engineering.

If we fail we may never have another such opportunity. Already our leadership is gravely challenged. Was it H. G. Wells who cried out that we are witnessing a tragic race between the forces of education and the forces of destruction? Let us acquaint the people with the opportunity; let us face them with the supreme challenge. Once before the people forced their planners to incorporate a Bill of Rights in the foundation of the state they were building. Shall the people prepare a new Magna Charta for the world?

Liquor Regulation: Success or Failure?

Our system of regulation has served the public interest well; it has imposed reasonable restraint on the industry and has not interfered unduly with personal freedoms.

By **PAUL STUDENSKI**
New York University

THE war has furnished the prohibitionists with an opportunity to open a nation-wide campaign for a return to prohibition. They are doubtless sincere in their contention that the banishment of liquor "for the duration" near military cantonments—or anywhere throughout the land—is necessary for the promotion of the health and morale of both our fighting forces and civilian population and for the strengthening of our war effort.[1]

The present campaign seems to involve mainly the question whether our military and civil authorities can suppress excessive drinking among members of our fighting forces while in training and on leave. In reality, however, it involves the question whether the consumption of liquor is against public interest in all its manifestations or only in some and, if it is only in some, whether it is possible, while tolerating harmless forms of drinking, to suppress the others through effective public regulation.

One way of meeting this issue is to survey our experience of the past ten years in the public regulation of the liquor traffic established immediately after repeal. Such a review rather than emotional prejudices of individuals should constitute, in part at least, the basis for a consideration of the nature of any modification.

The reintroduction of the legalized sale and consumption of liquor in 1933, after the disappointing experience of prohibition, was marked by public demand for the establishment of effective government regulation over the operations of the industry. Such regulation, it was hoped, would prevent the recurrence of the disgraceful conditions associated with the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages during pre-prohibition days, as well as speedily terminate the equally, or even more, unsatisfactory conditions which developed in conjunction with the illicit production and sale of liquor during the subsequent era. As a result, the liquor business has been subjected to more extensive regulation than even the public utilities industry. The objectives which public regulation of the liquor business should achieve have been defined with fair clarity in this country, first, in the various public discussions at the time the question of repeal was being decided and, subsequently, when the first liquor control laws were being framed in the various states.[2]

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[1] See the resolutions passed by the 154th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which met in Milwaukee on May 27, 1942, and by the Anti-Saloon League and other organizations which have consistently advocated prohibition.

The pressure which the dries have exerted on military authorities is also evidenced by the recent promulgation by the War Department of a circular banishing the sale of liquor in officers' clubs in all military camps and reservations. The dries had directed the attention of the Department to the fact that in 1901 Congress had enacted a law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors upon "any premises used for military purposes by the United States" and that this law, although long since forgotten, was still on the statute books. For further information see the *New York Times* of February 4, 1943.

Objectives of Control

These objectives can be summarized under the following seven heads: (1) the disassociation of the business from all types of lawlessness with which it had become associated during the prohibition era, as well as from all forms of vice with which some branches of it became connected; (2) prevention of the return of the old-time saloon with all its filth and human degradation; (3) disassociation of the business from corrupt politics; (4) promotion of fair trade practices, in view of the past notorious deficiency of certain branches of the industry in this respect; (5) promotion of temperance in the sense of moderation in the use of liquor rather than complete abstinence therefrom; (6) adjustment of the regulation to local sentiment; and (7) procurement for the public treasury of a large revenue from the liquor trade.

The elaboration and enforcement of these objectives has been entrusted mainly to the state governments. The federal government for a time participated actively in interstate aspects of regulation through the Federal Liquor Control Administration. Eventually, however, it relaxed its efforts in this direction. It abolished the authority and limited its concern to the collection of revenue and suppression of bootlegging through the Alcohol Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, that is, to the purely *fiscal* aspects of the activity. Thus, achievement of the *social* objectives of public regulation of the liquor business became practically the concern of the states alone.

That state regulation has been motivated more extensively by social than by fiscal considerations is amply demonstrated: (a) the bulk of the pertinent state statutes and local ordinances deal with regulations having reference thereto; (b) the issuance, retention, and renewal of licenses are made subject to compliance with these regulations; (c) in a majority of the states enforcement of regulations is entrusted to a specially created agency, rather than to the existing fiscal department; and (d) the agency in question is generally given wide powers of interpretation and implementation of regulations.

Public Opinion

Admitting that public opinion expressed itself clearly on the objectives which regulation should serve and the best methods of achieving them, are these objectives still considered paramount by the public and are they being achieved with reasonable efficiency in most states? The answer to these questions is, in general, yes. If the public had radically changed its mind on the subject or had felt that the objectives in question were not being served by the existing system of regulation, it would have expressed itself to that effect. Organizations would have sprung up to bring about modifications in existing laws or methods of administration, or existing civic agencies would have taken up the cudgels on behalf of such reforms. But, except in Pennsylvania, Michigan, and a few other states, no such public demand has developed. Even where it has, the conditions responsible have been corrected either by an adjustment in the law or change in the administrative personnel, or correction can be expected soon.

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[2] See "Liquor Control: Principles, Model Law," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Supplement, January 1934.

In only one state, South Carolina, has a sharp change in public attitude come into evidence. In an advisory referendum, held a year or more ago, a majority vote was cast in favor of a prohibition of all sales of liquor in the state. No change has been made in the law, however; the legislature is still seeking a substitute revenue.

It seems safe to conclude, therefore, that public opinion has not changed in its basic attitude toward liquor from that expressed in the great national poll held ten years ago and that the task of the state legislators, governors, and especially the liquor control administrators — who have been given everywhere vast powers of discretion—still is that of giving a fuller expression and effect to this mandate of the people.

Liquor Industry Assists

On the whole, our state legislators, governors, and liquor control administrators have interpreted their responsibilities in exactly these terms. Fortunately, they have been assisted in this task by the organized liquor industry itself, which as a matter of self-preservation has tended to conduct its operations in a manner consistent with the public interest. Members of the industry have realized that in the event of any major breakdown in the existing system of regulation a revulsion of public sentiment may readily take place.

Our system of liquor regulation has been fairly successful in the achievement of the first-mentioned social objective, that of stamping out bootlegging and other illicit operations which had developed during the prohibition era. The reduction in the number of seizures of illicit stills and in the average size of the stills seized during the past few years testifies to the fact that bootlegging has been on the decrease. The number of stills seized dropped from 15,712 in 1935 to 10,663 in 1940 and the volume of mash seized dropped from 21,373,107 to 6,480,240 gallons during the same period.[3] We have also made some progress in disassociating the liquor business from gambling and other vice, though there still remains much to be done in that direction.

We have been partially successful in our efforts to prevent the return of the old-time saloon. The requirements that food be served on the premises and that there should be perfect visibility—no rear rooms closed from view—as well as admission of women to places serving liquor, have helped make the modern drinking place far more decent than was the old saloon. The careful selection of applicants for licenses to sell liquor for consumption on the premises, restriction in the number of licensees, issuance of separate cheaper licenses for the sale of beer and wine, provision that places involved be located a certain distance from schools and other public buildings—all these and other regulations have helped to bring this about.

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[3] See "Liquor Taxes and Public Welfare," Special Supplement to the *Journal of Commerce,* January 24, 1941 (articles by Elizabeth Lane Lamont, the author, and others); also the writer's article on "Liquor Taxation" in *Tax Magazine,* January 1936; and his report on "Liquor Taxes and the Bootlegger," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Supplement, January 1935.

We have succeeded in disassociating the liquor business from the worst types of political corruption with which it was connected in the old days. No longer do the brewers run the legislatures and municipal administrations by maintaining politicians on their payrolls or offering to the owners of retail outlets protection against violation of the liquor laws. Of course, we have not eliminated politics altogether from the liquor business. Here and there politics have crept into appointments to the regulating agencies, the granting of licenses, or the purchases of liquor by liquor monopolies. We will always experience a certain amount of difficulty in keeping the administration of our liquor laws free from these excrescences and must exercise eternal vigilance.

Fair Trade Practices

We have made considerable progress in the promotion of fair practices in the liquor trade. We have certainly succeeded in stamping out such unfair methods of competition as the maintenance of the so-called "tied houses," that is, saloons controlled by individual brewers and distillers through indirect ownership, extension of credit, rebate of prices, etc. We have done a great deal to suppress other forms of unfair domination of the retail outlets by manufacturers. Thus, most of the states have made it illegal for manufacturers of liquor to require retailers to handle only their products or to take and dispose of a certain quota of them. Limitations have been imposed on the value of the advertising displays which any particular manufacturer may furnish a retailer free of charge. Regulations have promoted the proper labeling of liquor, standardized the sizes of bottles, and checked the tendencies toward misleading and exaggerated advertisements.

Attempts have been made in some eighteen or more states to regulate prices and to introduce uniformity and stability therein in the interest of fair trade.[4] Such regulations require the posting of prices, prohibit special price discounts and rebates by distillers and wholesalers to favored retailers, legalize the fixing by distillers of the minimum and maximum resale prices, permit price fixing by trade associations, fix maximum markups, and require the filing of contracts with the state authority. Many of these regulations are evaded. Others seem to work to the advantage of certain branches of the trade and disadvantage of others, and are harmful to the public interest. Even if it were possible to make such regulations completely effective, it is questionable whether they are desirable from a public point of view under normal conditions.

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[4] "The most popular special price legislation in the alcoholic beverage field," says Joe de Ganahl in an article on "Trade Practices and Price Control in the Alcoholic Beverage Industry" (*Law and Contemporary Problems,* Autumn 1940), "is that which prohibits the sale of alcoholic beverages in a state unless it is sold pursuant to fair trade contracts. Arizona, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, New Mexico, Oregon, and South Carolina have such provisions. In some of the states contracts must be approved by administrative officers; in a number of them filing of a contract on a brand by one dealer excuses the others from filing; in others the contracts need not be filed, but the prices must be posted with the authorities. Publication is sometimes required in trade papers and in a number of states all parties affected must be notified individually. Some provide for maximum periods before prices can be changed. Some specifically include private labels, while many of them follow the conventional pattern and make the fair trade acts applicable only to merchandise in competition."

Our system of regulation has, I believe, promoted greater moderation in the consumption of liquor through improvement in the character of both the package retail stores and the places where liquor is consumed on the premises, the prohibition of the sale of liquor to minors and intoxicated persons, the careful licensing of all retail outlets, and other such means. Regulation in this respect is being actively assisted by the liquor industry itself. Many distillers, brewers, and retailers advocate moderation in the use of liquor in their advertisements, and some of the liquor organizations have actively assisted public authorities in cleaning up places where objectionable conditions, fostering intemperance, exist. As one of the leading liquor control administrators has aptly expressed it, "To no group of people is temperance more important than to the group in the liquor business. Every drunken man —even more, every drunken woman —is a liability to them and a threat to their industry." The fact that the industry realizes this augurs well for the possibility of our achieving this most difficult social objective in due time.

Most assuredly, our system of state regulation has been adjusted to variations in local situations and public sentiment, as shown by the differences in the types of regulation and the degree of their stringency from state to state, and sometimes even from district to district within a state.

We have certainly succeeded in achieving the strictly fiscal objectives of our regulation of the liquor trade, as evidenced by the large revenues obtained by federal, state, and local treasuries from its taxation. Liquor revenues to all levels of government amounted to $1,085,951,868 for 1941[5] as against $604,000,000 for 1934—the first full year of legalized liquor consumption.[6]

By and large, our system of regulation of the liquor industry has served the public interest well. It has imposed reasonable restraint on the industry and has not interfered unduly with personal freedoms. The adjustment of our existing system of state regulation of liquor to meet peculiar wartime conditions should raise no special difficulties.

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[5] See *Tax Yields 1941,* Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, p. 28.

[6] See "Liquor Taxes and Public Welfare," op. cit., pp. 7 and 51.

Is the Short Ballot Principle Obsolete?

By O. GARFIELD JONES
Toledo University

This article is addressed to members of the National Municipal League because that organization has been giving much thought to the best methods of training for citizenship, especially on the college level. A clear-cut decision—in the form of recommendations, of course—by the National Municipal League on the points raised would have a decisive influence on the treatment of this subject in the texts on city government that will appear during the next ten years just as did the work of the Short Ballot Organization during the last thirty years. O. GARFIELD JONES.

THE official statement of the short ballot principle is both out of date and confusing. It lacks specificity. The fact that Harold Zink in his recent text on *Government of Cities in the United States* does not even mention the short ballot is, perhaps, his testimony to the effect that in its original form the statement no longer serves a useful purpose.

The short ballot principle as officially defined[1] is:

> First, That only those offices should be elective which are important enough to attract (and deserve) public examination.
>
> Second, That very few offices should be filled by election at any one time, so as to permit adequate and unconfused examination of the candidates, and so as to facilitate the free and intelligent making of original tickets by any voter for himself unaided by political specialists.

Let us ignore the historical setting of some thirty years ago which brought the National Short Ballot organization into existence and examine its official statement in the light of present-day facts. Is not the second proposition better dealt with as that of separating local from state and national elections? The argument for this separation is quite distinct from that of centralization of administrative responsibility in a chief executive. The argument that city elections should be decided upon the basis of municipal issues can stand best upon its own feet.

Now, as for the first principle, "that only those offices should be elective which are important enough to attract (and deserve) public examination," there is a complete lack of specificity. This statement might be legitimately taken as an argument against election at large with or without proportional representation. There is no necessary implication that this principle aims any more directly at administrative offices than at legislative or judicial offices. It becomes apparent, however, as one follows the expanded argument, that the short ballot proponents are talking almost entirely about administrative offices.

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[1] *The Short Ballot,* The National Short Ballot Organization, New York, 1919, p. 2.

What Is Short Ballot

Then why not make this statement of the first principle in terms of administration so that the ordinary citizen can understand more clearly what the short ballot advocates are talking about. For example, it might be stated:

> The short ballot system is a system of government in which there is centralization of administrative responsibility so that the voters elect only one—or, under the council manager plan, no—principal administrative officer.

Or, more briefly stated:

> The short ballot system is a system of government in which few or no administrative officers are elected.

This would make it clear that the voter under the short ballot system is not asked to select many candidates about whom he knows little for many positions about which he knows less. The pathetic feature of most county elections is that they are worse than a scandal, they are a farce! Now, people may enjoy a farce very much, but in these days of high cost of government it is high time that we stop selecting our local administrators by a farcical method.

First of all, it should be made obvious that the short ballot system is not a matter of linear measurement. It certainly does not make for a better understanding of government by the average voter to discuss centralization of administration in county, city, or state government in the same breath with the elimination of the names of presidential electors from the federal ballot, under the pretext that both are steps toward the short ballot system.

Just to illustrate the present state of confusion concerning the short ballot, may I quote from Austin F. MacDonald, *American City Government and Administration*?[2]

> The modern trend is toward a shorter ballot. Coroners, sheriffs, department heads formerly elected are now appointed in many cities. (Page 128.)
>
> On the one side are the people's representatives pledged to carry out the popular will. Certainly they must be elected. On the other side are the technicians, the experts, the administrators. They should be appointed, for the voters cannot properly be expected to know their qualifications. Chief Justice Ryan summed up the matter in a single sentence: "Where you want skill you must appoint; where you want representation, elect." (Page 141.)
>
> . . . The short ballot is virtually implied in any scheme of administrative consolidation. (Page 145.)

So far, so good. But now look at his comment on page 191 where he explains the commission plan at Galveston. *"Moreover, the short ballot becomes a reality."* And page 193: "The commission plan has been of value chiefly in concentrating responsibility."

Then on the very next page (194) he belies these last two statements by saying of the commission plan: "It has failed to concentrate responsibility sufficiently."

Thus, according to MacDonald, the commission plan "has failed to concentrate responsibility sufficiently" (page 194), even though under this plan "the short ballot becomes a reality" (page 191). Finally, at the bottom of page 194 he says, "It [the commission plan] puts five men in charge of administration instead of one. And though five heads may be better than one for deliberative purposes, one is greatly to be preferred when action is needed."

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[2] Since I am using this text in the largest group of municipal government students in the United States, it should be obvious that, in general, I consider it a good text.

Just try to teach the short ballot principle by means of MacDonald's text and see what a hopeless state of confusion results in the mind of the student.

Restate the Principle

Certainly, the answer is not to ignore the short ballot principle as Zink does. Why not restate the principle so that it applies specifically to our present improved, even though not ideal, situation in city government?

Frankly, I state it to my students as follows:

> A short ballot system is a system of centralized administrative responsibility in which the voters elect only one—or, in the city manager plan, no—administrative officer and the chief executive appoints the other administrative officials. The election of an auditor does not seriously impair the short ballot system because he is only a checking official. However, I favor the appointment of the auditor by the legislature as does Dr. John Fairlie.

I also make these two additional statements to clarify the principle in the mind of the student. "The short ballot system has nothing to do with legislative or judicial offices." And, "It is possible to have a longer ballot under a short ballot system than under a long ballot system." Then I illustrate this by citing the long list of fifty some candidates for election-at-large to the Detroit city council. I also cite the first Toledo election under the city manager–P.R. council amendment when we had fifty candidates for council. A Lucas County election under its long ballot system seldom has more than thirty candidates on the November ballot.

It is interesting to note that none of the texts on public administration seem to mention the short ballot principle. The explanation is, I suppose, that they are considering government entirely from the angle of efficiency in administration and, therefore, are not considering the problem that faces the voter. The short ballot idea, on the other hand, considers government from the standpoint of the average voter.

But is it not a mistake to leave the voter uninformed as to the relationship between his problem of voting intelligently and the governmental problem of giving the maximum of public service at the minimum cost? In fixing their attention too closely upon the problems of efficiency and personnel management, have not our leaders in training for public service given too little thought to the problem of teaching the average citizen certain minimum essentials of administration without which he cannot vote intelligently? And will the voter, totally uninformed as to essential principles of administration, give that continuous support to sound adminis-

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Thirty Years of Manager Government

Sumter, South Carolina, well satisfied with history-making step taken in 1912; government is efficiently operated and free of politics.

By J. A. RAFFIELD
City Manager, Sumter, South Carolina

WHEN the voters of Sumter went to the polls on the second Tuesday in June 1912, and cast their ballots in favor of the council-manager form of government, they did not realize that history was being made and that thirty years later more than five hundred municipalities serving some eleven million people would have followed suit.[1] During these thirty years there has been no effort or movement to consider a change in this form in which Sumter pioneered and today its people are appreciative of the favorable publicity which has ensued.

The first city manager began work on January 1, 1913, the first council having been elected the preceding August and assuming office at that time.

Three members of Council—a mayor and two councilmen—are elected by the people for four-year terms, these terms being staggered so that at no period will the Council consist of all new men.

Sumter has ever been a progressive and forward-looking community and, upon adoption of the new government, its officials planned for a business administration, free of politics, and efficiently operated. That this policy has been successful is reflected in the fact that at this time the bonded debt of the city is only $171,000. All bonds are serial and a certain proportion are being retired annually. The city owns its water and sewer systems and has several beautiful parks and playgrounds. Its baseball stadium is used for spring training by the Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, Club.

While the city has the lowest tax levy of any city of its size in the state, streets, garbage collection, health, police and fire departments all enjoy splendid reputations for efficiency.

Named for General Thomas Sumter, famous "Gamecock of the Revolution," Sumter was selected as a courthouse site in the late 1700's. Located near the geographic center of South Carolina it enjoys a wonderful climate and is rich in historic interest. Previous to gas rationing thousands of Florida-bound tourists spent a night or more in one of the old colonial homes which have been opened for guests.

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[1] Sumter was the first city in the country to adopt a charter providing for the council-manager plan of government. In 1908 Staunton, Virginia, created the office of "general manager" by ordinance, adopting a manager plan charter in 1920.

The boll weevil inspired Sumter's industrial progress, leading directly to the manufacture of home and office furniture, chenille and candlewick bedspreads, maid's caps and aprons, which are now well known on a nation-wide basis. Ten years after adoption of the council-manager form of government, the boll weevil struck the cotton field, cutting the county's crop from 65,000 bales in 1921 to only 9,000 in 1922. Necessity became the mother of progress and today, with its industry, its diversified agriculture, and its rich trading area, Sumter ranks high in the trade news.

Public satisfaction with the municipal government is evidenced by the fact that Mayor Fulton B. Creech has held his office for ten and a half years and served as councilman for four years prior to his election as mayor. Last year he received Sumter's annual Good Citizenship Trophy, bestowed each year, by a joint committee selected from the local Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, to Sumter's most valuable citizen. Of the two councilmen, P. J. Gallagher has served six and a half years and Herbert A. Moses four and a half years. The city manager has served for eight and a half years. Prior to his service as manager he was a councilman for eight and mayor for four years.

Through its contacts with the Chamber of Commerce and with civic and civil organizations, the city government coöperates fully in every phase of community planning and building.

THE POSTWAR CITY

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any scheme of planned rebuilding of metropolitan communities for experience has demonstrated that plans, without a coördinated governmental agency to execute and enforce them, are rarely worth the paper and ink of which they are composed.

It will be noted that these expedients for dealing with the problem of blight call for a great deal of planning. There cannot be too much good planning too soon. Is it not the part of wisdom to perfect our plans and secure popular adherence to them before making colossal investments which will freeze the pattern of urban living for generations? Will not gradual redevelopment at our natural pace, with such stimulation as may be provided by practical federal-aid policies in the postwar period, give us sounder and surer results than more revolutionary methods?

IS THE SHORT BALLOT PRINCIPLE OBSOLETE?

(Continued from Page 187)

trative practices without which efficient public service cannot long endure under any democratic government?

The problem of administration is becoming more important every year. And the problem of the voter is going to become even more perplexing after this war if any sort of world organization is created to enforce peace. Can we not restate the short ballot principle so as to make clear its relation to administration as that problem impinges on the mind of the voter?

Researcher's Digest: April

Des Moines turns to pictures; civic temperature in Kansas City; Minnesota and a vanishing tax; the governor and appropriations in Michigan; state aid for Indiana and Michigan schools.

A NEW recruit to the one-picture-is-worth-a-thousand-words school is the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines**, which also believes in a corollary axiom that one word capitalized or underlined is worth ten words in ordinary small type. *Iowa Cities Deserve More State Aid* is the pictorial, capitalized version of a scholarly study published earlier on the same subject. Intended for the information of state legislators, the booklet apparently represents the Bureau's realization that legislators, just like ordinary human beings, are more apt to swallow bitter messages if they are sugar-coated. Some of the cartoons used to emphasize Iowa cities' need for a better break in the distribution of tax moneys show: a high-hatted gent (the state) pulling the shirt away from a be-barrelled city; a steam roller passing over the flattened bodies of guess-who; a greedy cow being fed to repletion by some downtrodden farmhands; and, subtly, a judicial-appearing, kindly-seeming fellow listening intently to a man labelled "Iowa Cities and Towns" saying "Mr. Legislator, we're willing to rest the merits of our case in your good judgment."

Surrounding the cartoons are a dozen pages printed in black type and large capitals which set forth the facts on state aid in words of one or, maybe, two syllables.

Who said research needs to be dull?

Fair and Warmer

Because the **Kansas City Civic Research Institute** has decided that the public pulse, as well as the public pocketbook, merits a researcher's attention it has adopted the interesting custom of taking periodic readings. *Notes on Public Affairs* No. 909 reports on a January public opinion poll taken by the National Opinion Research Center in coöperation with the Institute, and designed to determine what had happened to Kansas Cityans' opinion of city, school, and county government since the first poll of July 1942. The citizenry were asked to rate the three administrations on a scale that ranged from "very good" to "very poor." The consensus was "good" for the city and schools, and only "fair" for the county. All three administrations, however, had risen in the public esteem since the first poll in July.

The Institute takes care to point out that this rise in temperature might be due only to the fact that the first poll was taken during a campaign period, when mud is customarily slung; some of the increase in affection, however, might be due to a public recognition of governmental improvements. Most significant point of all is that the Institute plans later "barometer readings." Apparently a new tool has been added to the governmental researcher's kit!

Ghost

The little-man-who-wasn't-there of taxation has always been the "intangibles" which states are intermittently trying unsuccessfuly to tax. Now comes the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research** with a grouchy *Factual Analysis of the Money and Credits Tax Problems in Minnesota,* a report which comments unfavorably upon that state's taxation of intangibles and expounds also upon experience in other states. The study enters thoroughly into the provisions of the tax, the revenue it produces, the amount of evasion and the reasons for it, and concludes definitely in its disfavor. This is decidedly scientific ammunition for the antagonists of the taxation of intangibles.

Budgets

An exhaustive study of *The Role of the Governor in Michigan in the Enactment of Appropriations* leads John A. Perkins, of the **University of Michigan Bureau of Government,** to conclude that experience during the last several decades shows the steadily increasing power of the Governor over budgets—but that confusion of responsibility between the Governor and legislature makes scientific financial planning still a thing of the future. His recommendation is for a clear-cut executive type budget on the style of the British and along the now celebrated lines of C. A. Buck's proposals. This newly published book is a fully documented and realistic examination of appropriation history in Michigan and makes interesting reading regardless of the residence of the reader.

Aid for Education

Another new emanation from Michigan is *The Financing of Public Schools in Michigan* by E. Fenton Shepard and William B. Wood. This deals with the old and ever new questions of state aid, local versus state responsibility, and equalization of educational opportunity throughout the state. There is hardly a state but that these questions are being faced today and the Michigan contribution is, as ever, a fully supported, carefully written exploration of the subject.

Also concerned with the financing of education is *Indiana's Program of Relief to Common School Units,* by Edwin B. McPheron and Pressly S. Sikes, published by the **Bureau of Government Research of Indiana University.** Here the attempt is to determine whether or not the forty-year-old state aid law has been successfully administered, rather than to examine the merits of the aid policy itself.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Budgeting

The Role of the Governor in Michigan in the Enactment of Appropriations. By John A. Perkins. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1943. 197 pp.

Finance

Iowa Cities Deserve More State Aid. Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research, 1943. 16 pp.

Research

Third Biennial Report of the Illinois Legislative Council. Submitted to the Sixty-Third General Assembly. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1942. 48 pp.

Schools

Financing of Public Schools in Michigan. By E. Fenton Shepard and William B. Wood. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1942. 139 pp.

Indiana's Program of Relief to Common School Units. By Edwin B. McPheron and Pressly S. Sikes. Bureau of Government Research, Indiana University, 1943. 46 pp.

Taxation

A Factual Analysis of the Money and Credits Tax Problems in Minnesota. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1943. 24 pp.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

The Care of Children of Working Mothers

THE successful prosecution of the war depends in no small way upon the patriotic service of women who can help meet the needs of war industries. Maintaining high morale and continuity of work for many of these women will be directly related to the care available for their children.

Moreover, the future of the community depends upon the welfare of its children. It immediately becomes a community responsibility to see that resources are available to provide safe, healthful, and constructive care for these children in the same manner as it has provided public education, public health service, public sanitation, and police protection. Care for children of employed mothers does not necessarily involve establishing any new institutions or agencies, it does involve maximum use and often extension and expansion of types of care which have been provided for many years in a number of communities.

Services for Wartime Child Care

Information and counselling service. First of all, in families where mothers are working or are considering employment, parents should have some competent person to whom they can go for advice and help in planning for the care of their children. Information and counselling service should be available in the community in central or branch offices of the public employment service, schools, civilian defense information centers, or other agencies.

School services. By far the larger number of children whose mothers will be engaged in wartime employment will be those now in school or old enough to attend kindergarten or nursery schools, which in most communities can be operated as part of the school systems.

Care for many of these children can be provided through extended school services which lengthen the period during which children may use the school, broaden the scope of school services, and provide care and supervision for a larger number of young children than usual.

Day-care centers. Another type of group care, usually operated independent of the schools, is that of a day-care center. The hours during which the center is open must be adapted to the hours of the mother's absence from home. Usually day-care centers are designed for children from two to fourteen years or older. They are particularly valuable for care of children in the same family but in different age groups.

Homemakers service. Some children do not adjust well in group activities; some have individual health or behavior problems that require special care. One way to provide this care is through supervised homemaker service to give children the continuing care and the security which their own homes afford, and to make it possible for them to maintain their usual habits of living. Family welfare, child welfare, and other qualified agencies, as well as schools, should provide training for homemakers. Welfare agencies in some instances also should provide necessary supervision and direction of their work.

Foster family care. Day care of children in foster family homes will serve many needs which cannot be met by other forms of care. It is the most suitable and economical form of care for infants under two where mothers cannot provide suitable substitutes in their own homes. Foster-family day care may be used of course for children of all ages.

So far as possible foster-family homes should be developed by established social agencies in the community in order to assure careful selection and supervision of the homes and individualized services to the children, their parents, and the foster parents.

Services for special groups. In planning services for children of working mothers, children of high school age must not be overlooked. A program of group activities and the chance to develop news skills is essential and can be easily achieved through coöperation of group-work agencies and the schools.

Organization of Program

A committee for the care of children of working mothers should be part of the committee structure of the local defense council and be representative of local departments of education, health, labor and welfare, the Federal Works Agency, the United States Employment Service, local housing authority, private welfare agencies, employers, labor unions, community groups, and lay citizens. Use of the volunteer office of the defense council will provide the most rapid means of selecting volunteers with special interest and ability in working with children.

The test of a good over-all program rests in how well it serves the needs of the local situation. The committee will need to know: (1) the extent of the problem; (2) what facilities already exist to meet this need. When these facts are known it is then the job of the committee to put the two together and see if local facilities are adequate.

Financing of new or expanded agencies is no small part of the committee's job. This can be done through private solicitation, appropriation by the community chest, or war chest, appropriation by local government, or by application for federal funds if local funds are insufficient.

State. In most states the State Defense Council has appointed a committee on the care of children of working mothers. The membership on this committee serves to bring together for the state as a whole the groups which have the factual information which leads to a definition of the problem, groups which can help develop the program, and those agencies which are legally responsible for the development and operation of the program. State departments of health and labor are prepared to furnish information and give advice in specific situations when called upon to do so by state and local committees. State departments of education and welfare have assigned or may be able to assign staff for planning, administrative, and consultative service to the state committee and to local communities requesting assistance in developing their programs. State defense councils have field staff personnel who can give valuable assistance to the local civilian defense councils in setting up representative local committees.

Federal. The United States Office of Civilian Defense Regional Office will provide communities with advice and counsel on the organization of committees on services for children of working mothers.

The Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services has set up a special division to coördinate activities and interests of the various federal agencies in this field and to provide technical advice on program content. Regional staffs of the Children's Bureau and the Office of Education have been assigned to work with states and localities in promoting programs.

Grants are available to state departments of education and welfare from the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services for the payment of salaries and travel expenses of personnel to furnish consultative and supervisory service on day-care programs.

Funds under the Lanham Act are available to communities for the construction, maintenance, and operation of nursery schools, extended school services, and day-care centers. Such funds are available through the Federal Works Agency upon certification by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services when communities cannot meet the need from their own resources.

One Community's Experience

The program for the care of children of working mothers in Dallas, Texas, has been handled jointly by the Day Care Committee of the Council of Social Agencies and the Services to Children Committee of the Civilian Defense Council.

Before planning a program, a survey was made in the schools to find out the number of children of working mothers and the manner in which they were being cared for.

A temporary Working Mothers' Information Center was opened in a downtown office, the rent being donated by the building management, and two workers of existing agencies were released part time for the Center. After two months the Center was moved to the headquarters of the Children's Bureau, where again the office space is free. Its administration has been in charge of the executive secretary of the Children's Bureau, assisted by volunteers from the Civilian Defense Council. The Center furnishes advice and information on existing facilities for child care. In order to publicize the Center, placards were displayed in street cars and information furnished war industries. Personnel directors of industries were asked to have questionnaires filled out by women workers in order to locate children not being adequately cared for.

From the information obtained at the Working Mothers' Information Center, it was determined that the following facilities need to be expanded: day nurseries, housekeeper service, foster home care, and supervised before and after school recreation for school-age children.

To establish three new nurseries in the most vital sections of the city, the Community War Chest has allotted an additional $14,000 to the Day Nursery Association.

The task of finding housekeepers has been undertaken by the YWCA. Due to the demand for workers in war industries, it has been particularly difficult to find women willing to take such positions. Recently it has been decided to make use of block organization to try to locate women, and plans are now being perfected to this end.

The Children's Bureau and the County Juvenile Department are making investigation of foster homes prior to the issuance of licenses by the State Department of Welfare.

The supervised play program has been undertaken by a special committee headed by the playground director of Dallas. The schools are coöperating by opening the buildings an hour earlier and making the grounds and buildings available after school.

Contributors in Review

STUDENT, teacher, author, and consultant on municipal affairs, **Thomas H. Reed** *(The Postwar City)* keeps both feet on the ground in prophesying the future of our American cities. In recent years, through his surveys of local government, Dr. Reed has done much to point the path to true civic efficiency. His books and articles are widely used as authoritative material in the governmental field. Dr. Reed's activities go farther than the American scene, however. He is translator of several biographies of the Belgian Leopolds and the recipient of the Officer Order of Leopold. (See also "Contributors in Review" in September 1942 REVIEW.)

APPOINTED chairman of Temple University's Committee on Postwar Planning in January of last year, **Merrill E. Bush** *(A People's Institute for Postwar Planning)* was actively engaged in the organization of the Institute of which he writes. Dr. Bush is a graduate of Dartmouth, with the Ph.D. degree from Cornell University. He began his work with Temple in 1934 when he became assistant director of the Oak Lane Country Day School, an experimental demonstration school under the auspices of the University. Two years later he became a member of the staff of the Division of Secondary Education in Temple's Teachers College where he is assistant professor of education and student advisor.

PIONEERING is a trait which **Paul Studenski** *(Liquor Control: Success or Failure?)* developed fairly early in life. In 1910 he was a pioneer in the comparatively new field of aviation—a licensed pilot of the Aero Club of France. In more recent years he has devoted hmself to pioneer thinking in the solution of such problems as liquor control, metropolitan areas, taxation, housing, social security, etc., and is author of numerous books, pamphlets, and articles on these subjects. He has acted as consultant for many governmental agencies and other groups. Since 1927 Dr. Studenski has been with New York University, where he is professor of economics.

ONE OF the strongest proponents of the vital necessity of teaching citizenship in schools and colleges is **O. Garfield Jones** *(Is the Short Ballot Principle Obsolete?)*. Professor Jones's courses at Toledo University—which all students of the University must attend—are well known throughout the academic world for their thoroughness and practicality. Before and during the last World War Dr. Jones had a varied career in the Philippines where he taught, acted as research clerk in the Manila Bureau of Education, and was officer in charge of the Third Provisional Battalion, Coast Defense of Manila in 1918-19. He has written numerous articles and books on citizenship as well as on the Philippines.

FROM councilman to mayor to city manager is the civic career of **J. A. Raffield** *(Thirty Years of Manager Government)*. Mr. Raffield is manager of Sumter, South Carolina, where the manager plan has been in effect since 1912. He has always taken an active part in the affairs of his city and has recently identified himself with its Civilian Defense program, graduating from the War Department's Civilian Protection School at the University of Florida.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

State and Local Progress in Civil Service

Federal civil service endangered by Senate

WHILE the McKellar bill, to require Senate confirmation of all executive appointments to positions with salaries over $4,500 per annum in the federal civil service, still threatens to become law, various state legislatures have been considering measures to strengthen and extend the merit system, and a number of localities show civil service progress.

The McKellar bill, considerably amended, was favorably reported on by a subcommittee last month, with prospects of adoption by one or both houses unless public opposition to such interference in administrative appointments makes itself strongly felt.

The proposed state legislation provides as follows, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada:

Arkansas: gradual application of the merit system to the state service between January 1, 1944, and the end of 1946. Qualifying examinations would be given for each group beginning with institutional employees.

Arizona: placing state, county, and city peace officers under civil service regulations.

Delaware: five merit system bills.

Missouri: provision for a personnel advisory board and a personnel director who would be a state resident appointed by the Governor from the three top candidates selected by the board following an examination. The bill provides for classification and pay plans and qualifying examination for incumbents.

Nebraska: a unified merit system for all state civil service employees and those under the present Merit System Council. The system would be administered by a council of five members, to be appointed by the Governor with legislative approval, which would have authority to appoint a personnel director.

Oregon: a statewide civil service bill sponsored jointly by the State League of Women Voters, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and the Portland Grade Teachers' Association. This has been defeated in the lower house, 34 to 24.

Washington: a statewide merit system proposal which, like that for Oregon, generally follows the draft of a state civil service law of the National Civil Service Reform League and the National Municipal League. This was killed in committee, however.

West Virginia: a bill for a merit system for state employees.

Progress in local civil service includes the adoption of the merit system by Hazel Park, Michigan, under the direction of the city manager, and by Fresno County, California, following the pattern of other California county merit systems. In Wichita, Kansas, the merit system is to be administered on the basis of a personnel manual prepared by the city manager in cooperation with other city officials. A personnel advisory board and an employees' council are provided. The latter is made up of representatives of the employees in the several divisions of the city service; it chooses one of its members to serve a one-year term on the personnel advisory board, the remaining four members of which are appointed for four-year terms by the city commission, the city manager, the park board, and the library board, respectively.

By recent amendment of the Louisiana civil service law paid positions in the police and fire departments in cities of 13,000 to 100,000 population are to be under the merit system. Five of the eight cities in this class have already established police and fire civil service commissions. The State Civil Service Department acts in an advisory capacity to the local commission and on request assists with the preparation, administration, and scoring of written tests.

Civil Service Changes Urged in New York State

The chief recommendation of the Hollowell legislative committee, which has been investigating the civil service system in New York State for more than a year and issued a report on March 6, is separation of the administrative and policy-making functions of the Civil Service Commission. The report urges that the Commission confine itself to determination of policies, handling of appeals, and the making of rules and regulations, while responsibility for administration should be placed in a single executive with authority over all personnel functions of the state.

Revision of the civil service law was called for, with thorough revamping of civil service rules at the same time, so that some matters could be stated in the law and others could be covered by rules that could be changed at the Commission's discretion. A clear-cut distinction between competitive and non-competitive classifications was recommended.

The Commission was criticized for delays in holding examinations and establishing eligible lists, and for emphasis on precautions rather than on "an aggressive businesslike policy of service." The latter criticism was directed more to the legal background of civil service, tending to preoccupation with the dangers of spoils politics, whereas the chief present need was stated to be the job of furnishing qualified employees to the operating departments.

The report, signed by both Republicans and Democrats without dissent, did not urge action at the current session of the legislature, but at the subsequent session.

Minnesota Releases State Employees for War Work

Reductions in the number of male civil service employees of the state of Minnesota so as to make more men available for war industries have been brought about by liberalizing policies on leaves of absence without pay and by not filling vacancies unless it is absolutely necessary, and then only with women and handicapped men so far as possible. Men are hired to fill vacancies only with the specific approval of the director of civil service. A goal of 20 per cent reduction was set by Governor Stassen, and most departments have achieved or are approaching it, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

The Governor has established the Minnesota Emergency Manpower Commission, which has been working closely with the state Department of Civil Service. A "position survey" has been made to determine which jobs might be consolidated, left vacant, or filled by women or handicapped men.

The manpower agency has recommended to the Minnesota legislature that it change the state civil service law so leaves may be granted for the period of the war instead of for one year as at present. To facilitate the release of workers to war industries, all male employees have completed self-registration forms for the United States Employment Service, which refers employees with essential skills to industries that need them.

Missouri Chooses Constitutional Convention Delegates

The eighty-three delegates to Missouri's constitutional convention will be formally chosen at an election on April 6. For sixty-eight of this number the election will be little more than a formality as these will consist of two delegates from each of the thirty-four senatorial districts, one Republican and one Democrat, all nominated on a strictly partisan basis by the party organization. Their nomination is tantamount to election.

The fifteen to be elected at large will be the public's only hope against complete politicalization of the convention, but the parties have sought to nullify this hope by agreeing jointly on seven from each party plus one described as an "anti-New Deal Democrat." The League of Women Voters, in an effort to modify the completely political situation, has endorsed its own slate of fifteen candidates for delegates at large.

Minnesota May Have First Integrated State Court System

A plan for unification and modernization of Minnesota courts, worked out by a committee of the Minnesota Judicial Council, is to be presented to the district bar associations of that state and then to civic and other lay organizations to enlist general public support. The committee, composed of twenty-two men headed by Supreme Court Justice Charles Loring, developed the plan between August 1941 and November 1942. According to the *Journal* of the American Judicature Society for February 1943, the new judiciary article it proposed for the state constitution "combines the best of the profession's thinking and experience on virtually all phases of the structure and work of the courts." The plan creates a unified state court, with the Supreme Court, district courts, and county courts as divisions, of the type outlined in the early bulletins of that Society, in the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution,* and in the writings of legal authorities.

The *Journal* comments on the weight of prejudice and inertia that must be overcome to achieve so basic a reform, which so far has prevented the establishment of a completely unified court system by any state. Far-reaching efforts have been made in Maryland and New Jersey, where reports of special commissions have recently been published, but tradition has been so powerful that "their work has necessarily been that of skillfully cramming as much as possible of the new into a structure that will sacrifice none of the virtues of the old and look as much like it as possible."

Legislative Reapportionment Advances in New York

Redistricting of the State of New York for legislative elections, which has not been done for a quarter-century, became an accomplished fact on March 15, when a reapportionment bill, endorsed by Governor Dewey, was passed by the legislature. It will take effect in the 1944 elections.

The representation of New York City will be increased from sixty-two to sixty-seven assemblymen and from twenty-two and a half to twenty-five senators; nevertheless, because of constitutional restrictions and the method of apportionment the metropolis will have only 44.6 per cent of the membership in the Assembly and in the Senate, although it has 54.5 per cent of the total population of the state, and 53.4 per cent of citizen population (the primary basis of apportionment).

Constitutionality of the act is questioned because it increases the Senate membership from fifty-one to fifty-six, thus preventing losses of seats in upstate districts, whereas the contention is made that the constitution permits an increase only to fifty-two.

State Legislatures Grapple with War-Made Problems

Measures adopted by the forty-two state legislatures in the first two months of 1943 include those which grant broad war powers to governors, cut taxes in view of heavy federal levies or apply new taxes to meet increased costs, attempt to solve manpower shortages, authorize postwar reconstruction planning, and protect rights of men and women in war service or grant them various exemptions, according to a compilation of the Council of State Governments.

Governors of three states—California, Connecticut, and Vermont—were granted broad war powers by their legislatures and similar action is under consideration in a dozen other states. During a crisis the governors may issue orders, regulations, and rules having the effect of law—powers similar to those given chief executives of nine other states, mostly eastern, last year and in 1941. Such authority covers emergency health and welfare requirements, air raid precautions, blackouts, traffic control, and various other state wartime activities and responsibilities.

Four states—Iowa, New York, West Virginia, and Wisconsin—have taken definite steps to alleviate wartime tax burdens of their citizens by reducing various levies. On the other hand, Delaware, Idaho, Arizona, and Iowa enacted measures to bring in additional revenues.

Increasing emphasis on developing programs to meet postwar reconstruction and development problems, and especially to establish reserve funds to pay for such programs, is shown in laws adopted in Michigan, North Carolina, Montana, Illinois, Arkansas, and Maryland.

Laws protecting civilian rights of men and women in the armed services, or granting them various exemptions, were adopted in a number of states, including Arkansas, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada and Wisconsin. Many states, to provide new manpower sources, have enacted "emergency" measures making it possible for older children, women, and retired workers to lighten the labor shortage.

Outstanding Legislation in Tennessee

The Tennessee General Assembly, meeting for the first time since Pearl Harbor, adjourned on February 11 after being in session only thirty-nine days—the shortest regular session in Tennessee history. The thirty-nine-day session saw the introduction of 978 bills in the House (almost ten per member) and 834 in the Senate. Of the 629 laws passed, 471 or approximately three-fourths were "private acts" dealing with individual counties and cities. Of the 158 general laws enacted, ninety-eight were approved on the last two days of the session.[1]

Poll Tax Repealed

The most outstanding legislation enacted was repeal of the poll tax. For more than fifty years the voters of Tennessee have been required to pay a poll tax as a condition to exercising their voting privilege. This has greatly reduced the proportion of voters participating in elections. For example, in the presidential election of 1888, prior to the levying of a poll tax in Tennessee, 90 per cent of the adult male population participated. By 1940 the ratio had fallen to 28 per cent. This includes both white and colored.[2]

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[1] For legislation affecting counties see p. 213.

Permanent Registration

As a part of the poll tax repeal legislation, the General Assembly passed a measure providing for a system of permanent registration. At the first registration each voter is to appear in person and give such information as may be required including name, age, color, address, occupation, and length of residence in the state, county, city, and district or ward. A certificate of registration will be issued to each registrant and "shall be permanent and entitle such voter to vote in any and all elections thereafter held, unless such voter shall change his place of residence or shall fail to vote in any general or special election for a period of four years." Supplemental registrations are to be held for designated periods before each election for the purpose of registering voters who have not previously registered and of reregistering those who have changed their address or have failed to vote for four years. Special provision is made in the act for the registration of persons in the armed forces and other persons who because of trade or occupation are compelled to be absent during regular periods of registration. Apparently voters will be required to present certificates of registration before being allowed to cast their ballots. Certificates that have become soiled or worn may be replaced, and duplicate certificates may be issued where the original certificates have been lost.

During debate on the poll tax repeal and registration bills, the question of their constitutionality was raised. The Governor has indicated that a Supreme Court hearing will be sought at an early date to determine their constitutionality before the general registration in August.

National Defense

Other legislation passed deals with national defense and related matters. One measure empowers the Governor and the state director of civilian defense to make rules and regulations relating to statewide blackouts, and to set up penalties for failure to comply with such regulations. Companion measures authorize counties and cities to levy taxes and to make appropriations for civilian defense purposes, and to mobilize volunteer firemen. Another authorizes the Governor to use the state guard to protect transportation and utility properties whether publicly or privately owned.

Counties and cities may invest local funds in war bonds under legislation just enacted, and another act provides for the filling of temporary vacancies in state and local offices resulting from the induction of public officials into the military service.

Health and Welfare

The maximum benefit payments that may be made to recipients of aid to dependent children, old age assistance, and aid to the needy blind have been increased. The program of aid to dependent children is also expanded to include visually handicapped children. A Division of Services of the Blind has been set up in the Department of Public Welfare and all activities in the interest of the blind, formerly exercised by the Commission for the Blind and other state agencies, are transferred to the newly created division. Finally, a state bond issue of

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[2] Virginius Dabney, "The Poll Tax Stirs Revolt," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1942, p. 489.

$1,500,000 is authorized for the building of a tuberculosis hospital.

Courts, Housing, Utilities

A state judicial council is authorized to study and make recommendations concerning the state's judicial system, and an act authorizing the creation of rural housing authorities was enacted. Another bill reduces the power of the State Railroad and Public Utilities Commission. Control over rates, operating methods, routes, types of vehicles, and franchises of transit systems is taken away from the Commission and given "the governing bodies of the respective municipalities."

Several local acts relating to utilities were enacted. Memphis was authorized to acquire its street transportation system and to issue $5,000,000 in bonds for this purpose, and $4,000,000 additional in bonds to acquire an existing generator plant or construct a power plant. Utility commissions were established in three cities.

In Lenoir City four members appointed by the city council for two-year terms together with the mayor constitute the Water and Light Commission which is invested with the management, control, and operation of the city's water and light system. The water and light system of Harriman is placed under the jurisdiction of a utility board of five members, one of whom shall be a member of the city council and appointed by that body to serve for the term of his elective office. The other four members are named in the act and are to serve one, two, three, and four years, respectively. Upon the expiration of their terms a successor is selected by the remaining members, except that the legislative representative shall not have a vote in such proceedings.

The Board of Public Utilities of La-Follette is composed of three members selected for six-year overlapping terms. The first members of the board are to be appointed by the governing body of the city, thereafter the successor is named by the remaining members of the board and submitted to the governing body for approval or rejection.

The Assembly did not adjourn without the passage of so-called "ripper" legislation. For example, a new charter was imposed upon Nashville, the state capital. This charter, which makes radical changes in the city's governmental structure, was not passed upon by the electorate nor were public hearings held. The number of councilmen has been reduced from twenty-seven to nine. The mayor loses much of his executive authority. He, together with the commissioner of fire and public works, and the commissioner of water, health, and welfare, constitute a board of administration and have nearly equal executive powers.

A ripper bill to repeal the city manager form of government in Knoxville and to create a commission form of government failed of passage.

M. H. Satterfield
Tennessee Valley Authority

Elections Occur on Many Dates

State and local governments hold elections in 1943 on at least sixty-six different days, and in 1942 held them on ninety-nine different days, according to a survey of the Bureau of the Census, reported in its *Elections Calendar, 1943 and 1942* under date of February 28. The report covered the forty-eight states, 2,226 counties that replied to inquiries sent to 3,058 counties, and 371 municipalities out of 409 having populations over 25,000.

A total of 4,140 elections were held in 1942 for state, county, and city officials, as shown by the information received, 2,080 being primary, and 2,060 general, elections. August, with 671, was the principal month for primary elections, and November, with 1,888, the leading one for general elections.

It is indicated from the information available that 386 primary elections will be held in 1943, September being the high month; and 665 general elections, chiefly in November with 349 and in April with 249.

Obtaining Material for State and Local Governments

A conference committee of the United States Conference of Mayors has requested of the War Production Board that the Governmental Division of the WPB be made the "claimant agency" to present, support, and justify its estimates of governmental requirements before the Requirements Committee of the government's Controlled Materials Plan, which takes effect April 1 in connection with production for both military and civilian needs. At present the Governmental Division informs the Office of Civilian Supply of its needs, which are then added to those of industry and other civilian uses for submission in total to the Requirements Committee. As the Governmental Division, rather than the Office of Civilian Supply, has responsibility for keeping governmental functions in operation, it is felt that the Governmental Division should represent local and state governments as a claimant agency before CMP officials.

Council-Manager Plan News

Three city managers have completed twenty-five years of service. On March 18 Henry Traxler, manager at Janesville, Wisconsin, rounded out a quarter-century, twenty years at his present post and the previous five years as manager of Clarinda, Iowa. The other two are H. L. Woolhiser of Winnetka, Illinois, and George Johnston of Cadillac, Michigan, who were appointed to their present positions in 1917 and 1918, respectively, and have not been managers elsewhere.

Three more cities have been added to the official list of council-manager cities of the International City Manager's Association: **North Muskegon, Michigan,** which adopted a manager ordinance in 1939 but did not appoint a manager until later; the borough of **Springdale, Pennsylvania,** which adopted a manager ordinance last July and has appointed a manager; and **New Boston, Texas,** which adopted an ordinance in November and now has a manager.

The city council of **Thomasville, Georgia,** on January 25 voted to have a bill introduced in the state legislature calling for a referendum on the manager plan based on a bill proposed some years ago. The new Mayor, W. J. Powell, supports the movement.

In **Washington** a state act authorizing cities of less than 20,000 population to establish council-manager government was signed by Governor Langlie March 22.

A bill in the **Pennsylvania** House of Representatives, sponsored by Walter E. Rose, Republican house whip, would permit the voters of any of the forty-six third-class cities (including all but the three largest cities of the state) to adopt the council-manager plan if submitted by the council or by petition of 2 per cent of the electorate.

At a banquet meeting of the **Easton (Maryland)** Business Men's Association on February 24, the manager plan was described by L. D. Shank, city manager of Dover, Delaware.

Sheffield, Alabama, retained its present form of government by three commissioners, as against the alternative of a council-manager plan, by a vote of 440 to 191 on February 23.

A bill providing for the appointment of a city manager of **Las Vegas, Nevada,** has been submitted by the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce to the Clark County delegation in the Nevada legislature for introduction.

The board of directors of the Citizens Union of **Long Beach, New York,** on February 25 adopted a resolution to launch a campaign for the manager plan with proportional representation.[1]

Resigning as mayor of **Olean, New York,** W. D. Dugan outlined five recommendations for the future, including a suggestion that a general manager, responsible to the mayor and council, be appointed.

Philadelphia Adopts New City Planning Commission Law

After consideration of a new city planning ordinance for eight months, since April 1942, the Philadelphia City Council adopted it, with amendments. The new commission has nine members appointed by the mayor, four city officials and five citizen members, with overlapping terms of five years. Besides advising on the usual city planning matters the commission is to prepare each year a six-year capital budget. A staff, under the merit system, is provided for.

AMA Creates Postwar Planning Committee

In order to stimulate a program of action on the part of cities for meeting war-created problems that will loom large with the coming of peace, the American Municipal Association has established a committee on postwar planning, headed by Mayor Wilson W. Wyatt of Louisville, and including Mayor Charles E. Lee of Decatur, Herbert Olson, director of the Michigan Municipal League, and Earl D. Mallery, executive director of AMA.

Alabama Local Governments Issue Journal

The Alabama League of Municipalities and the Association of County Commissioners of Alabama have established the *Alabama Government Journal;* the first issue was in February.

Housing Associations Ask More War Workers' Homes

In view of acute housing shortages in war production communities, the National Committee of Housing Associations on March 2 sent to President Roosevelt and various federal agencies a proposal embodying the following recommendations:

1. Establishment of war housing centers under the National Housing Agency to assure adequate housing of workers in all war production communities where housing conditions are critical;

2. Certification of applicants for war housing by the War Manpower Commission to local war housing centers;

3. Advisory boards within local war housing centers of local representatives of the National Housing Agency, the War Manpower Commission, the War Production Board, and the Office of Price Administration;

4. Compulsory registration with war housing centers of all vacant dwellings or other structures capable of conversion;

5. Power by executive order of the President for the National Housing Agency to lease vacant buildings;

6. A program for utilizing excess space in occupied dwellings in war congested areas.

Congress Given Broad Plans for Social Advance

Two far-reaching reports of the National Resources Planning Board, denied funds for its continuance by Congress, were submitted to that body on March 10 by President Roosevelt. One was entitled *National Resources Development—Report for 1943,* giving a record of the wartime planning activities of this advisory and fact-finding board, and setting forth the results of its work on postwar plans for full development of the nation's human and material resources. The other was the report on *Security, Work and Relief Policies,* developed during the last three years at the President's request by the Board with the coöperation of federal agencies concerned and of citizens with special competence in that field.

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[1] See also p. 214.

The reports met both with warm approval and violent criticism in the House and Senate. The latter body proceeded to set up a postwar planning committee of nine members, proposed by Senator George who, as chairman, stated that the immediate assembling of a staff and initiation of investigations was contemplated. He expressed his belief that governmental participation in postwar rehabilitation should be kept at a minimum. Senator Vandenburg, a member of the committee, gave his opinion that one of the principal tasks of the committee should be an investigation of the Board of Economic Warfare.

President Roosevelt indicated that the burden of planning now the means for protecting the country against unemployment and other postwar disruptions lay in the hands of Congress.

To what extent the new committee will utilize the work of the expert staff of the NRPB, and its broad and intimate acquaintance with problems of present and future national needs, resources, and possible development, remains to be seen.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Oregon Lawmakers Analyze Legislature

Find it holds own in public favor but needs changes

WHEN a research committee of the **Portland City Club** wanted to find out how well the Oregon State legislature functioned it shot questions directly at state legislators themselves with interesting results.[1]

In June 1942 the committee began a study of the work of the Oregon legislature "with particular reference to its efficiency and responsibility." It did a large amount of research but decided that before making a formal report it ought to ask the legislators what they thought; so it sent a list of thirty questions on a wide variety of issues to 193 legislators who have served in the Senate or House within the past ten years. Seventy-one replies were received, twenty-two from Portland, forty-nine from outside the city, and at least one from every county in the state. Both Republicans and Democrats replied.

The legislators were outspoken both in praise and criticism of Oregon's legislative practices. For example, they opposed annual and preferred biennial sessions; they were against a one-house legislature and nonpartisan election of lawmakers. They thought the legislature was about holding its own in popular esteem and favored a state planning commission.

Here are the votes on these and some of the additional questions asked by the City Club, along with comments by the legislators themselves:

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[1] *Portland City Club Bulletin,* February 26, 1943.

Do you think that the average legislator has sufficient time to give adequate attention to legislation during the ordinary session, so that he can vote intelligently on matters that come before him?

Yes, 20. No, 48.

Comments:

"Give the average legislator all the time in the world and he couldn't vote intelligently on 50 per cent of the matters. We need a higher type of legislator."

"If members would only introduce such measures as are of actual merit, and not merely for home consumption, it would reduce the number of bills by more than 50 per cent."

"The task will exhaust the most honest and zealous member."

Do you think that the legislative business of the state could be more satisfactorily handled if there were an annual, rather than a biennial session of the legislature?

Yes, 13. No, 52.

Comments:

"For God's sake, NO! Better if legislature met every five or ten years. . . . the state and the people would be better off. We don't need constant legislation."

"The machinery of state government has to be overhauled every so often to correct wear and bring it up to date, but legislative sessions are disturbing and open the door to all kinds of screwball innovations. Every two years is often enough."

"Conditions change too rapidly to leave affairs of the state for two years without legislative attention."

Would you favor legislation regulating lobbying, i.e., requiring all lobbyists to register and reveal the identity of the individuals or group for which they are working?

Yes, 52. No, 17.

Comments:

"The lobby is a valuable means of obtaining information on legislation, and should not be discouraged."

"Lobbyist OK . . . . but should be labelled. Best lobbyists work frankly and in the open."

"Certainly not. Such identities are generally obvious, like distinguishing a cow from a bull."

"I think no really legitimate lobbyist would object to this."

Have you had occasion to make use of the legislative reference service of the State Library?

Yes, 42. No, 25.

Comments:

"Yes. A courteous service."

"The greatest service I had . . . the finest service in Salem."

"No. In other lines, however, I have found the said library to be quite efficient and helpful."

Do you think that efficiency and responsibility in legislation would be better served by a one-house legislature for Oregon?

Yes, 16. No, 51.

Comments:

"Hell, No!"

"Yes, the responsibility of all legislation could then be better followed by all the people in the state."

"I rather cling to the old American system of checking the House against the Senate, and vice versa."

Do you think the legislature should be chosen on a nonpartisan basis?

Yes, 18. No, 51.

Comments:

"This would destroy the responsibility

so badly needed in all governmental matters."

"Judges who execute the laws run on a nonpartisan ticket . . . why not the same for those who make the laws?"

Do you think legislators should be paid by the year (or session) rather than on a per diem basis for a given number of days?

Yes, 39. No, 26.

Comments:

"The work actually is and should be a year-round job, rather than a couple of months' work."

"Payment by the session would tend to cause the legislature to take whatever time is necessary for orderly completion of work."

"The per diem now is sufficient . . . fifty days is enough time."

Do you think there is a tendency for the Oregon legislature to "pass the buck," from time to time, in referring legislative measures to the people for a referendum vote?

Yes, 45. No, 24.

Comments:

"As a matter of fact the opposite is true."

"An often-used subterfuge."

"Who doesn't from time to time? Legislators are human . . . I think."

Do you think that a state commission, composed of experts, and under the guidance of the legislature and the administration, could perform a useful service for Oregon in such matters as (a) studying our resources and planning their effective development; (b) making surveys of state-wide problems, as, for example, our taxation system, our school system, industrial development, and problems of postwar employment; (c) coördinating our state developmental activities with those of other states and the federal government; and (d) making recommendations for legislation?

Yes, 41. No, 24.

Comments:

"Could make studies and be O.K. Know of no reason why it should be under control of the legislature or administration. Studying resources, problems, etc., always good for citizens."

"Yes, provided their skill has been developed within the immediate vicinity, and not along 'The Sidewalks of New York.'"

"More jobs, more taxes. The federal government has taken all the professors of sociology and economics and put them to work at that very thing, and what a mess we are in!"

Do you think the prestige of the Oregon legislature in popular esteem:

(a) is on the decline? Yes, 12.

(b) is rising? Yes, 12.

(c) is about the same as it has been for a long time? Yes, 45.

Comments:

"It's in and out . . . too many lawyers in the past have put it in a rut . . . they have too many retainers to look out for."

"I believe it is rising slightly by reason of the fact that there is less of 'bosses' and graft."

Do you think a contitutional convention for Oregon, shortly after the close of hostilities, should be held to revise our constitutional system, and bring state government up to date?

Yes, 33. No, 20.

Comments:

"Owing to the initiative our state constitution is getting clear out of line and needs simplification."

"In many respects our state constitution has grown into a hodge-podge."

"Such a convention would be symptomatic of the morbidity of popular government. If we really need it we will have reached the stage where it won't do us any good. Wasn't the Code of Justinian compiled at about the time that the Roman legal system collapsed?"

Round-up—

Another evidence of the rebirth of the neighborhood, so often commented upon these days. . . . The **Citizens Union of Darien, Connecticut,** has undertaken a program of neighborhood meetings as a substitute for central meetings to overcome the difficulties created by gas rationing. A letter has been sent to all members asking which ones would be willing to hold a series of three monthly meetings in their homes. Also contained in the letter were suggested subjects for the meetings—local town government, the school system, and postwar problems and plans—and an agenda for an opening session on local government. Each person holding such a meeting is asked to prepare a brief summary, which will then be circulated by the Union to all the members of the organization.

The **American Library Association** has devoted an issue of its *Bulletin* to a useful compilation of the war programs of important national citizen organizations. Some of these have already been discussed in these columns, but this statement should be useful for reference purposes. It will undoubtedly offer suggestions to local groups looking for activities to undertake as their part in the war effort.

The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** has recently published in attractive format two studies of the state's finances: *Growth of State Revenues* and *Growth of State Expenditures, 1930-1942.* In addition to clear texts, there are a number of tables including revenues by sources, federal grants, and expenditures from current revenues, federal funds, and bonds.

In line with its accustomed policy of providing as much useful information as possible for the taxpayer, the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** has issued its 1943 edition of *Taxes*, a booklet of questions and answers on state and federal taxes in the state. Included is up-to-date information on income taxes as well as a description of all the kinds of taxes to which a resident of Wisconsin may be subject.

On February 19 the **California Taxpayers' Association** held its seventeenth annual meeting in Los Angeles. More than six hundred persons attended the gathering which was addressed by Governor Earl Warren and others. Prior to that, on January 15, the Governor had announced the appointment of a **Citizens' Tax Committee** of fifteen members, to assist the legislature and the Governor "to gear the fiscal system of the state to the exigencies of war."

R. M. W.

Montgomery County, Maryland, Works Toward New Charter

Montgomery County, Maryland, adjoining the District of Columbia, is both rural and urban. The county's urban residential section adjacent to the District has grown rapidly during the past ten years as the federal government has increased its personnel. But beyond Rockville, the county seat, there are fertile farms making the northern end of the county purely rural. As the county's population has grown there has come greater need for a reduction in partisan politics, for efficient executive direction, simplification of governmental structure, promotion of economy, removal of friction between sections, and modernization of the suburban area.

These needs were stated in a report on the county's government by the Committee on Legislation and Legal Action of the **Montgomery County Civic Federation** in February 1938. Washington papers have referred to this organization as the "powerful civic federation." It deserves the name because it is representative of the many local civic associations in the county.

The report was printed and circulated among the federation's delegates, and made the special order of business for the March 1938 meeting. Its study resulted in adoption of the following resolution at the April meeting:

> 1. That the Federation urges the Board of County Commissioners promptly to engage a suitable group to make, at county expense, a study of our county government under the conditions herein set forth;
> 2. That the Federation invites the coöperation of all groups, political and non-political, in the initiation and completion of such a study.

As a result, letters were sent to all organizations urging them to be present at a hearing before the County Commissioners at which time reasons for a scientific study of the county government would be presented. A large number of leaders from the Civic Federation, League of Women Voters, Women's Clubs, etc., attended the hearing in October.

During the same month the County Commissioners appropriated $5,000 for a survey of the county government by a corps of experts resident outside of Maryland. This decision was not final, however. It was only after a real battle which dragged the question of a county study into the political arena of the November election that the board voted to have Brookings Institution make the study.

The Brookings Institution received $5,000 from the county and expended an additional $30,000 of its own money, taking three years to make one of the most comprehensive surveys of county government ever made in the United States. The extent of its criticism is shown by the flat statement in its report, "Montgomery County has outgrown its form of government."

The Brookings report stirred interest in all civic-minded organizations and individuals. Groups were organized to study it. The County Commissioners' committee appointed to study the report accepted parts of it but rejected, as not advisable or feasible, the section recommending a complete change in the form of government—the charter form, as provided by the state constitution in Article XI-A.

When a petition for a charter form of government bears the signatures of either 20 per cent or 10,000 of a county's registered voters, the Board of Election Supervisors must arrange for the voters of that county to elect a Charter Board of five members at the next general election. If such a board is elected its members must within six months prepare a charter for publication. That charter shall be presented to the voters at the following general or Congressional election and, if adopted, becomes effective thirty days thereafter. The County Commissioners may nominate candidates for the Board. Candidates may also be nominated by a petition of 5 per cent of the registered voters. Candidates are placed on the ballot with no party affiliation.

When public opinion and interest is aroused it is necessary to have the many interests and varied opinions solidified into one objective, and organized effort must be placed behind this objective.

Montgomery County had a small group of men, headed by Allen H. Gardner, who had a clear vision of the need for reform and a dominant will to accomplish the task. Leaders in the Montgomery Civic Federation, they had followed the movement for reform and saw the need for organizing all interested groups for a charter campaign.

With this as the task ahead during the winter and spring of 1942, they interested leading citizens in becoming members of a Charter Committee, which was organized in June with eighteen outstanding men and women of both political parties elected to serve as a Board of Directors. The Board included the presidents of the Ministerial Union, the League of Women Voters, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and a Board of Trade, as well as leading Civic Federation men, well known constitutional lawyers, chairman of the Municipal League of the county, a well known farmer, a leading real estate man, and a popular business man.

The Board of Directors appointed its officers, agreed to employ an executive director, rent an office, and select necessary committee chairmen, following in general the Cincinnati plan of organization. Its publicity committee looked like a "Who's Who" in journalism.

It was the first of July that the job of organizing the county's thirteen election districts to circulate the petition and get a majority of votes for the creation of a charter board was started. The heat of the summer months was not to be compared with the heat of the opposition set up by the well oiled Democratic machine. In its county congress it voted to oppose the charter movement and proceeded to carry out a vehement campaign against the petition.

But in spite of opposition, by September 1 the petition was ready for filing with nearly one thousand more names than were necessary. The field division set up by the Charter Committee had seven members on its executive committee each responsible for a certain number of precincts. Precinct chairmen organized their precincts in some cases by sections and in others by streets and blocks. Because of a lack of local leadership there were some few districts not organized. All workers were provided with a worker's manual and cards of registered voters to be canvassed.

With the filing of the petition for the election of a charter board and a petition placing candidates recommended by the Charter Committee on the ballot the political campaign was begun in earnest by the so-called amateur politicians.

For the first time federal government employees living in the county could take active part in a local political contest, and they wanted a charter. Members of the League of Women Voters were untiring in their efforts, as were the church people—a minister was chairman of a precinct. Members of women's clubs assumed responsibility in precincts. Leaders in the Civic Federation were given support by most of the local civic associations.

Five methods of approach to the public were used. The civic associations sponsored debates between a member picked by the speakers' committee of the Charter Committee and a person appointed by the Democratic organization. Letters and literature were mailed to all registered voters. Good publicity, planned by the publicity committee, was given by the local press, and leading papers in Washington published excellent editorials. Radio addresses were made from local stations. There is no question, however, that the most important contact made with the public was the personal one by workers in the field division. They were men and women of outstanding reputation in every community: doctors, lawyers, school teachers, housewives, businessmen, farmers, government employees, and the average man in the neighborhood who is interested in good government.

The Charter Committee required its workers not to take active part in any other political contest to be settled in the November election.

The Independent party, composed of Republicans and Democrats opposed to the Democratic organization, voted to give support to the charter movement and worked for it actively.

Election Day was an exciting one. The Charter Committee had workers at all the polls. Some listed the names of those who voted, while others phoned to those who had not shown up. Another group stood out front and handed out marked sample ballots. Election returns showed a majority vote for a Charter Board, and all candidates recommended by the Charter Committee elected.

The Charter Board is not accepting pay or funds for operation from any source, and its members are working untiringly to ascertain the wishes of the people as a guide to their work. At present the public appears to want the council manager plan.

The Charter Committee, which now has eight hundred members, is not sponsoring any specific recommendations for the charter but will work for its adoption when it is finished, without personal interest or desire for personal gain.

If the charter has no provisions which conflict with the constitution and appears to offer a nonpartisan, efficient government, there is a reasonable chance that, at the election in 1944, a majority vote will be cast for it.

STELLA B. WERNER

Montgomery County, Maryland

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Georgia City Manager Outlines City Debt History

Urges city to save now for postwar improvements.

UNDER the title *Booms and Bonds—Wars and Depressions,* a history of the bond issues of the city of Columbus, Georgia, has recently been prepared by City Manager Marshall Morton. It provides an interesting and thought-provoking story of how one city has reached the conclusion that many of its public improvements have been dearly bought.

Columbus' first bonds were issued in the late 1840's, according to Mr. Morton, when the booming little town had attained a population of about 5,500—including 2,000 slaves. By 1852 about $500,000 railroad bonds had been marketed. The bonds had been issued by the city to the railroad promoters in exchange for stock, and for some years interest requirements and the early maturities were met by the sale of the stock and of city river front and other property.

Following the Civil War the impoverished community was still faced with about $450,000 of the bonds. None was ever repudiated—as were many railroad aid bonds during the period—but as the bonds matured they were refunded with 30-year serials. The last maturity, $250,000, was refunded in 1939, with the refunding bonds not finally due until 1969, or about 125 years after the debt was originally incurred. Rates on the original issues had been 7 per cent, and the refunding bonds, of which

$339,500 are still outstanding, are mostly 3's.

In 1888 Georgia imposed a debt limit on its cities, restricting them to 7 per cent of their assessed valuation, and for years thereafter the limitation precluded the sale of additional bonds. In fact, it was not until 1904 that the city again borrowed money for capital purposes. From then until the beginning of World War I a total of $663,600 was issued. These included $450,000 bonds for the purchase of the privately owned water system, an issue noted by Mr. Morton to have been a striking exception to some of the others in that it yielded a high profit to the community. Not only has the city enjoyed a fine and adequate water supply, at very low rates, but over $2,500,000 of water department surplus has been invested in new plant. Of the bonds issued during this period, $54,600 are still outstanding including $45,000 of the water issue.

The city's next borrowing occurred during the decade 1919-1929. In this period $2,705,500 of new bonds were sold for a variety of general improvements. By 1929 the city had authorized bonds right up to the limit of its bonding capacity. Of the bonds issued during the decade, $1,221,500 are still outstanding.

During the next ten years $720,500 more bonds were issued. Of these, $633,000 in 1936 and 1938 were sponsor's contributions for WPA and PWA projects, matched by federal funds. Some $270,000 of the amount for sewers and paving accounted directly for improvements costing nearly $1,000,000. The city manager notes that the issues of this period are second only to the early water bonds in the tangible benefits brought to the city at low cost. Still outstanding are $549,500 of the issues of the decade. Since 1939 no new bonds have been sold.

The city's borrowing history may be summarized as follows:

	Borrowed	Outstanding
Issued prior to 1852	$ 500,000	$ 339,500
Issued 1904-14	663,600	54,600
Issued 1919-29	2,705,500	1,221,500
Issued since 1929	720,500	594,500
	$4,589,600	$2,210,100

It is interesting to note that except for the bonds issued for railroad aid prior to 1852, the bulk of which were refunded and are still outstanding in the shape of refunding bonds, there has been no extreme deferment of payment. This is because the bonds issued since 1852 have been mainly 30-year serial bonds.

Furthermore, the scheduled rate of retirement on outstanding bonds is satisfactorily rapid—over the next four years $553,400 of the bonds mature, or one-fourth of the amount outstanding, a rate a little better than the 5 per cent per year usually regarded as normal by authorities on municipal debt. Annual debt requirements were $271,705 in 1931, and are now down to $232,902, with steady declines called for from year to year hereafter.

Contemplating the need for repairs and new improvements after the present war has ended, the city is urged by City Manager Morton to start now to lay its plans for meeting the new costs from current funds, save for acquisition of the electric system serving the city, for which a large but self-liquidating bond issue will be required. Over the past several years some $117,500 of new improvements have been financed from current revenues, without recourse to borrowing, and continuation of this policy through a separate capital budget is recommended for the postwar era.

New York City Seeks Revenues

On March 1 Mayor LaGuardia of New York City sent to the state legislature a request that the city sales tax, enacted in 1934 as an emergency levy of 2 per cent on selected sales to finance relief but cut to 1 per cent last year, be restored to the 2 per cent level. He also asked that the time limitation on the authorization be removed, and that the compensating use, utility, conduit, and business levies be restored from one-twentieth of 1 per cent to the former one-tenth of 1 per cent prevailing prior to July 1, 1942.

The measures were part of the program for more adequate revenues for the city, described here last month.

When the proposals were submitted it was reported that the Republican legislative majority would enact them. Later opposition developed and the sales tax bill was killed. The 1943-44 budget is now in preparation, with about $30,000,000 in new revenues probably needed, and alternative measures are being submitted to the legislature.

Duluth Gears Salaries to Cost of Living Index

Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living indices for the city of Minneapolis have been made the basis for adjustments to salaries of Duluth city employees receiving $275 per month or less. The index is based on the 1935-39 average equal to 100, and by ordinance the city council has provided that after the index reaches 109, an increase of $1 per point of index increase will be made. No adjustments will be made, however, for changes of less than 2½ points and the maximum increase per person will be $7.50 per month.

Kentucky Tax Reform

Two Kentucky developments in taxation are of more than local interest.

The Court of Appeals, the supreme court of the state, on February 16, in *Thomas F. Burke* vs. *Department of Revenue and H. Clyde Reeves,* held constitutional a recently enacted statute authorizing the Kentucky Department of Revenue, among other things: (a) to test any person who seeks to qualify for county tax commissioner (assessor) by means of examination questions which "shall be formulated so as to fairly test the ability of the applicants to serve as county tax commissioner"; and (b) to order a reassessment of all the property or of any class of property in a county if the assessment was "not in substantial compliance with the law" *and* if "the interest of the public necessitates a reassessment." In both cases the court held that the standards prescribed by the legislature were sufficient—that there was no delegation of legislative authority.

The State Department of Revenue is experimenting with a plan to avoid over-use of equalization orders. Since the 1870's or 1880's the equalization agency has usually entered orders regarding local valuations in a majority of the counties. Until recent years the "equalization" was performed almost exclusively on the basis of hunches. For the last few years considerable data have been collected and analyzed, but the results of the process have not been satisfactory. This year, at the beginning of the assessment period, the Department of Revenue announced it was not going to enter any equalization orders. The announcement had no bearing on review proceedings. Assessments have not been entirely completed, but preliminary data suggest that the assessors may have done their work a little better than usual. Possibly the total performance may be inferior; that will not be clear till local review results have been tabulated.

James W. Martin
University of Kentucky

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Ohio Again Considers County Home Rule

Bill providing optional charters before legislature

ANOTHER county home rule bill has been introduced in the Ohio State General Assembly. Although the voters adopted a home rule amendment in 1933, which gives the legislature power to provide optional forms of county government, opposition in the legislature has thus far prevented passage of any law that would make the constitutional amendment effective.

Under the present law voters elect three county commissioners and eight heads of county departments. The pending bill would enable the voters to adopt either an "elective executive" or "appointive executive" form. The manager would be elected by the voters under the first plan and appointed by the county board of commissioners under the second. Under either plan the manager would appoint the heads of departments.

The State Committee of the Citizens League of Cleveland and other civic groups throughout the state are pressing for enactment of the bill, which they believe will give the voters of a county an opportunity to secure a more efficient form of government.

Oregon Legislature Adopts County Manager Amendment

A constitutional amendment, giving the legislature authority to provide for adoption of the manager plan in any county by popular vote, has been passed by the Oregon legislature. The amendment must be submitted to the voters of the state for ratification.

County Reform Revived in Onondaga, New York

In Syracuse, New York, the Onondaga County League of Women Voters has issued a broadside urging reform in county government. It advocates the establishment of the office of county manager appointive by the Board of Supervisors, with responsibility for the budget, for the appointment of administrative officers, and for the consolidation of departments.

New County Legislation in Tennessee

Much of the legislation passed by the 1943 session of the Tennessee legislature deals with individual counties and cities.[1] For the most part, these "private acts" are concerned with purely local matters such as fixing the term and pay and prescribing the duties of local officials, authorizing bond issues, validating bonds already issued, changing city and county boundaries, and similar measures. Some of the local county legislation, however, is of interest. For example, legislation was passed providing a civil service system for county employees in Davidson County, containing the city of Nashville. A companion measure provides a pension system for county employees.

Further progress was made toward the establishment of improved local court systems. In three counties, Carter, Giles, and Lawrence, justice of the peace courts are abolished and courts of general sessions established.

A budget law has been enacted for the counties of Lincoln, Robertson, and Rutherford, and a purchasing commission or agent is established in De-

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[1] For a further account of laws enacted by the Tennessee legislature see p. 199.

Kalb, Lincoln, McMinn, Robertson, Rutherford, and Smith Counties.

Some ripper legislation was enacted by the session. An act passed applying to Bradley County, for example, abolishes the elected county governing body, sets up a new one, and names in the bill the members to serve on the governing body until the next general election. Similar measures redistricting the counties were enacted for Clay, Lawrence, McNairy, and Warren Counties.

M. H. Satterfield
Tennessee Valley Authority

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Another P. R. Bill for Philadelphia

Long Beach Campaign Begins
Votes Count in Cincinnati

THE sixteen-year-old battle to get a modern, serviceable charter for the city of Philadelphia against the stubborn refusal of political forces at Harrisburg to give the city home rule continues, though with little immediate prospect of success.

This year Senator Harry Shapiro of Philadelphia, Democrat, member of an official charter commission which submitted one of these proposals in 1939 and co-sponsor with Senator George Woodward, Republican, of the commission's bill which passed the Senate in that year, has introduced another home rule proposal. His new proposal, however, is less ambitious than its predecessor and correspondingly less satisfactory to many of the leading citizens who have been working for charter reform. It omits the city manager plan and provides for an elected mayor and a city council of twelve. The council would be elected at large either by majority vote or by proportional representation, depending on which option the voters preferred. A new finance department would absorb the functions of the Receiver of Taxes and the Board of Tax Revision in addition to preparing the budget and performing other financial functions.

Since Senator Shapiro's party is in the minority and there are no signs of a change of heart on the part of the Republican organization, prospects of success for his bill do not seem bright.

The experience of Pennsylvania cities is one of the most telling examples of the vital importance of municipal home rule in matters affecting the structure of local government. In 1922 the people of the state approved a constitutional amendment permitting home rule for cities and boroughs, but the legislature has steadfastly refused to implement it with the necessary legislation, either specific or general. Meanwhile wave after wave of strong popular demand for charter revision, centering mostly around P. R. and the manager plan, has risen in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and many other cities, with no tangible results so far.

Campaign Taking Shape in Long Beach

The Long Beach Citizens Union, a new group of prominent and energetic taxpayers which has been making civic affairs hum for the last few months in the little resort city on the south shore of Long Island, has announced preliminary plans for a drive to get P. R. and the city manager plan by popular vote at the election next fall.

The Union plans to work under an act which has just passed both houses of the state legislature unanimously to permit new city charters by petition and popular vote. The same bill passed last year but was vetoed by Governor Lehman.[1]

The Union's decision to try for a P. R.–manager charter follows the recommendation of a survey of the city government made for it by the Citizens' Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State and reported in this department for November 1942. The evidence of poor business methods uncovered has since led to an extensive check on the city's finances by the State Comptrollers' office, from which a report is expected soon.

An Object Lesson from Cincinnati

This article, by a law associate of Cincinnati's famous reform Mayor, Murray Seasongood, was first prepared shortly after the P. R. council election of 1939 but has never before been published. It is presented now because of its interest to students of P. R. as an illustration of the value of the transferable vote. It answers the question, often asked, why it would not be just as well to omit the transfers since those who lead on first choices are often the ones selected on the final count.

The November 1939 election of the Cincinnati City Council illustrated an important feature of proportional representation voting which has not received as prominent attention as it should. That is the importance of the transfers, which permit the voters to express an independent choice among the candidates and to have their preferences made fully effective for a second or later choice if the first choice is ultimately defeated.

The only way a candidate can exercise a second choice in a plurality election is through the intervention of a primary, and even then there is no third or later choice. If A, B, and C are running in a general election without P. R. and the voter votes for C, who runs poorly, his choice is finished and he can no longer help to elect his preference between A and B.

That the greater freedom of the voter under P. R. can have a decisive influence on the result, even apart from the minority representation assured by giving each voter one vote in a contest for several members, was demonstrated forcibly in Cincinnati's 1939 election. It explains why the city elected as many members representing the independent City Charter Committee in that year as it did organization Republicans, though on first-choice votes the Republicans had 22,000 more votes than their rivals and appeared headed for five councilmen out of the total of nine. The story lies in the transfers, the second and later choices of the voters themselves.

At the close of the official count the group votes were as follows:

Organization Republicans .	72,238
Charter voters	50,153
Bigelow and Craig, independents	13,990
Other independent voters	9,938

The quota for election was	14,632
Four full quotas required	58,528
Five full quotas required	73,160

The Republicans lacked 922 of five full quotas.

The Charterites lacked 8,375 of four full quotas.

If the Republicans could make a net gain over losses on transfers of 922 votes, they could elect five; otherwise not, unless Bigelow fell by the wayside and their ninth man went in without a full quota.

If the Charter group could gain 8,375 more votes than it lost on transfers, it could elect four Councilmen.

Now, let us see what happened. Charter candidates received on transfers from Stewart, the Republican elected with a surplus, and the four eliminated Republicans 6,275 votes. That is, that number of voters who voted for Republicans first, actually preferred Charter candidates to those Republicans left in the race who needed votes to be elected. On the other hand, Republicans received 2,033 votes on transfers from the Charter candidates eliminated. This was a net gain to the Charter and a net loss to the Republicans of 4,242 votes.

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[1] National Municipal Review, June 1942, p. 360.

The Charter candidates received 3,501 votes from Craig's transfers, but lost in transfers to Bigelow and Craig from its eliminated candidates 1,256 votes, making a net gain for the Charter group from this source of 2,245 votes. The Republicans lost 1,223 votes to Bigelow and Craig and got back 295 from Craig, a net Republican loss of 928 votes.

The Republicans gained 3,188 from other independents and lost only 155 to them, a net gain from this source of 3,033. The Charter gained 4,373 votes from other independents, and lost to them 210 votes, a net gain of 4,163 from this source.

While the transfers were occurring 664 Republican and 2,275 Charter first-choice votes became ineffective; that is, the voters on those ballots expressed no further preference among remaining candidates.

Now, if we add gains to, and subtract losses from, the total of first-choice votes by groups, we see what happened:

Charter

First-choice votes	50,153
Add net gain from Republicans	4,242
Add net gain from Craig and Bigelow	2,245
Add net gain from other independents	4,163
Total	60,803
Subtract ineffectives	2,275
Balance	58,528

which is exactly the four full quotas which elected the four Charterites.

Organization Republicans

First-choice votes	72,238
Subtract net loss to Charter	4,242
	67,996
Subtract net loss to Bigelow and Craig	928
	67,068
Add net gain from other independents	3,033
	70,101
Subtract ineffectives	664
	69,437
Four full quotas	58,528
Surplus	10,909

which is exactly what Turpeau, the Republicans' fifth man, had left after all these transfers had been effected and four Republicans had been elected.

At this stage eight men had been elected by full quotas, and only Bigelow and Turpeau were left in the race. As Bigelow then had 13,035 to Turpeau's 10,909, the latter was eliminated and Bigelow, an Independent, was elected to the ninth place.

Robert P. Goldman

Cincinnati

Books in Review

Edited by **ELSIE S. PARKER**

Colonel Effingham's Raid. By Berry Fleming. New York City, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1943. 279 pp. $2.50.

Novels seldom are reviewed in these pages but this piece of fiction comes so much closer to the truth about what ails our thousands of communities, so much closer to teaching the lessons which the National Municipal League has been solemnly pontificating for these forty-nine years, that we are greedily encouraged to wish its circulation were even larger than the several hundred thousand its selection by the Book-of-the-Month Club guarantees it.

With a rare and delightful humor, the story of the return of Colonel William Seaborn Effingham (U. S. Army, retired) to his home town of Fredericksville, Georgia, is seen through the eyes of Al Marbury, who possesses the twofold advantage of wearing the thin veneer of cynicism which is supposed to clothe the typical young newspaperman and of feeling, as the Colonel's nephew, the usual embarrassment of a "respectable" old family at the discovery that one of its own members is so improper as to concern himself about local civic morality.

The Colonel, after a life of military service, can see with brilliant clarity that his once-proud little Georgia city has fallen completely into the hands of cheap, self-serving politicians; and a long devotion to the habit of fighting to win leaves him no stomach for the spirit of appeasement which he finds in the newspaper, the bankers, the clergy, and the like—those who are always called the local civic leaders.

Colonel Effingham's Raid is a powerfully-drawn picture of the sordid civic state not only of "Fredericksville" but, tragically, of hundreds of communities the attitude of whose "leading" citizens once caused William Howard Taft to remark sadly, "Too many people don't care what happens so long as it doesn't happen to them." He might well have added that mostly they don't even realize it is happening to them or, if they suspect it, they put aside the uncomfortable thought and, like the author's Al Marbury and a prominent business man who has profited greatly by "playing along with the gang," staunchly turn their attention to more impressive and distant problems such as telling Adolf Schickelgruber they don't like dictatorship—at least on an international scale.

The fact that a book dealing with venal local government has been chosen by the Book-of-the-Month Club and has won enthusiastic praise from reviewers does not, unfortunately, mean that publishers are currently awakening to the danger of losing our democracy on the home front. It is due to the fact that, as Clifton Fadiman says in *The New Yorker,* "Berry Fleming's light-hearted sketch of his native Deep South has a pleasingly un-Faulknerian sanity . . ." and, quoting the review in *The New York Times Book Review,* "With the publication of his novel he deserves to rank among the best of his contemporaries. He has tilted brilliantly with the ogres of privilege and probed the dry-rot of Dixie politics to the heart."

Mr. Fleming, a native of Georgia, was an editor of the *Advocate* and the *Lampoon* at Harvard, from which he graduated in 1922. He was a newspaperman in the South, then spent some years in New York and Europe while writing his other novels, *The Conqueror's Stone, Visa to France, The*

Square Root of Valentine, Siesta, and *To the Market Place.* Finally he went back, like his hero Colonel Effingham, to his old home town in Georgia where, also like the doughty Colonel, he wrote a column in a local newspaper in which he tried to arouse his neighbors to their responsibilities as citizens in a democracy and especially in a community which they all love.

As the reader contemplates the bravely fighting Colonel and the forces positively and negatively arrayed against him, he might well be prompted to indulge in a bit of healthy self-examination and a critical look into the recesses of his own city hall; but if he finds that too disturbing he can still enjoy a thoroughly charming and well written book.

A. W.

Metropolitan Government. By Victor Jones. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942. xxiv, 364 pp. $4.

It is now more than a dozen years since the National Municipal League published Paul Studenski's *The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States,* and it is well after the interval to have the subject treated again with the use of material which has accumulated since. But do not throw away your copy of Studenski; it isn't superseded, or in the least diminished in utility. It is well to have both it and Dr. Jones's more recent survey of the same field, and to attempt to measure progress between the two books.

Unhappily, the reviewer cannot report the extent of the gain, or loss, of ground in satisfactory units, or much better than he could have done at any intervening moment. It is tempting to believe that there are unseen gains, in wisdom and courage growing up with a younger generation who will one day face the problems of American metropolitan government with broad outlook and unparochial loyalties.

Dr. Jones's outline is entirely acceptable, broaching the subject with description and statistics; reviewing histories; defining problems; examining structural, financial, legal, and political aspects of integration; and winding up in a short wrestle with the future. The book is little disfigured by inaccuracies, though some slips of proofreading, understanding, or fact can be discovered, if one doesn't mind noticing inconsequentials.[1]

Pleasingly introduced by Dr. Charles E. Merriam "as an observer rather than as an advocate," Dr. Jones is not by that characterization disabled from giving the benefit of his conclusions to those whose side he is on. Thus on page 154, at the end of two chapters examining eleven or so solutions, we find him saying (but without italics): "Without excluding the concurrent or temporary use of any other device(s), *as long as they are recognized as stopgaps or as stepping-stones* . . . , there are three types of metropolitan government *to strive for*: . . . Each will be a giant municipality."

The three worthy types are "(1) a reorganized and municipalized urban county, (2) a consolidated city-county, and (3) a 'federated' metropolitan government." To reach these as end products, Dr. Jones is willing to start wherever he can. Otherwise one might suppose that large parts of Chapter VI, on structure, and VIII, on law, are digressions, dealing with counties as counties, saying much very well, but all being what might be said or has been said of counties without regard to their transformation into metropolitan governments. The cord by which these passages are bound to the main theme appears to be the hypothesis that if we make the government of a county splendid and good it will then become feasible "to consolidate it with the municipalities therein or to transform it into the central unit of a federated metropolis." (P. 155.) Does the formula work more potently when the county is the brightest beacon than when the differential is headed the other way? If comparative merit be the index to voting power, should the record of annexation elections be what it is? Would it be possible to rehabilitate annexation by similar medicine—would it be reasonable perhaps to anticipate success for a movement to annex Chicago to Winnetka?

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[1] Among the deletions and supressions made by a space-thrifty editor in copy for this review were a selection of illustrations, leaving the reader free to pick his own. AUTHOR.

Such questions, happily, will not daunt Dr. Jones. "A large and bold device may catch the imagination of the electorate when a half-hearted plan would evoke little popular response." (P. 122.)

Dr. Jones's book is no record of impressive progress. Compare the current metropolitan governmental scene, as he describes it, against that of Studenski, or of a long memory. The improvements one may discern are almost all in other aspects than the one which makes the subject of the book. In that aspect the chaos is perdurable, and the more it has changed the more it is the same thing—whether one looks at population, at the governmental needs of the areas, the essentials of attendant problems, at the unsolving solutions which are the best we have contrived to date, at the legal impediments, or at the Sisyphean practical task of procuring the adoption of the worst or the best of them, or of some more perfect solution as yet undreamed of. Could not Rip Van Winkle, awakening today with a half-written twenty-year-old manuscript on the infirmities of metropolitan governmental patterns, finish the work in up-to-date style without leaving the woods?

Dr. Jones closes with a chapter entitled "Judging the Future by the Past." He does not blink the meagerness of success in the record, nor the difficulties between us and genuinely successful integration of metropolitan governments. Stout-heartedly he tells us that success is not unattainable; bids us carry on without flagging, and to employ superior inducements and skills. If only we could be sure that the paths he says are open to us are not the very ruts our feet have worn, and do not lead to the familiar stone wall against which full many of us have cracked our skulls! Anyway, he's right on the main point. We can keep at it.

EMMETT L. BENNETT

Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Bonds

State and Municipal Bonds Legal for Savings Banks in New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Revised to February 8, 1943. New York, *The Bond Buyer,* 1943. 21 pp.

Juvenile Delinquency

Jurisdiction over Juvenile Offenders. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1942. 32 pp.

Labor

Labor Relations in the New York City Transit System. Statement by a Committee of Citizens Formed to Aid in the Settlement of the Labor Controversy in the Transit System, Arthur W. Macmahon, Chairman. New York 1943. 26 pp.

Land Use

State and Federal Lands in Michigan. Lansing, Michigan State Planning Commission, 1943. 40 pp.

Legislation

Proposed Bills Submitted to the General Assembly of 1943; Additional Proposed Bills Submitted to the General Assembly of 1943; Report to the General Assembly of 1943. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, 1943. 212, 163 and 140 pp. respectively.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A Record of Recent Civic Advances in the Fields of Planning, Parks, Housing, and Neighborhood Improvement, Including the Addresses and Discussions of the National Conference on Planning, Held at Indianapolis, Indiana, May 25-27, 1942, and the Round Table Conference on Wartime Uses of State Parks, Held at Chicago, Illinois, September 23-24, 1942. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1943. x, 254 pp. $3.

Personnel

National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel. Report to the National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. iv, 47 pp. Ten cents.

Parking

The Parking Problem—A Library Research. By the Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, Inc. Saugatuck, Connecticut, 1942. 82 pp.

Population Trends

The Economic Pattern of World Population. By J. B. Condliffe. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1943. 54 pp. 25 cents.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 167)

grown up, what happens? He goes to work among voters who too often have developed a "what's the use" attitude toward voting, or he moves on to college where, with a few notable exceptions, the emphasis is on national and international affairs—if he "takes" government courses at all. And the student begins to lose his awareness that a citizen can make his vote count in a local election as nowhere else.

In any event, there is almost certain to be a distinct let-down. The youthful idealistic urge to have a go at some of these situations which are generally admitted to be bad but about which too few are inclined to do anything begins to wane as the "practical realities of life" seep in. The fine convictions about a voter's duty and power which high school teachers planted—or at least should have—have begun to fade.

It is general knowledge that educators and others have been making slow progress in their efforts to make the study of civics or the social sciences more effective. Progress unquestionably would be hastened if teachers faced the certainty that the young people in their charge were on the verge of assuming the full responsibilities of citizenship, passing almost directly from the classroom to the polling place. Our educational system surely would accept this challenge promptly and rise to the opportunity to provide basic, constructive training during at least the final high school year. This one hope alone surely would be ample justification for lowering the voting age.

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How Fast Are Cities Growing?

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Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

"I Am an American Day" — May 16

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

League Officers and Members in the Nation's Service

Among persons actively associated with the League in such capacities as officers, REVIEW correspondents, committee members, etc., who have entered the armed forces or service in war-connected civilian capacities since the announcement in our May 1942 issue, are the following:

Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University, chief of the United States Delegation to the Anglo-American Conference on Refugee Problems, held at Bermuda

Paul Betters, Army Supply Service

Sergeant John Blanchard, Army of the United States

Lieutenant Colonel Karl Detzer, Chief, Office of Technical Information, Headquarters, Army Supply Service

Patterson H. French, Office of Price Administration

William Tudor Gardiner, ex-governor of Maine, United States Air Force

Captain Robert E. Garrigan, awaiting assignment to the School of Military Government at Charlottesville, Virginia

Frederick P. Gruenberg, director of the Philadelphia-Camden Defense Rental Area of the OPA

Luther Gulick, Chief, Program and Requirements Division, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations

Lieutenant Colonel Joseph P. Harris, School of Military Government

Lieutenant Lashley G. Harvey, United States Navy

Hubert Hinshaw, National Housing Agency

Colonel Robert W. Johnson, Chief, Smaller War Plants Division, War Production Board

Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, Chairman, Air Raid Wardens, New Hampshire

Herman Kehrli, Bureau of the Budget

Howard M. Kline, Bureau of the Census

Albert Lepawsky, Army Air Corps

John W. Manning, Personnel Division, Adjutant General's Office, War Department

Elwyn A. Mauck, Chief of Program, Dockets and Directives Section of the Office of Civilian Defense

Colonel George H. McCaffrey, School of Military Government

John McDiarmid, U. S. Civil Service Commission

Laurence Michelmore, Bureau of the Budget

Fred A. Schuckman, New Jersey Office of the Office of Price Administration

S. S. Sheppard, Division of Administrative Management, U. S. Bureau of the Budget

John F. Sly, Regional Price Administrator, Office of Price Administration

Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, a lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve, began active duty April 29.

Howard Strong, Director of the Homes Registration Division, Division of Defense Housing Coördination

Lieutenant Colonel Stuart M. Weaver, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Construction Division, Repairs and Utilities Branch, Washington, D. C.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Abuse of Power

MANY legislative bodies are prone to feel they have a special right to nullify the provisions of their constitutions and to ignore the wishes of their people. All too frequently they seem bent on lending force to the cynic's claim that we don't really have the democracy in defense of which we are again waging a bloody war.

Instances of such high-handed abuse of power are too numerous to detail. Virtually every state has seen legislative refusal to reapportion after each census and has experienced numerous other similar failures. Even when the people resort to constitutional amendment in the hope of forcing their legislatures to follow public opinion, the legislator frequently sits tight, confident in his knowledge that the people's memory is short.

A recent *coup d'etat* in Ohio is significant, not because it is rare—unfortunately, it isn't—but because of the tricky concealment with which it was accomplished. It is worth citing also because of the refreshing vigor with which outraged civic leadership rose to the challenge instead of following the familiar procedure of weakly accepting defeat.

Away back in 1933 the people of Ohio wrote into the state constitution a provision for optional forms of county government. Session after session of the Ohio State General Assembly has callously ignored this clear mandate. Recently, with the heat from civic organizations becoming more intense, the legislators figured out a way to keep from any public consideration a bill which would permit the voters of each county to adopt an "elective executive" or an "appointive executive" form of government or to keep the old type.

Printing the bill in full in its bulletin *Greater Cleveland* as a "protest against an act of political sabotage," the Citizens League of Cleveland explains:

"House Bill 293, introduced by Representative Campbell of Cuyahoga County on February 8, was illegally held in the Reference Committee until March 25 (forty-five days—eight days the limit) and was then sent to the Committee on Organization of State Government with order 'not to be printed,' which could have only one meaning, namely, to prevent its consideration by the Committee or the House. This bill had the support of some twenty-five or thirty commercial, civic, and taxpayers' organizations in the last session and is intended to carry out the provisions of the County Home Rule Amendment (Art. X). Such disgraceful dictatorship in a representative legislative body should not be tolerated in Ohio. As a protest the bill is herewith printed and sent to members of the legislature. A request will be made of the State Government Committee that it still be heard."

This is a lesson—chiefly for the

people. The only lesson unprincipled legislators ever learn is one which involves their ceasing to "represent" people whom they fail to represent.

Trend Toward Realism

IT IS easy and suggestive of something big and robust to toss off a remark like "Let's get on with the war!" and to ridicule postwar planning, especially when the plans are broad, idealistic, and on a grand scale. Nevertheless, the fact that such catch phrases are popular during a time when everyone is so preoccupied with the paramount task of winning the war presents a great danger. They should not be permitted to frighten local, county, state, and national governments away from their responsibility to prepare for the future.

This danger can be met in part by keeping planning on a down-to-earth, dollars-and-cents basis. Without such an approach there is every prospect that the period of readjustment to a peacetime economy may bring chaos worse than that which was experienced after World War I.

While it is clearly desirable to see the problem whole and to recognize that it is as broad as humanity itself, it still is necessary to break planning down into small segments which can be tested singly in a cold, calm, realistic way. Take, for example, one aspect, the preparation of a reservoir of public works to take up slack in employment or simply to make up for the wartime recess made necessary by the shortage of manpower and materials. Would it not be wise now, in order to prevent our being stampeded by political opportunism or the natural emotional reaction which will come with the end of hostilities, to apply definite tests to each and every one of the proposed projects? The following might be among those tests:

1. Is it clearly in the public interest?
2. Is it worthwhile?
3. Is there a better way to accomplish the same result?
4. Can the people afford it?
5. Can we, without serious loss, do without it?
6. Could it profitably be deferred to some other time?
7. For how many years will it be useful; will the original investment be retired within that period?
8. Is its cost in line with its usefulness?

There is nothing hardboiled about such tests as these and others which might be added. Doubters can find thousands of hastily conceived "improvements" in every part of the country which were not pre-tested and which stand as sorry monuments to the effectiveness of pressure groups or to the venality of the political powers that be. There is no need to enumerate them; scarcely a city of any size is without them.

Today, with the lessons of a previous postwar period still freshly in mind, we have a golden opportunity to make our plans carefully and to keep them on a basis which will promote public understanding and ac-

(Continued on Page 272)

Colonel Effingham at the Courthouse

Wherein the Colonel and his "troops" face an opposing force led by the local politicians.

By **BERRY FLEMING**

Because of the artistry and good humor with which it treats some of the basic and almost universal problems of effective citizenship, an incident taken from the recent Book-of-the-Month Club selection, *Colonel Effingham's Raid*,[1] is republished herewith by permission of the author and publisher.—Editor.

Synopsis

"Cousin Willy," W. Seaborn Effingham (Colonel, U. S. Army, retired), returns to his native Fredericksville, Georgia, to spend his remaining years. But, old battle horse that he is, he recognizes an enemy when he sees one. He makes his first civilian "raid" against the hypocrisy and political corruption of his home town.

He opens his campaign by capturing the position of columnist—without pay—on the *Fredericksville Leader*. At first he confines himself to the relatively harmless field of local history and military strategy. Then he opposes the renaming of the Confederate Memorial Square for Pud Toolen, deceased mayor and political boss. Next, and even more dangerously, he opposes the quiet plan of the "courthouse ring" to raze the historic old courthouse with its memories of Washington, Lafayette, and many another notable and get its hands on fat contracts to erect a new and costly edifice.

The politicians, remembering that only fourteen citizens bothered to attend the last public meeting, finally are smoked out by Cousin Willy to the point of inviting all citizens interested in "the courthouse matter" to attend a public meeting in the old structure.

The story is related by Al Marbury, a reporter on the *Leader* and a second cousin of the Colonel.

THINGS were obviously not moving in any too happy a direction. It was only five minutes to eight by the great clock behind the judge's throne and there were not only already something near a hundred people seated in the room but they were pouring in the double doorway, a good many of them with a sheet of paper in their hand. I caught sight of Cousin Willy's pink dome near the door, where he stood like Saint Peter welcoming a congregation of Methodists who, by some mundane catastrophe, were arriving all at once. They were mostly widows with annuities, or sisters and aunts with an equally sound misunderstanding of trade and finance.

I spoke to Aunt Lulu.

"Where's Uncle Amos?" I said with some malice, knowing that Uncle Amos's retainer from the bus company prevented his getting down off the fence as effectively as if it had been a prong of barbed wire hooked into the seat of his pants.

"Your Uncle Amos had to go up to Chatham County on business."

I asked Sally Manadue where her papa was. He had gone in the other direction, toward Thunderbolt. The president of the Broad Street Association was in bed with a horrible cold, and the heads of the civic clubs were all detained at meetings and conferences here and there about the county. The only males I could recognize were Jim Economy and his brother Louis. There may have been a few others. They were coming in so fast now I couldn't keep an accurate count.

---

[1] Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York, $2.50. See review in National Municipal Review, April 1943, p. 217.

The whole thing was interrupted by three or four slow whacks on the kitchen table where learned counsel usually piled its brief cases but which was occupied now by the chair and a clerk.

"The meeting will please come to order," said the chair, a round little man by the name of Jeffie who somehow always gave you the impression of standing largely on his heels.

Meetings weren't usually started in our trade area before twenty minutes past the hour, but this promptness suited me fine because, as I whispered to Councilman Wishum, the sooner we started the more chance we had of getting out of the place before it collapsed.

The chair rapped again. But before he could repeat his request for order, a familiar voice rose above the vestiges of confusion: "Just a minute, Mr. Chairman, sir, if you please; these ladies haven't yet found seats."

The result of this little remark struck me as being characteristic of that whole summer; the momentary effect was a decided weakening of the government's position, but whether Cousin Willy was ingenious enough to have planned it that way or whether the Lord just so directed it in a sort of appreciation for a great innocence, I don't know.

Anyhow, the chair saw what was happening and grabbed hold of the situation just before it was snatched out of his hands by pointing the handle of the gavel and saying in a not-to-be-outdone graciousness, "Ladies, I believe you will find some seats over in the corner there under the window," and waited for a minute with his courteous finger tips on the table. Then he began:

Majority Rule!

"We invited you here tonight, ladies and gentlemen, to express any opinions you may have on the disposition of this old building. As you know, parts of it were built over a hundred and fifty years ago and we can't expect anything to last for ever. Of course we can't promise to necessarily follow your suggestions. We are concerned with the desires of eighty thousand people and this assembly numbers perhaps—five hundred?"

He glanced down at the clerk for his estimate which, from the shake of his head, must have been considerably lower. "Well, say five hundred," continued the chair, declining the benefit of the doubt, "a little more than half of one per cent. Naturally we must be careful not to give undue weight, in a democracy like ours, to any minority. Now, in order to acquaint you with the dangerous condition of the building, I am going to first ask the clerk to read you the reports of the two independent contractors who have examined it."

The clerk adjusted his glasses and read the reports; I didn't pay much attention because I had heard them before, but they went into the walls, the floors, the roof, the wiring, the plumbing, and all the rest. Obviously, the place was a shambles.

"From these reports, ladies and gentlemen," the chair summed up in a kindly way, "you can see it is not a question of what we would like to do with this fine old building, it is a question of what we can do—"

The Offensive Begins

"Mr. Chairman," said Cousin Willy, stepping with some chilliness out on to the floor. "Before presenting to you a petition to repair or remodel this building rather than destroy it—a request which would have no validity whatever if that is impossible—I should like to have your permission to read a report on the state of the building by Major Anthony T. Hickock, United States Army, Corps of Engineers, retired."

"Well," the chair explained with a smile, looking about the courtroom, "of course we don't know anything about this gentleman. But we have no desire to forestall the introduction of any relevant testimony—"

"You've heard of Miraflores Locks, sir, I presume," said Cousin Willy from way up.

The chair gazed off patiently at one of the triple-height windows; "Well, no, sir, I can't say I ever heard of that particular brand."

"Well, have you heard of the Panama Canal?"

"Yes, I've heard—"

"Major Hickock was the engineer in charge of building the great Miraflores Locks in the Panama Canal."

"I see," said the chair.

"He has examined this building from top to bottom, and I should like to introduce his report on the state of it."

"Of course military engineering is a very different thing from civilian engineering; has this man a license to—"

"Mr. Chairman," said Mr. Alsobrook with a well-tempered smile, rising halfway to his feet, "I move that the chair accept the colonel's report in evidence—"

"Certainly," said the chair. "I was just about to say we'd be very glad to add this gentleman's opinion to the two we already have. Will you proceed, sir?"

Cousin Willy unfolded a paper and, nesting his open left hand in the small of his back, he read the report. Major Hickock, in a low-temperature military style, made no attempt to deny the serious shortcomings of the building. "That the structure should have been allowed to deteriorate to such an extent as now to make necessary these extensive repairs," the major permitted himself to observe, "is a matter of apparent negligence concerning which it is not my duty to report—"

Cousin Willy's reading was here interrupted by a rustle of feminine applause, which he acknowledged on behalf of the major with a nod or two. The substance of the rest of the report was that not only was the building "by no means beyond repair," but that to destroy "such a dignified and harmoniously-proportioned structure was something which, in the opinion of the writer, the legitimate pride of a municipality in its monuments should go to great lengths to prevent."

The applause that followed this conclusion was more of a downpour than a rustle.

In a minute the chair rose and tapped a few times on the table with an everything-in-its-stride gavel: "The council will be glad to take this report under its due consideration."

The Enemy Pushed Back

"Mr. Chairman," said a voice from the middle of the audience. It was the young man from the WPA.

"Yes, sir," said the chair, pointing the gavel at him like an auctioneer.

"Just a minute, Mr. Chairman," said Cousin Willy. "I believe I have the floor."

"I thought you had finished," said the chair, with perhaps what I believe is called autonomic thinking.

"No, sir, I have not finished." Cousin Willy pushed the young man back into his seat with a baleful stare. "With this report on record showing the repair of the building to be feasible, we may now ask what, under those circumstances, is the desire of the citizens of Fredericksville. Since it is practical either to destroy the building or repair it, what do the citizens want done with it? As an indication of what they want, I should like to present to you, Mr. Chairman, a petition calling for the preservation of the courthouse, signed by 511 voters and taxpayers." He marched out and laid the handful of mimeographed sheets on the table before the clerk.

"Thank you," said the chair, perhaps with some hypocrisy.

"The preservation of the courthouse being then, in the first place, practical, and in the second place, desired by the citizens, I should like to ask, Mr. Chairman, on what grounds do you base this plan for destroying the old landmark?"

"The answer to your question, sir, is very simple. First, the three opinions we have heard on the practicability of repairing the building stand, one in favor of repairing, two opposed."

"Do you mean to say, sir—"

"As for the claim that a petition signed by five hundred citizens should be interpreted as the desires of a city of eighty thousand—why, even if it had been signed by five thousand citizens—" He smiled and wiggled the handle of the gavel round at the middle of the audience like somebody delving about in a wastebasket for a discarded receipt: "Did somebody back there have a question—"

"Mr. Chairman. These people who want this old rubbish pile propped up, they don't have to work here."

It was the young man from the WPA. "They don't care anything about the working conditions of the laboring man. This old wreck is dangerous. It's a fire trap, the ceilings are falling in, a good gust of wind would knock down two or three chimneys—"

"All that can be repaired," Cousin Willy struck in, but the young man went on with rising emphasis.

"All these people care about is having something pretty to look at as they drive past in their limousines. They don't care—"

"Young man," said Cousin Jennie, who runs a boarding house in a good neighborhood, getting to her feet, "did I hear you say limousine?"

"I said limousine."

"Thank you. I just wanted to hear the word again; it's been so long."

There was considerable disturbance after this as Cousin Jennie got her pocketbooks and glasses and umbrellas triumphantly settled in her lap again. And the spirit of decorum was not improved by old Mrs. Julian piping across at Jennie, "The last limousine I rode in, Jennie, belonged to the undertaker at Uncle Jesse's funeral." She gave a sort of squawk for exclamation point and her new teeth gleamed in the murky light.

The chair, sensing an incipient disaster, banged on the table and the pile of petitions cascaded to the floor. All we needed was to have somebody let loose a cage of pigeons.

When the clerk had gathered up the petitions and things had quieted down again, the young man was seen to be still on his feet: "I insist, Mr. Chairman."

But the chair deserted him. "This gentleman has the floor," he said, turning to Cousin Willy as perhaps the lesser of the evils.

I couldn't imagine what Cousin Willy was going to do with it; it seemed to me he had already used it for about all it was worth. But when he spoke it looked for a minute as if he might at last be on his way up Little Round Top.

"Mr. Chairman," said Cousin Willy, "I make a motion that the chair call for a rising vote of those in favor of preserving the courthouse—"

"Second demotion," said Mr. Economy and Mr. Wong in a breath.

"Just a minute, if you please, Mr. Chairman," said the attorney rising to his feet with elaborate good humor.

"Mr. Alsobrook," said the chair, with possibly some of the relief of General Sherman making contact at last with the federal gunboats off Savannah.

The Enemy Rallies

"I consider it out of order to call upon this meeting for a vote on a matter that is entirely the responsibility of the duly-elected county officials. It is their responsibility to provide proper housing facilities for the county government; they may ask for any suggestion they care to, but this committee of citizens is not a legally constituted body with power to advise the council in the discharge of its duties—"

"Does a gathering of citizens," said Cousin Willy, "require a government license to vote on a public question?"

The attorney smiled at him amiably: "These gentlemen of the council, Colonel, have been entrusted by the voters with handling the affairs of the county. It is not consonant with the democratic form of government that we all believe in—that we would defend with our very lives, if need be—that they should be swayed by a minority such as this. This is not a matter in which a pressure group should try to enforce its will on governmental authority."

"This building," insisted Cousin Willy, getting the far-away look in his eyes, "does not belong to the county council to dispose of as they choose. It belongs to the people of the city of Fredericksville and the county of Habersham—an army more than five hundred thousand strong."

The attorney broke into the murmur of amazement at this figure: "I am afraid the gentleman's idea of our population is as exaggerated as some of his other ideas."

Resistence Stiffens

"The figure," said Cousin Willy, "is highly conservative." I thought I detected a slight dismay among the troops, as if even they weren't sure they could go along with him on this; but he pushed right ahead: "This courthouse belongs not merely to the citizens of today, but of yesterday—those citizens who stood victorious with Captain Rudolph upon the ragged terreplain of old Fort Frederick, who looked out upon the pine-barrens where we are now convened and saw the necessity for erecting upon it a new kind of fort, a fort for the defense of law and order, in short, a courthouse. It belongs to their children and their children's children, who enlarged that building and improved it. It belongs to every citizen who has trod the streets of Fredericksville before us. It belongs to the citizens who will tread these streets after you and I are gone, sir. No, the figure is not exaggerated; the only exaggeration was in naming any figure at all, for the owners of this building are as impossible to number as the generations yet unborn—"

The applause that interrupted him rattled the windows. And the chair, possibly with some well founded qualms at this fortuitous ringing in of the "little ones" motif, pulled slightly over on his rudder. "The council is of course interested in the opinions of the citizens; whatever our legal rights, we want your suggestions. It is, however, I feel, inadvisable to call for a vote on the question until all the facts are in evidence. Whatever is done with the building is going to cost the county—that is, the taxpayers—money; it is our duty to take care that this money is well spent—"

"Hear, hear!" said Cousin Willy.

"It is for this reason," the chair went on, "that I want to mention the matter of costs. In order to do the financing of either project we need WPA help. If a grant can be secured from the WPA, it will take care of about a third of the cost. But the WPA is not interested in repairing old buildings. There is every reason to believe that a grant of one third can be secured toward erecting a new courthouse. Nothing at all can be obtained for repairing the present structure."[2]

This sounded to me like the trump card, though it was laid down without much dramatics. It brought quite a noticeable intake of communal breath.

In a minute somebody rose and asked him what was the approximate cost of the two projects, and he held out his hand to the clerk for some papers: "The approximate cost as figured by the architects is three hundred and seventy thousand dollars for a new courthouse, three hundred and ninety thousand for repairing—"

"You mean it would cost twenty thousand dollars less to build a new courthouse than to repair this one!"

"Twenty thousand on the face of it," said the chair. "When you add to that saving, the one hundred and twenty thousand dollars which the WPA would probably grant in labor, you get a total saving to the taxpayers of something like a hundred and fifty thousand dollars."

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[2] Cousin Willy later proves these statements false.—Editor.

The Enemy Advances

It was really pretty much a shell exploding in morale's cockpit. Even Cousin Willy's "Preposterous!" afforded no noticeable relief. To my worn nostrils it had a somehow familiar perfume.

It was a little as if Singleterry, the star batter on our ball team, after getting two strikes called on him, really collected himself and put the third one into a trajectory that seemed destined for the canal bank. The chair, obviously relieved, set out on a round of the bases more or less for the principle of the thing.

For a minute it looked as if there was a chance the ball might hit the top rail of the fence and bounce back. "Was this figure arrived at through competitive bidding on the work?" said Cousin Willy, perhaps faltering a little.

"These are not bids for the work," the chair explained coldly. "They are estimates of the probable cost made by experts in the various lines; bids may run a little less, or they may run a little more. It is therefore a question, ladies and gentlemen, of whether to repair the building for approximately three hundred and ninety thousand dollars, or build a new courthouse for approximately two hundred and fifty."

One of the Daughters of the War of 1812 rose to say the building should be preserved no matter what the cost, but the morale of the rank and file had undoubtedly suffered.

"I submit," said Cousin Willy, his campaign hat blown away and a shrapnel hole through the side of his shirt, but standing his ground, "that the specifications showing just what these repairs are that would cost this preposterous sum be presented to this meeting for discussion; perhaps some of them can be modified and the cost reduced."

There was a murmur of approval from the troops but it hadn't the spirit it once had. "And I furthermore question whether a new building of the dignity of this one could be built for three hundred and seventy thousand dollars. In these rooms the delegates of the young state of Georgia assembled to ratify the federal constitution—and just as the last name was signed, Colonel Armstrong's regiment of Georgia Rangers, drawn up across the square, proclaimed the news to the citizens of Fredericksville by a salute of thirteen salvos—"

Retreat

"Unfortunately the county government cannot be conducted on mere tradition," said the chair with a smile. "We are entrusted with the duty to provide the county with adequate and appropriate means for carrying on its business—"

"Let's have the specifications," somebody said.

Somebody else said, "I move that the meeting be adjourned."

"It has been moved," said the chair, "that the meeting be adjourned."

The move was seconded from the

(Continued on Page 255)

NRPB Proposes Security Program

"Unless the difficulties are frankly faced and the public accepts the full implication of the proposed policies, freedom from want will not become a reality."

By EVELINE M. BURNS
Director of Research, Committee on Long-Range Work and Relief Policies
National Resources Planning Board

THE simultaneous appearance in March of two reports from the National Resources Planning Board has undoubtedly given rise to some confusion. The first of these, entitled *National Resources Development Report for 1943,* attempts to outline the major problems to be faced by this country in effecting an orderly transition from war to peace in a manner calculated to maintain full employment. The report also suggests, for the consideration of Congress and the people, some of the steps which might even now be taken and some of the policies which seemed to the Board to merit careful consideration for further exploration. It is not a blueprint, but rather an agenda.

Necessarily *the development report* has something to say about social security programs, for it is evident that attainment of freedom from want is an important objective in the postwar world, and, even if full employment were secured, there would still be several millions of people whose security would not thereby be assured. Even today with the fullest employment we have ever known, there are some four million households—composed largely of the aged, dependent children, or the sick—who must depend upon public aid for all or part of their income.

Furthermore, any reasonable planning for the postwar world must at least reckon with the possibility that full employment may not be achieved immediately or continuously. Common sense requires that while there is yet time we prepare ourselves for this contingency by setting up an orderly program to deal with the unemployed should we again face this problem. From this point of view, therefore, social security planning is, as the *National Resources Development Report* points out, a part of the larger problem of planning for the postwar world.

The second report issued by the National Resources Planning Board, entitled *Security, Work, and Relief Policies,* is of a somewhat different character. It represents the fruits of a three-year study of public-aid policies which the Board had begun in 1939. Its objective was to discover the steps which should be taken to assure equal access to security for all our people wherever they may reside and to maintain the social stability and values threatened when people lack jobs or income. In other words, it is concerned with plans assuring freedom from want and the opportunity to work. It is an intensive study backed up by facts and figures.

The findings and recommendations

of this second report represent the unanimous agreement of a special committee under the chairmanship of Professor William Haber.[1] The report was prepared under a director of research with the assistance of a staff of experts assembled by the Board, and with the coöperation of the research staffs of federal and state agencies concerned with public aid programs.

Character of Security Report

The 600-page report presents the first comprehensive evaluation of the many-sided program which the country has developed to meet insecurity resulting from loss of income or jobs.

In all, some sixteen programs were intensively studied.[2] Reference is also made at appropriate points to programs no longer in operation which played important parts in the development of public aid chiefly in the years prior to 1935: relief under the poor laws, state pensions for special groups, state and local emergency relief under loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and grants from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Civil Works Administration.

Throughout the report these various programs are referred to under the general term of "public aid." Reference is made at various points throughout the study to other programs, such as health and welfare services, and their relevance to public-aid problems is pointed out. In view of the time and resources at its disposal, the Committee did not feel justified in undertaking an extensive investigation of these other programs.

The report differs from studies hitherto made in that emphasis is placed upon the fundamental and long-range problems of public assurance of security, and the various programs are treated, not separately and individually, but as parts of a many-sided attack upon this basic problem. Recommendations are pointed toward the development of a well coördinated and consistent body of policies and principles. The Committee particularly stresses the fact that no one of its specific recommendations can be considered apart from the whole system of which it is an integral part.

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[1] The members of the committee and their affiliations at the time of appointment are as follows: William Haber, Chairman, Professor of Economics, University of Michigan; Will W. Alexander, former administrator, Farm Security Administration; C. M. Bookman, Executive Vice-Chairman, Community Chest of Cincinnati; Corrington Gill, Assistant Commissioner, Work Projects Administration; Rt. Rev. Francis J. Haas, Dean, School of Social Science, Catholic University of America; Fred K. Hoehler, Executive Director, American Public Welfare Association; Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor; Mary E. Switzer, Assistant to the Administrator, Federal Security Agency; and T. J. Woofter, Jr., Director of Research, Federal Security Agency. Director of Research, Eveline M. Burns.

[2] These programs fall in three general categories:

(1) Employment programs (Work Projects Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration, public employment service, and rural rehabilitation loans); (2) public assistance (old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, general relief, farm security grants, and surplus commodities); (3) social insurances (old-age and survivors insurance, railroad retirement insurance, railroad unemployment insurance, state unemployment compensation, and workmen's compensation).

The first four parts of the report constitute a factual study which attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of the various measures now operating. The last part of the study summarizes the findings, proposes the adoption of certain broad policies and principles, and applies these to the programs at present in operation to arrive at specific recommendations for individual programs.

Factual Report

The factual report falls into four main parts. Part I gives an account of the development of public-aid policies and programs during the decade preceding the war and sets this picture against the economic and social background of the time. It presents a brief account of the major characteristics of each program and analyzes the social and economic characteristics of the recipients of public aid.

Part II is concerned with the effect of public-aid programs upon the people. Starting from the assumption that the main spur to the development of all these public-aid programs was a concern for the welfare of people, the report asks a number of questions about their operation. Successive chapters are devoted to answering such questions as these: Is public aid in fact available to all needy persons, regardless of their place of residence? Is the level of living provided to recipients of public aid adequate to assure maintenance and is it consistent with the high levels of productivity of this country? Is public aid made available under conditions which are calculated to impair the self-respect and initiative of the recipient? In each case an answer is given for the country as a whole and attention is drawn to differences in treatment of persons in similar circumstances in different parts of the country or benefiting from different programs.

Special attention is paid to the work programs and other measures for the employable population. The report attempts to discover the extent to which work has been made available to all those in need of employment. It inquires whether the major objectives of the work programs—maintenance of morale, work habits, and occupational skills—have in fact been attained, and suggests the reasons for such departures from full achievement of these objectives as are observed. Similar questions are asked in regard to the youth programs. The services rendered by the employment service to unemployed and other workers are also evaluated.

Part III of the report deals with the financial and economic aspects of public-aid measures. The distribution of costs between the different levels of government is stressed in order to determine whether the distribution of responsibility between federal, state, and local governments makes it possible for all jurisdictions to meet need arising within their borders without throwing a disproportionately heavy burden on local taxpayers. Attention is paid to the differing financial responsibilities of the various levels of government for individual programs in order to discover whether existing arrangements lead to the under-expansion of some programs and the over-expansion of others.

The report also inquires into the extent to which arrangements for the financing of social insurance and other public-aid programs have been consistent with the other fiscal policies pursued by government. The chapter dealing with economic implications of the operation of public-aid programs is concerned with such questions as the effect of public-aid measures upon the availability of labor for private employment, on labor mobility, and upon the size of the total labor supply.

Part IV is concerned with the administration of public aid. It deals with the problems raised by the operation of several closely related programs by the federal, state, and local authorities, and also with the administrative problems arising out of the participation of more than one level of government in the administration of any one program. Other chapters in this part deal with administrative personnel and with the extent to which there is citizen participation in the administration of public-aid programs at appropriate points.

In surveying the effectiveness of contemporary public-aid programs, the report draws heavily upon state and local experience, as revealed in reports from local administrators, community surveys, and the studies and investigations of organizations such as the American Public Welfare Association, the American Association of Social Workers, taxpayers associations, and individual students and experts. The attempt to base conclusions upon actual experience within the states is an important factor accounting for the length of the report.

Findings of the Report

The findings of the report are in many respects disturbing. They show that, while we have made great progress toward the goal of adequate and acceptable security, much still remains to be done. Many thousands of people were still denied access to any kind of public aid even by 1940. The standard of living of the vast majority of recipients of socially provided income was low and for some segments of the dependent population disgracefully so. The social insurances still failed to cover many groups for whom this type of social security program would seem to be appropriate. The work programs had never afforded work to all those in need of employment, and the youth programs lacked a clear sense of direction, and in any case provided for only a segment of the youth at any time unemployed.

The financial and administrative investigations also revealed the existence of many problems still to be solved. In particular, the existing method of distributing financial responsibility for the various public aid programs between federal, state, and local governments leaves much to be desired. This is true whether the criterion be adequacy of performance of the service, balanced development of related programs, or the interests of the insecure population or the state and local taxpayer. Similarly, the present administrative organization, which involves participation of various levels of government in the administration of a variety of related programs with potentially overlapping clienteles or functions, gives rise to difficulties for the administrators themselves, for the applicant for public aid, for the employer, and for the general public. Important and difficult problems of integration and coördination still confront the nation.

Recommendations

Every attempt was made by the Committee to trace the difficulties or shortcomings revealed to their underlying sources. For the object of the study was to point the way to the development of an adequate and comprehensive system of well coördinated public-aid programs. It was recognized from the first that any proposals would have to take into account the widely varying economic conditions of different parts of the country, the variety of circumstances that occasion a need for public aid, and the existence of a federal form of government. In other words, the Committee was precluded by the realities of American life from proposing any uniform and simple program providing equal benefits to all persons and administered by the national government, such as is envisioned for Great Britain by Sir William Beveridge.

Instead, our recommendations envisage a series of interrelated programs carrying into practical effect the implications of certain clearly stated objectives, and consistently applying certain financial and administrative principles. Only by some such logical and orderly approach, the Committee believed, could the inconsistencies and inadequacies of the past be avoided. The main lines of policy proposed are by now well known: greater emphasis on preventive and constructive programs, public provision of work for employable persons who have been out of work more than six months, special programs for youth aiming to fit them for assumption of the economic and civic responsibilities of adults, extended application of the social insurance programs, an adequate and comprehensive general public assistance program with special public assistance for those whose need is of long or predictable duration, and finally expansion of certain social services, notably health measures.

Space does not permit an account of the more detailed spelling out of these policies in terms of specific programs. It is to be hoped, however, that all those interested in a more orderly and adequate program for the assurance of freedom from want will read Part V of the Report, especially chapter 18, with particular care. For it is the belief of the Committee that unless the difficulties to be faced are frankly realized and the public is willing to accept the full implications of the proposed policies, freedom from want will not become a reality.

Unemployment Insurance: Federal or State Responsibility?

If unemployment compensation is to serve as an effective part of our national social security program it must be so modified as to carry a much larger portion of the burden of unemployment.

By A. J. ALTMEYER
Chairman, Social Security Board

IN ITS Seventh Annual Report to the Congress the Social Security Board has made a number of suggestions for modifying and strengthening the social security program. Among these suggestions are the extension and expansion of the contributory social insurance program, including the establishment of a national unemployment insurance system and the addition of insurance benefits for the sick and disabled to the old-age and survivors benefits now provided.

In addition, the Social Security Board has recommended that federal grants to the states for assistance to the needy aged, blind, and dependent children be liberalized and that the federal government provide federal grants to the states for assistance to any needy individual. All these suggestions taken together would greatly assist the states, counties, and municipalities.

Even with the tremendous increase in employment and wages due to the war program, states and localities are now providing assistance to over five million individuals. The first impact of the cessation of war activities will undoubtedly require many additional individuals to seek relief and aid from their local governmental units. A broadened and expanded social security program will aid the states, counties, and municipalities to meet the inevitable responsibilities which will be thrust upon them in the future.

The respective responsibilities of the federal and state governments are markedly different in the case of social insurance and in that of public assistance. The cost of social insurance is borne by contributions based on payroll and benefits are paid on the basis of wage loss without a needs or means test. The cost of public assistance is borne out of general revenues and assistance is granted only on the basis of an investigation as to the individual's need.

Since the cost of social insurance is related to payrolls, it is important that employers not be subjected to unfair interstate competition because of varying rates of contributions in the various states. In the case of public assistance there is not this kind of unfair interstate competition because the cost is borne out of general revenues.

The benefits under social insurance are related to wage loss. Thus there is an automatic adjustment to the presumptive need of the beneficiaries and an automatic adjustment to varying wage levels throughout the nation. Therefore, there is no necessity for investigation and determination of individual need in the light of local circumstances as is true in the case of public assistance.

In this article space will permit only a discussion of the problem of unemployment insurance.

In 1935 the Social Security Act, in laying the foundations for our social security program, provided for a uniform national administration of old-age insurance but for separate state administrations of unemployment insurance. At the time the law was enacted, opinion was sharply divided between the advocates of a single federal unemployment insurance system and those who favored separate state systems. Thus, the Committee on Economic Security, whose recommendations formed the basis for the development of the original act in 1935, said:

> A federally administered system of unemployment compensation is undoubtedly superior in some respects, particularly in relation to employees who move from state to state. This presents a problem, involved in state administration, which we do not at this time know how to solve, although we do not regard it as insoluble and recommend that it should be made one of the major subjects of study of the federal administrative agency. We recognize also that in other respects state administration may develop marked inadequacies. Should these fears expressed by the champions of a federally administered system prove true, it is always possible by subsequent legislation to establish such a system. We recommend that it be expressly provided in the federal act that all states must include in their statutes provisions to the effect that those acts shall not be deemed to create any vested interests preventing modification or repeal and that a similar reservation of power be made by the federal government. Accordingly, the Congress can at any time increase the requirements which state laws must fulfill and may, if it sees fit, at some future time, substitute a federally administered system for the coöperative federal-state system we recommend.

Federal vs. State Agencies

The most striking fact developed by an examination of the operation of the Social Security Act since 1935 is the difference between certain features of unemployment compensation and old-age and survivors insurance. Old-age and survivors insurance, being administered by a single agency, requires only one set of records for the entire nation while in unemployment compensation, administered by separate state agencies, there are fifty-one sets of records.

Old-age and survivors insurance provides uniform conditions of eligibility for benefits and uniform rates of benefits throughout the country, so that persons in similar circumstances are treated similarly. In unemployment compensation eligibility for benefits and the rate and duration of benefits vary from state to state so that a worker may find himself ineligible in one state when he would be eligible in another, and his benefits may be higher or lower in one state than in another with the same earnings.

Also, since old-age and survivors insurance is on a national basis, migration from one state to another does not affect an individual's benefit rights, whereas under unemployment compensation an individual may earn substantial wages in several states and yet never become eligible for benefits because he has not earned enough in any one state.

During recent years it has become evident, too, that with funds segregated in separate state reserves the existing contribution rates are more than sufficient to permit one state to pay fairly liberal benefits while some other state funds will be threatened with insolvency. In old-age and survivors insurance with a single national fund for the benefit of all insured workers, this difficulty does not arise.

Inadequacies of System

While benefits have been made somewhat more adequate for those who are eligible they are still quite inadequate to meet the needs of the unemployed. One of the reasons no doubt is that each state tries to avoid putting any greater burden on its employers than are borne by employers of neighboring states. The Social Security Act was designed to remove this danger of interstate competition by the imposition of a uniform national contribution rate but this was in large part vitiated by the provision for employers' experience rating. As the provisions for experience rating have developed an employer's contribution rate may be reduced to a minimum not because he stabilizes employment, but merely because little was paid out as benefits to workers. Every state is thus under pressure not to increase benefits any more rapidly than neighboring states do. Under such circumstances competition may take the form of reducing benefits rather than reducing unemployment.

An even greater defect is the limited duration of benefits. In both 1940 and 1941 about half of all persons receiving unemployment compensation benefits completely exhausted their benefits before they were re-employed. In one state two-thirds were still unemployed when their benefits were exhausted. And this was in a period of business activity with rising employment. In a time of poor business it would be much worse. If unemployment compensation is to serve as an effective part of our national social security program, it must be so modified as to carry a much larger portion of the burden of unemployment.

Another difficulty deriving from the present structure of unemployment compensation is the fact that, as pointed out above, many workers who are employed in several states in the course of a year may qualify for only limited benefits or may not qualify at all because their earnings are divided between the several state systems. The number of workers moving between states has increased greatly because of war activity and some solution for this problem must be found.

A further problem arises in connection with the utilization of the funds collected. The total now held in all of the state funds combined is over four billion dollars. At the present time the benefits paid in the country as a whole are low compared with total contributions collected. This has led to demands for a reduction in contribution rates. But it must be remembered that the total reserves do not constitute a single national fund from which benefits can be paid in any given state. They are divided into fifty-one separate state funds, each available only on the basis of employment within such state. It is true that some of these state funds are larger than would be necessary to meet any prospective demands but others are by no means secure.

When we consider the situation in a number of states in the light of prospective postwar unemployment, there appears to be no justification for a reduction of contributions in those states. It is of course desirable to keep contributions to a practical minimum and not build up unnecessary reserves, but it is equally essential that we take into account anticipated future demands in determining what is necessary. If unemployment compensation is to accomplish its purpose, adequate reserves must be built up during periods of good business such as the present to take care of large-scale unemployment in later bad years.

It would be difficult even in normal times to deal with this problem under separate state systems without putting very heavy burdens on those states where unemployment tends to be concentrated and under the impact of the war it is quite impossible. Millions of workers are moving from one employer to another, from industry to industry, and from state to state. The situation is well illustrated by the case of an employer who customarily employs about six hundred persons and has a contribution rate of only ½ of 1 per cent. Today he is employing more than twelve thousand war workers. When war work ceases and the twelve thousand workers are laid off, these workers will be entitled to unemployment benefits. The question arises as to how a state with hundreds of such employers will be able to meet its obligations.[1]

Conclusions of Security Board

These considerations have led the Social Security Board to the conclusion that steps should be taken at the earliest possible moment to make our program of unemployment insurance a more effective instrument for dealing with unemployment especially during the postwar period. The Board is particularly concerned that this matter should not be viewed as an abstract question of states' rights or of federal administration versus state administration. From a legal standpoint, the question of states' rights has probably been settled by the United States Supreme Court when it upheld the constitutionality of the federal old-age insurance system. Justice Cardozo, who wrote the opinion in that case, said:

> The problem is plainly national in area and dimension. Moreover, laws of the separate states cannot deal with it effectively. Congress, at least, had a basis for that belief. States and local governments are often lacking in resources that are necessary to finance an adequate program of security for the aged. Apart from the failure of resources, states and local governments are at times reluctant to increase so heavily the burden of taxation to be borne by their residents for fear of placing themselves in a position of economic disadvantage as compared with neighbors or competitors. We have seen this in our study of the

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[1] See "The Impact of War on Unemployment Compensation," *Employment Security Review,* November 1942, pages 3-4.

> problem of unemployment compensation. A system of old-age pensions has special dangers of its own, if put in force in one state and rejected in another. The existence of such a system is a bait to the needy and dependent elsewhere, encouraging them to migrate and seek a haven of repose. Only a power that is national can serve the interests of all.

Certainly no one would question that unemployment is at least as great a national problem as old age. So far as invading a field which historically has belonged to the states, the facts are that before the Social Security Act was under consideration, only one state had enacted an unemployment compensation law and it is doubtful whether that law would have remained on the statute books were it not for the fact that the present federal Social Security Act creates an irresistible inducement for the states to enact unemployment compensation legislation. As a matter of fact, it was contended by opponents of unemployment compensation in 1935 that this federal inducement constituted coercion and invasion of states' rights. Certainly those who so contended cannot now logically argue that relieving the states of an obligation allegedly forced upon them in 1935 is an invasion of states' rights. Such discussions get us nowhere, however, in deciding the basic question of what kind of an unemployment compensation system is best from the standpoint of simplicity, adequacy, and financial soundness.

The causes and cure for mass unemployment are beyond the control of individual states. The federal government in the past has been obliged to assume prime responsibility for coping with the problem of mass unemployment and undoubtedly will have to do so in the future. It is vital that there be no division of that responsibility, in order that the related approaches toward a solution may be completely integrated. Government stimulation of private enterprise, public works, and unemployment compensation are all necessary to cope with the problem of unemployment. What is done or not done in one respect has a profound effect on what can or must be done in the others.

During the postwar period, the policies followed in the demobilization of the armed forces and in the termination of war contracts will vitally affect the volume of unemployment compensation payments. On the other hand, the adequacy or inadequacy of unemployment compensation benefits must be taken into account in determining the policies to be followed in the demobilization of the armed forces and in the termination of war activities. Under such circumstances, division of responsibility may well lead to failure to act consistently and effectively.

Pooling of Risks

The essential element in an effective unemployment compensation system is the pooling of risks so that unemployment which is caused by nation-wide forces can be met on a national basis. Our great private insurance companies do not write all their business for a given risk in a single area and certainly no risk needs wider distribution and more general pooling of funds than does unemployment. This is more true now than ever before since war demands have created a national labor market. If all the unemployment compensation funds built up under the Social Security Act were pooled the present danger of insolvency of the funds in some parts of the country upon the closing of defense plants would be greatly reduced. This means that both the workers and employers of those communities would have greater protection.

If there were established a single national system of unemployment insurance, comparable to the system of old-age and survivors insurance, employers could make a single set of reports for all social security purposes. At present large employers may have to send in a number of different types of reports in a number of states. Likewise there would be a single set of administrative procedures for all employers and all workers regardless of the state in which they operate. Also workers would have all their earnings credited in a single account for all social security purposes. This would make the whole system much easier to understand and would permit many workers to qualify for benefits who cannot do so now because their earnings are divided among several states.

There is some fear that a comprehensive federal social insurance system would mean a huge bureaucracy, controlling the daily lives of our people. It should be borne in mind, however, that what is being proposed is really a government insurance company which would collect premiums and pay benefits in accordance with a specific schedule fixed by Congress. It would have no regulatory powers whatsoever.

The establishment of a uniform national system of records and reports, of benefit standards and administrative procedures, does *not* mean centralized administration. While records and reports should be centralized for purposes of simplification and economy the administration of benefits should be decentralized to the local communities. This has already been done to a large extent in old-age and survivors insurance and in the case of unemployment benefits it would be even more important. Just as in the selective service system and in the wartime rationing programs, it is highly desirable to keep such administration as close as possible to the persons affected. Local insurance offices staffed by local personnel would be responsible for the immediate administration. Advisory boards and appeals boards would preserve local interest and initiative and insure adequate consideration of local and state customs and standards and of special industrial conditions.

Single System More Effective

As the entire social security program is expanded to cover additional risks the inevitable relationship of the several provisions and the essential unity of the program as a whole become even more clear. Separate legislation, separate records, separate reports, separate reserve funds, separate administrative procedures become increasingly burdensome and cause confusion and dissatisfaction and needless expense. One contribution rate, one record-keeping system and benefit-disbursing machinery, so that each of the problems of indi-

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How Fast Are Cities Growing?

War-stimulated movement of population has outmoded 1940 census figures; cities must seek new techniques for estimating growth.

By **CHESTER COOPER**
Division of Research and Statistics, National Housing Agency

THAT more accurate methods of population analysis are needed in intercensal years is emphatically agreed upon by those working in the field of sociology, public health, economics, and public administration. Although many war-expansion communities continue to predict population trends on the basis of 1940 census data, the decennial census has ceased to be a reliable index of population in many localities.

Now more than ever before there is a need for current population information. The whole wartime administration of civilian controls on a local level depends for its effectiveness on a knowledge of the size and character of the community. The population of the country has never been in a state of flux comparable to the current situation. The opportunity for higher wages in war-activity communities has drawn dairy farmers from Alleghany County to the aircraft plants in Buffalo, school girls from Peoria to the government offices in Washington, construction workers from New York City to the Kaiser shipyards in Vancouver. In addition, there are many small communities—Massena, Elkton, Sturgeon Bay, Pascagoula—which have become so bloated in size as to be unrecognizable to the census enumerators of 1940.

This short-time, war stimulated movement of population is superimposed on a more gradual, long-run trend. The large metropolitan centers are undergoing a de-urbanizing experience which is reflecting itself in the growth of suburban and rural-urban areas. As the decade passes, the census data become less reliable for these areas and this, coupled with the ironical circumstances that other disturbing factors seem inevitably to occur soon after each census has been taken, makes it necessary to develop some techniques of population estimation for intercensal years.

The lack of labor mobility has been one of the weak spots in the economic structure of industrialized countries, and it is only recently that the United States has made progress in overcoming this problem. Periods of depression have been aggravated by the fact that unemployed labor in one section of the country has been unable to investigate opportunities in other areas. Even in periods of general prosperity, this condition has been acute in one-industry and in one-crop communities. Recognizing this serious element of friction in labor demand and supply, representatives of government, industry, and labor are encouraging the movement of workers to areas where employment opportunities exist.

Wartime shifts of population are roughly of two types. The first is caused by increased demands for labor in already-existing industrial areas. Although this additional employment may be due directly to the war problem, the fact that the community is already a locus of manufacturing activity would indicate that there is some possibility of postwar employment opportunities and that the increase in population will have a semblance of permanency.

The second type of population shift has more serious implications. This movement is to new centers of industrial activity—centers which have been built up for the specific purpose of war production. Industries are now not located in areas affording the maximum possibilities for exploiting economic or technological advantages; strategic considerations are becoming increasingly important. In these areas the 1940 census may be of absolutely no value; here the necessity for some index of current population is most apparent.

Pre-War and War Population Shifts

A relatively small increase in population, especially in established communities soon makes itself evident: housing becomes scarce, stores and restaurants are crowded, a "boom" psychology becomes evident. These circumstances encourage unofficial estimates of population increase which are fantastic in their proportions. This has been characteristic of the present emergency situation.

In addition to tendencies toward over-estimation, there are the problems which arise from the essential differences between pre-war and war population movements. The latter have many deviations from the normal, as shown in the testimony presented to the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, on February 4, 1942, by Howard B. Myers, director of research for WPA, which summarized the investigation of wartime migration in fifty-one cities throughout the country. The report clearly shows the composition of the migrating groups:

> There were relatively few female workers among the migrants; only nine cities [out of 51] reported more than one-fourth of the workers to be females.
>
> In half of the cities the average age of all migrant workers is twenty-nine years or less; in no city does the average rise as high as thirty-five years.
>
> The proportion of one-person families among the migrants at their new locations is extremely high, ranging from 30 to 50 per cent for most areas . . . In half of the towns, 15 per cent or more of these workers left their families behind when they migrated.
>
> Doubling up is common in all of the areas surveyed; in half the areas, 30 per cent or more of the multi-person migrant families are either sharing their dwelling with other persons, or living in hotels and trailers.
>
> The current wartime shortage of housing facilities has been the principal factor responsible for this abnormal character of family composition, living habits, and age distribution in both the old and the new industrial centers. The fact that many workers, unable to find housing, commute from areas as far away as fifty miles results in a daytime population much larger than the resident one, and is responsible for many instances of over-estimation of population.

It is apparent, then, that those people migrating to areas where war employment is available are not a typical "cross-section" of the total population. On the contrary, they are predominantly male, in their twenties, unmarried or without their families. In areas where this group has become a significant proportion of the total population, e.g., 5 per cent or more, normal standards of age distribution, family composition, and residential patterns do not hold. It is thus inaccurate to utilize indexes which depend for their validity on pre-war concepts of housing, family size, etc. A brief discussion of commonly used techniques of estimation will help in the selection of the most appropriate method.

Possible Indexes

The use of electric or water meters as an indication of population has a major disadvantage at this time in that meters measure dwelling units rather than individuals or even families. In addition, current material shortages often have precluded the use of individual meters for separate dwelling units. These deficiencies disqualify the use of meters, even assuming that the data are readily available and that it is possible to separate the service areas of the utility company from the political boundaries of the community under consideration.

Neither the use of school population nor of birth or death rates is a satisfactory method in the light of the characteristics of the shifting population as described above.

A technique utilizing a city directory, where these directories are available, will give a more accurate picture of population changes than the methods already mentioned. This procedure is an adaptation of one used by the Bureau of the Census in estimating recent population growth in Washington, D. C.

A good approximation of the adult population may be obtained by ascertaining the number of persons listed in the current city directory. The resulting figure should be corrected, if possible, for the number of listed persons living outside the city limits (an estimate of these persons is sometimes available from the publishers of the directory.) To check on the extent of coverage of the directory, compare the total of persons listed, corrected as indicated above, for the year 1940, with the population reported by the census for that year. Since the directory usually lists only adults—eighteen years of age and over—this should be taken into account when using the census data. It may be assumed that approximately the same coverage has been made for years subsequent to 1940 and thus a correction factor may be applied to the 1942 total. If one is desirous of checking on the accuracy of the coverage, the same method may also be applied using the 1930 census as a basis of comparison.

A figure representing the school enrollment, corrected, if possible, to include children not attending school, will give those persons between the ages of six to seventeen inclusive. Finally, the total of survivals of resident births for the last five years, estimated, if not obtainable from the local health officer, will account for the remainder of the population.

The use of this method is limited,

of course, to those cities where directories are published. It is somewhat complicated and opportunity for error is present in each of its three parts. Although the Census Bureau found a 98 per cent coverage for Washington, some directories may be much less complete. In addition, the final figure may be somewhat lower than the true population because of the probable downward bias inherent in two of the components: the directory will not likely give a 100 per cent coverage, even when adjusted, and the statistics on resident births for children of five years old and under will not include those brought into the community by migrating families.

Use of Ration Figures

Information obtained in the nationwide registrations for rationing has potentialities for the purpose of population estimation. The first of these all-inclusive registrations took place in May 1942, the next in March 1943. Data from the earlier registration have been available for many months. In many of the states they may be obtained on a county-wide basis in the state headquarters of the Office of Price Administration; county rationing boards should have information on the local areas within their jurisdiction.

There is relatively little trouble or expense involved in obtaining information from the registration for sugar-rationing — and presumably from the recent registration. Care must be taken, however, to distinguish between the number of persons registering—which is the information desired—and the number of ration books issued; in many areas this difference is appreciable. An important disadvantage in the use of this method is that it is difficult to determine the number of persons who failed to register. This figure will tend to be larger in areas characterized by a large transient population. Another difficulty is that these registrations may not be undertaken again; however the likelihood of other and possibly more useful types of mass registrations in the near future should be kept in mind.

The Bureau of the Census has made some preliminary estimates of the civilian population by states[1] and by counties[2] as of May 1, 1942. These estimates were based principally on sugar-rationing registration data when they were available; when these data were not available for particular localities, the estimates were based on the trends in neighboring areas.

The procedures outlined thus far are indirect approaches to the problem; the most accurate way to measure population is to make an individual count of all persons in the locality. But a census is expensive and time-consuming, and the accuracy which may be obtained will often not justify the cost; the use of an estimate is thus a sacrifice of accuracy for expediency.

A census undertaken by the local post office is one method—not a very common one—of counting population which is reasonable in time and money cost. In addition, it provides more accurate data than the techniques so far discussed. The procedure is simple: the postman stops at every house on his regular route and ascertains the number of persons, both adult and children, as of a particular date; the information is collected and tabulated at the district post office. This census need not be authorized by the Post Office Department in Washington but may be undertaken on the initiative of the local postmaster who may be anxious to obtain detailed information on the efficiency of mail distribution in his district.

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[1] Released October 27, 1942.

[2] Released February 25, 1943.

One minor difficulty with this method is that the postal district does not always coincide with political boundaries, and it may be necessary to segregate the population reported for the postal district from that portion resident in the city itself.

Schenectady Experiment

In an effort to determine the possibilities of obtaining data on war expansion communities, an experiment was conducted in the city of Schenectady, New York, by the Bureau of Planning, New York State Division of Commerce. This community is the home of the principal plant of the General Electric Company; an important plant of the American Locomotive Company is also located here. Obviously a community with this type of industrial pattern is one that will be affected markedly by population changes in a period of economic activity. In 1940, Schenectady was reported by the census to have a population of 87,549 persons. Current unofficial estimates have claimed that population has increased by as much as 15,000 persons.

The postmaster of Schenectady conducted a census and reported that on May 4, 1942, the city had a population of 93,883 persons.

The sugar-rationing program resulted in a registration of 90,236 people. The clerk of the County Rationing Board stated that approximately 5,000 people in the city did not register, and although there is no way of determining this figure exactly, it ties in very closely with the results obtained by the post office census.

The application of the city directory method in Schenectady resulted in a figure of somewhat more than 95,000 persons.

Schenectady thus has a current population of approximately 95,000 people which represents an increase of 7,500 over the 1940 census. This figure is considerably below the unofficial estimates, which undoubtedly were influenced by the crowded streets and by the acute housing shortage. Many of the outlying areas in Schenectady County have grown rapidly in the past decade, however, and some people commute to work from distances as far away as thirty-five miles, thus giving the city a large daytime population.

Conclusion

Three possible methods of population determination have been briefly discussed: the techniques involving the use of a city directory, school population, and births; the one based on rationing; and, finally, the post office census.

(Continued on page 252)

Contributors in Review

STARTING his career as high school teacher and school principal, **A. J. Altmeyer** (*Unemployment Insurance: Federal or State Responsibility?*) in 1922 became chief statistician, and later secretary, of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission. In 1933 he was appointed chief of compliance of the NRA, beginning his long service for the federal government. Mr. Altmeyer was second assistant secretary of labor from 1934 to 1935 and chairman of the Technical Board, President's Committee on Economic Security, during the same years. In 1935 President Roosevelt appointed him a member of the Social Security Board; in 1937 he became its chairman, which office he now holds. Mr. Altmeyer is also a member of the Interdepartmental Advisory Council, to coördinate health, welfare, and related activities affecting national defense.

LONG a student of social security problems, **Dr. Eveline M. Burns** (*NRPB Proposes Security Program*) has contributed much to the progress of social development. Dr. Burns came to this country in 1926 from London, where she had been a member of the faculty of the London School of Economics, to study problems in her field. She spent 1933 and 1934 in Germany making a study of that country's unemployment relief policies, and later was sent to England by the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council to conduct a similar study there. She is author of numerous books in her field and has acted as economic consultant to various federal agencies. Dr. Burns was a member of Columbia University's faculty from 1928 to 1942. She is now chief of the Economic Security and Health Section of the National Resources Planning Board and during the past three years has served as director of research for the report on Long-Range Work and Relief Policies of the NRPB which she describes in this issue.

AFTER studying at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Columbia University, **Chester Cooper** (*How Fast Are Cities Growing?*) spent two and a half years as staff member of the Department of Real Estate and Land Economics at the School of Commerce of New York University, where he interested himself particularly in the problems of urban land economics in the New York metropolitan area. In 1941 he became economist in the Bureau of Planning of the New York State Division of Commerce, later going to Washington to act in a similar capacity for the National Housing Agency.

AUTHOR who turned local civic leader when his writing led him to examine political conditions on the home front, **Berry Fleming** (*Colonel Effingham at the Courthouse*) is a native of Georgia who was educated in New England. Graduate of Harvard where he was editor of the *Advocate* and the *Lampoon,* Mr. Fleming worked as a newspaperman and had five other novels published before writing the recent best seller *Colonel Effingham's Raid.*[1] The contribution in this issue is a condensation of a chapter of the latter book.

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[1] Reviewed in NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for April, p. 217.

Letters to the Editor

What Is the Short Ballot?

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Professor Jones, in his article in the April REVIEW, "Is the Short Ballot Principle Obsolete?", could have made a perfectly legitimate argument under the title "Is the Short Ballot Principle Complete?" for I will cheerfully admit that it is not. The short ballot principle is a ballot principle, and is not extended to the debatable ramifications of the ideal way to apply it. It concerns government only as seen by the voter with a ballot before him. The first section of the principle would be violated if the ballot provided for the election of a mayor and a coroner, the latter office being too unimportant to attract public examination even when the ballot is so short as to call for the filling of only two offices. The second section relates to the number of places to be filled; for even if they were all very important ones, confusion would result and the short ballot principle would be violated if there were more than five to be filled at one time.

Accordingly, in a city manager plan with a council of twenty-five—as it was in Cleveland—the election of the whole twenty-five at large by the ordinary plurality voting would leave the voters dependent on ready-made tickets, and violate the short ballot principle in spite of the fact that all were important and all were representatives, not administrators.

When it comes to applying the short ballot principle, I have always favored getting administrative and judiciary offices off the ballot, and leaving only representatives. Nevertheless, I have seen ballots that conformed to the definition, but which continued to elect administrators — particularly mayors and district attorneys who are, to some extent, lawmakers and about whose offices there accumulates plenty of matter for proper public discussion and plenty of public policy.

The moment you go over to the structure of government, as distinguished from the limitations of a practical ballot, you enter a field with many questions of internal organization of the government. Our purpose in the early days was to avoid the discussions of how to set up governmental structure in the various jurisdictions, and keep to the questions involved in simplifying somewhat the voters' task. The short ballot crusade has blended, now, into other crusades; but since its day practically every new charter and new state constitution, and every new form of county government, has given it at least partial recognition and the creation of new elective offices has been halted. The start of the crusade is history.

It is, of course, entirely in order to move on from the short ballot principle to the setting up of sound rules for applying that principle to governmental structure. This is just what the members of the National Municipal League have been doing ever since the short ballot principle was propounded.

Our procedure in 1911, when the Short Ballot Organization was launched, purposely stopped short in its doctrine just where it did to avoid controversy on the diverse possible applications of the doctrine. Woodrow Wilson set me up in business in that way, and I think he was discriminating and wise.

RICHARD S. CHILDS[1]

New York City

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[1] Mr. Childs, civic leader and former president of the National Municipal League, originated the short ballot idea in coöperation with Woodrow Wilson.—EDITOR.

How Important Is a Label?

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

In your April issue Dr. O. Garfield Jones asks that the National Municipal League restate the "official" definition of the Short Ballot Principle because the definition the League inherited from the National Short Ballot Organization is "both out of date and confusing."

It is of interest that the heading Dr. Jones gives his article, "Is the Short Ballot Principle Obsolete?" implies more than the article asks for. In his text he limits himself to claiming that the "definition" is obsolete whereas his title questions whether or not the "principle" is obsolete.

What we have posed here is a problem upon which the discipline of semantics may shed some light. The "short ballot principle" is what Stuart Chase would call a "blah-blah term." It is simply an abstraction and a ghost—a sort of shorthand. Yet because it has no objective existence it must not necessarily be dismissed as unscientific. Science cannot, and certainly political science cannot, be held within the narrow bounds of the statement carved on the building which houses the Political Science Department of the University of Chicago. There we read, "Science is Measurement—Lord Kelvin."

Kelvin was an able man and a Scot, and all Scots are sure that to be the latter is to be the former. But another Scot, David Lindsay Watson, in his Book *Scientists Are Human,* claims that science is far more than measurement. He makes clear what science and scientific thinking really are. They depend upon the phenomenon around which the gestalt theory revolves—the recognition of wholes against dynamic background, and the recognition of "likenesses" between such wholes. Sometimes such likenesses are "salient," as when an infant who has fumbled and observed an orange reaches for another "whole"—the moon—because it has the same effect on the retina that the orange has. But sometimes such likenesses are what we call "logical" and so we call that type "scientific."

A definition is an attempt to point out to someone else the logical ties which connect one "whole" with others you see and hope they see. Hence even scientific definitions have a great deal of "saliency" in them. Both a definition and its principle are tools. Tools either wear out or become obsolete because better ones come into existence.

Dr. Jones feels that the definition of the short ballot principle has worn out. But it is also probable that the background against which such a conceptual tool arose has changed so much we can afford to put both the concept and its definition in some place analogous to the Museum of Science and Industry. We have put there other obsolete but valuable tools such as Babbage's adding machine and Sholes' typewriter.

The gestalt theory explains away the inconsistency which Dr. Jones finds in Austin F. MacDonald. As compared to the weak mayor form of government it is correct to say, "The commission plan has been of value chiefly in concentrating responsibility." But background is dynamic and after events gave us manager plan cities it becomes correct to say, "It has failed to concentrate responsibility sufficiently."

Dr. Jones's purpose in raising his question is of the best, and text writers would do well to heed his warning. Public administration has its background and should not be treated as if it existed in a vacuum. Its background is political policy and that is where the citizen functions. The task of the citizen is two-fold: to make decisions as to the ends he wishes his local government to attain and to have some comprehension of the means whereby the administrative phase of his government can achieve those ends. Aldous Huxley, in his recent book *The Art of Seeing,* berates us for being a nation of "end-gainers"—too impatient to carefully consider whether the means we use will accomplish the ends we seek. Those who promulgated the idea of the short ballot were helping along the thing which Huxley urges, for they directed citizen attention to means. They considered carefully all possible citizen means and applied a slogan to those they thought fitted best. It was a slogan or label more calculated to arrest attention than to be accurate. It may be held to be more salient than logical, but it may have been the better for this; a great deal of the thinking of a great many people is of that type. At any rate it "worked." If there is now a growing acceptance of the means the label pointed to rather than described there need be no regret if that label is now laid away amid the fond regrets of political antiquarians.

WALTER J. MILLARD

Cincinnati, Ohio

Liquor Control: Success or Failure?

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Paul Studenski has served in the field of governmental research too long and too well to permit easy questioning of his public statements. My personal regard and respect for him, however, are subjected to severe strain when I read his article on "Liquor Regulation: Success or Failure?", in the April issue of the REVIEW.

For every reason it is to be hoped that Dr. Studenski's analysis and report on liquor regulation in the national field can be substantiated by ample evidence. He could hardly record his present confident conclusions without considerable advance investigation. But I must raise the question whether his inquiries reached into the state of Michigan, which he mentions at one point, and if they did, then I definitely recommend that another survey, more thorough and fundamental, be made in this state.

Limits of time and space prohibit detailed comment on Dr. Studenski's article. Only the high importance of the subject and the rarity of public interpretations compel some response from Michigan in the interest of factual inquiry and intelligent interpretation. One familiar with the real facts in our state situation might be so bold as to follow challenge of the Studenski article with the assumption that it speaks from the higher level of the "Ivory Tower" observer, whose report is not seriously embarrassed by the compulsion of a multitude of disagreeable facts.

Listing objectives of control, seven in number, Dr. Studenski displays an optimism which certainly is not shared by average observers in Michigan, especially in the city of Detroit. It is to be hoped that the record in this state is exceptional, and in bleak contrast with what actually goes on in a majority of the other states. Of the seven objectives mentioned, I should say, offhand, that the only one attained in this commonwealth is "Procurement for the public treasury of a large revenue from the liquor trade."

Now, as I continue to restrain the impulse which looks toward detailed comment and criticism, I conclude this letter with a general challenge to the entire article. This challenge, I repeat, applies solely to conditions in Michigan. It is possible that our proximity to

Canada and our heritage of bootleg conditions, which were notorious in prohibition days along the border between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, may go far to explain our unusual situation as compared with other states—and as reported by Dr. Studenski. But even a mild acquaintance, with utmost lack of prejudice, indicates that liquor regulation is, in our case, a complete failure and is rapidly paving the way for resumption of popular demand for outright, bone-dry prohibition.

This situation also is quite independent of current conditions due to the war emergency. It is a natural result of a decade of so-called liquor control under state law, with total lack of citizen organization and with complete freedom granted to politicians, profiteers, and the underworld racketeers, who did much to contribute toward repeal of state and national prohibition.

What we covet is further and more fundamental investigations in our own state, so that governmental research will not suffer too seriously when viewed, as in this case, by ordinary citizens.

W. P. Lovett, *Executive Secretary*
Detroit Citizens League

HOW FAST ARE CITIES GROWING?

(Continued from Page 247)

Of the three, the use of data obtainable from the registration for rationing purposes is the easiest and least expensive in time and money. Because the number of persons who failed to register is not known, the results obtained from the use of this method are the least accurate.

The method based on the use of the city directory, school population, and resident births combined should give a closer approximation to the actual population than does rationing. Its practical use is limited because of the complexity inherent in the procedure and because the basic information may not be available in every community.

The final technique, the post office census, gives the most complete picture of population growth.

Although some boom communities are undertaking, on their own initiative, the task of determining the extent to which population has increased since 1940, too many areas are entirely unaware of the nature of their recent growth. Until the federal and state governments recognize the need for information on this subject and encourage and assist local governments to develop and administer some form of population measurement, countless communities throughout the country will be faced with problems without the basic information necessary to solve them.

I Am an American Day

IN ACCORDANCE with the resolution passed by Congress and signed by the President in 1940, designating the third Sunday of each May as citizenship day, President Roosevelt has proclaimed May 16 as "I Am an American Day." The President said: "I urge that that day be set aside as a public occasion for the recognition of all our citizens who have attained their majority or who have been naturalized during the past year; and I call upon federal, state, and local officials, and patriotic, civic, and educational organizations to take part on or about May 16 in exercises designed to assist our citizens . . . to understand more fully the duties and opportunities of citizenship and its special responsibilities in a nation at war."

Researcher's Digest: May

Dr. Upson again; more polls in Kansas City; Minnesota division of publications; research topics; city organization in St. Louis; miscellaneous research publications.

SOME one was bound to do it some day, and it is high time that it has been done at last, and by a master. "It" refers to a caustic sentence or two on the subject of conventions of learned societies, and Lent Upson of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has fortuitously dragged it in by the hair in his latest "letter" to public administration graduates, *About Heuristics.*

> This brief letter is about heuristics which means research and is a word that the ponderous thinkers haven't stumbled on as yet—at least I haven't heard it bandied about at the between-high-holiday programs of the learned societies which produce a couple of new cliches each year, and which you should attend assiduously so as to come to know proper people and with a modicum of finagling get yourself on the program or at least as a participant in a "round table," and maybe have a paper published so you can send a reprint to the dean and be promoted to an assistant professorship. Or, if you aren't interested in the rights, privileges and emoluments that attend an assistant professorship, you can drink cocktails with some of the lobby-loungers and maybe pick up a useful idea about a worthwhile job being done by somebody. Thus the holiday season away from your family will not be entirely wasted.

The rest of the pamphlet really deals, in what surely must be called Dr. Upson's inimitable style, with methods of governmental research. There are the usual sound observations dressed up with the usual irreverent metaphorical illustrations (i.e., an explanation of inductive reasoning using experience with blondes as the basis). There are also a number of paragraphs on report writing.

Polls

Certainly the most comprehensive and probably the first poll of municipal opinion on budget questions has recently been completed by the **Civic Research Institute of Kansas City,** which has lately gone all-out for public opinion polling as a research device. More than two thousand people were interviewed by twenty interviewers using two long questionnaires on specific items of city budget policy—and that's a lot of people and a lot of questions. The results and a discussion of the techniques are reported in *Public Opinion on The City's Budget Planning.* Also of recent issue are two *Notes on Public Affairs* which record the results of a poll of public attitudes toward the local police force and the public reaction to a new water-softening plant. In all the polls the prime bogey-man of democracy weakened the findings—ignorance. So many people had never heard of the subject matter of the questions and had no opinions at all.

Words

While the citizenry has every democratic right to know what there is to know about government, too many words, poorly presented, come under the heading of waste, not information, particularly in wartime. That is the underlying thesis of *State Publications: A Field for War Curtailment,* publication of the **Division of Administrative Management and Research of the State of Minnesota.** After presenting table after table detailing the kinds, cost, and attractiveness of current state publications—they're great big tables, too —the state researchers unfold a recommendation for a Division of Publications which would do all editorial work, distribution, and publication for state-issued printed materials. It's all on the same principle as having a doctor do your medical work. Why not some professional writers and editors to coördinate and produce your printed work? Sounds like a good idea.

Wave of the Future

A good index to what problems are troubling the scholars in our universities is a *Check List of Current Research in Public Administration,* Fifth Edition, published by the **Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council.** While the Committee probably would not dream of claiming strict accuracy for its lists (to the personal knowledge of this observer quite a number of the *opera* mentioned therein have flunked out into the armed services or have been long since published or long since abandoned), they are still a pretty good barometer of how the public administration wind is blowing. "Personnel" as a research subject wins hands down for popularity. Close behind is taxation and financial administration. Next choices are federal administration, intergovernmental relations, local government and finance, planning, and war administration. There are a number of also-rans which merit the attention of a few lonely souls, of course. The lists give titles, names, university connections, and academic level of the prospective dissertations.

Sad Picture

Only if your reactions have been freshened by not having looked recently upon a municipal organization chart will you enjoy your rightful modicum of shock upon studying a chart of St. Louis' municipal government. The **Governmental Research Institute** has prepared for local and your delectation a beautiful representation of the impossible administrative relationships which now prevail in that city. No less than seventeen separate officers of importance are now elected by the citizenry, making those officers in effect responsible only to their own consciences. As for St. Louis' to-be-pitied mayor, his span of administrative attention must embrace fifteen departments. *Dollars and Sense in Government,* No. 29, has much to say on this subject.

Miscellanea

The red-on-black cover is notable on *A Manual for Alabama Legislators,* published and revised by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama.** What-every-legislator-should-know includes lists of legislators, an outline of steps in enacting a bill, a homily on lobbying, and some data on sessions and time of meeting.

You may be interested in knowing that Canada also has to cope with persons who will not exercise the franchise. Four out of five of those legally qualified to vote did not do so at the last municipal election in Toronto, disgustedly reports the **Bureau of Municipal Research** in White Paper No. 276.

Necessity has mothered a lot of improvised fire-fighting equipment in Washington cities and a pamphlet with that title, published by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington** presents photographs and descriptions of these wartime flowers of American ingenuity.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Aviation

Illinois Aviation Problems. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, Research Department, 1942. 35 pp.

Finance

Financial Data and Other Factual Information for the State of Minnesota Affecting 1943-45 Budget. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1943. 46 pp.

Financial Statistics of Washington Cities, 1941. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities and the Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, 1942. 57 pp., tables.

Fire

Improvised Fire-Fighting Equipment in Washington Cities. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities in coöperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research, 1943. 22 pp.

Health

County Health Departments. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, Research Department, 1943. 25 pp.

Legislatures

A Manual for Alabama Legislators (Revised). University, Bureau of Public Administration of Alabama, 1943. 106 pp.

Municipal Organization

Organizational Structure of Municipal Government, St. Louis, Missouri. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* March 10, 1943. 4 pp.

Public Opinion Polls

About Kansas City's Attitude Toward Its Police Force. About Kansas City's Reaction to Water-Softening. Kansas City, Missouri, Civic Research Institute, *Notes on Public Affairs,* March 4 and February 26, 1943, 2 pp. each.

Public Opinion on the City's Budget Planning. Kansas City, Missouri, Civic Research Institute, 1943. 32 pp.

Research

About Heuristics. A letter from a Dean of Public Administration to His Graduates. By Lent D. Upson. Detroit, 1943. 20 pp. (Apply to author, 5133 Cass Avenue, Detroit.)

Check List of Current Research in Public Administration (Fifth Edition). New York City, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, 1943. 34 pp.

State Publications: A Field for War Curtailment. St. Paul, State of Minnesota, Division of Administrative Management and Research, 1942. 66 pp.

COLONEL EFFINGHAM AT THE COURTHOUSE

(Continued from Page 231)

vicinity of the jury box and the citizens, somewhat confused by the prospect of having to pay over 50 per cent more for an old building than for a new one, made no protest. The councilmen rose as the chair struck the table a final thump, and the battle was over.

Cousin Willy stood there without moving for a minute or two, like Westmoreland, breathless and faint, leaning upon his sword.

I made my way across to him. He didn't seem to recognize me completely, but I spoke to him in my professional capacity and asked him if he had any comment to make for the press. I thought, even at that late date, if he could have answered me with a little Southern humor, all might yet have been well.

But he didn't. The courage (or foolhardiness) to take himself seriously did not desert him for a moment. "You may say," he replied, "that I have nothing but praise for the magnificent behavior of the troops."

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Michigan Secures House Reapportionment

New York redistricting faces court tests

THE legislature of Michigan, which adjourned its regular session on March 26, passed an apportionment act for the House of Representatives but none for the Senate. In terms of population range the districts run from 26,502 for one of the multi-county combinations to 76,222 for St. Clair County and its lone member. The average within Wayne County, containing Detroit, is approximately 74,652.

Upon the basis of the 1940 census there were six counties in Michigan clearly entitled to additional places in the state House of Representatives. These were Wayne, Macomb, Washtenaw, Oakland, and Genesee Counties, urban areas in the southeastern portion of the state, and Midland County which had slipped over the line denoting the possession of a moiety of the ratio of representation. All these received additional seats under the new 1943 statute. Wayne County gains six to give it a total of twenty-seven; constitutionally, with the retention of the moiety scheme and a fixed membership of one hundred, the largest delegation that Wayne could have secured was twenty-nine, although she possesses a population equal to 38.35 per cent of that of the entire state. Oakland County got three more seats, making its total five; Genesee, Macomb, Washtenaw each increased their delegations by one member enabling Genesee to boast of four, and Macomb and Washtenaw two. Midland County, as mentioned before, earned a representative in its own right.

Besides the counties just mentioned, Ingham County was given an extra seat although, under very strict constitutional interpretations of moiety laid down by the courts, that county was not entitled to the third seat, falling shy of moiety by 786 persons. Saginaw County avoided, under the new act, the loss of a third seat already possessed, despite the failure by 934 persons to cross the moiety line in claiming that place. Both of these gestures on the part of the legislature were definitely in favor of an urban interest in the legislature.

However, other relatively large cities in the state did not fare so well. St. Clair County, which contains Port Huron, lost one member, as did Bay County which has Bay City therein. Kent County, with Grand Rapids, remained at five members, and the same was true of Berrien, Calhoun, Jackson, Kalamazoo, and Muskegon Counties, all possessing sizeable cities.

A number of counties now possessing separate representatives yielded them completely under the new statute, and the results of such cession of privilege is to make other counties, lawfully entitled to single members, share that member willy-nilly with these counties bereft of their previous status.

In all the welter of argument over legislative apportionment, scant attention has been given to the issue of a fresh basis of representation. It is here suggested that apportionment on the basis of votes cast for governor, with needful adjustments, could conceivably be used by Michigan for either a reconstruction of one of her bicameral houses or for a single one of unicameralism. Some prior existing district system would have to be frozen as of date, and then the unit of votes, possibly 20,000 or major fraction thereof, agreed upon. The fractional surpluses might conceivably be taken care of by a guarantee of one member to a district *qua* district, and the additional ones in terms of a unit of votes cast. Further work would have to be done, obviously, to determine the usable districting pattern and the optimum unit of votes.

Charles W. Shull

Wayne University
Detroit, Michigan

New York Reapportionment Challenged in Court

The legislative reapportionment act,[1] recently passed by the New York legislature and signed by Governor Dewey, has been made the subject of court action testing its constitutionality in three suits brought in different parts of the state. It has been called in question partly as to constitutional provisions that the districts shall contain equal numbers of inhabitants, excluding aliens, "as nearly as may be" (subject to certain other restrictions), and also as to whether the act complies with a constitutional requirement that the Senate shall be limited to fifty members except that if any county having three or more senators at the time of any apportionment is entitled to one or more additional senators, the latter shall be in addition to the fifty. The new act sets up fifty-six Senate districts, and it is claimed that this exceeds constitutional limits by at least two.

Montana Reorganization Makes Slow Progress

Although the Montana legislature approved twenty-six bills in its state reorganization program, the major proposals were not adopted. These included general structural reorganization, a personnel administration bill, and a new financial code. Considerable administrative progress was achieved, however, without legislative action. For example, more than three thousand state employees filled out detailed personnel cards and every agency head prepared a comprehensive statement about his agency. This case analysis by the officials made certain desirable changes obvious; and various changes were made and savings effected without executive order or action by the legislature.

Furthermore, from October 1941 to April 1942 Governor Ford issued forty-nine executive orders to agency heads, approving 534 recommendations endorsed by the reorganization committee, according to Fred Bennion, executive secretary of the Montana Taxpayers' Association. Mr. Bennion states further:

"The most important bills passed were those relating to the custodial institutions. These bills modernized the commitment procedure and established more rigid provisions for payment by parents or others legally responsible for those who are committed. In the past, mental illness has been treated as a crime rather than a disease and the commitment procedure has been rather antiquated. A study of the population at the State Hospital showed that approximately one hundred inmates were eligible for discharge or parole, and another hundred properly belonged in the Mental Training Institution.

"Up to the present our State Orphans' Home has been crowded because neglected children could be committed entirely at state expense. Under the reorganization measure passed by this legislature, the cost of maintenance of a neglected child will be shared equally by the state and the county, and the

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[1] See National Municipal Review, April 1943, p. 198.

Child Welfare Division of the Department of Public Welfare will determine where in the interest of the child it should be placed.

"From an economic standpoint one of the most important measures was that relating to closing the gap in gas tax evasion. Prior to this legislation the State Board of Equalization received reports only from interstate carriers, who shipped motor fuel from refineries. Under the present law, which was opposed very strongly by the trucking interests, all carriers will be required to make reports. This will enable the State Board of Equalization to check the reports of the carriers against the reports of the refineries.

"Three factors were responsible to a large extent for the failure of the major proposals to receive favorable consideration: (1) In spite of the fact that our state financial setup has many weaknesses and the state structure is complicated, the financial condition of the state is excellent and there has been no evidence of irregularities or marked abuses in procedure; (2) The fact that we are now at war made the legislature reluctant to make any marked changes; (3) Lack of harmony in the political party controlling state government made the state reorganization program the victim of circumstances.

"No logical objections were made to the state reorganization proposals and there is a feeling on the part of legislative leaders that, if the bills that failed in this session are introduced in the future, they will receive more favorable consideration."

State Government Reform Marks Time in North Dakota

A complete report on reorganization of the state government of North Dakota was submitted to the 1943 legislature. According to J. M. Cathcart, secretary of the North Dakota Taxpayers' Association, bills were submitted and passed covering that part of the report having to do with uniform accounting by counties,[1] but no action was taken as to state government reform.

A Governmental Survey Commission was set up by the 1941 legislature to investigate and make recommendations. It was composed of Governor Moses, Senator M. R. Young, and Representative T. Trydahl. Public Administration Service of Chicago was called in to analyze state governmental operations and to report thereon. The report was recently rendered.

As the state constitution prescribed a number of elected officials, the report proposes that these serve as heads of various departments, aided in most cases by advisory boards. It also recommended that the constitution should eventually be amended so that department heads should generally be appointed by the governor. The treasurer and the auditor would be elected, however.

Rhode Island Weighs the Direct Primary

The direct primary, one of the key reforms in the platform of the Progressive movement, has never appeared attractive to citizens of Rhode Island. At times they have seemed to derive pleasure from the fact that their state is one of only two in the United States which have steadfastly retained the caucus and convention system for party nominations. When one recalls that Rhode Island was the last of the thirteen colonies to accept the federal constitution, and that it required Dorr's Rebellion to bring about alteration of her own fundamental law, the hard kernel of conservatism and traditionalism in the Rhode Island point of view becomes apparent.

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[1] See page 272 of this issue.

Caucuses and conventions in Rhode Island have revealed the usual difficulties and called forth the usual legislative regulations from A to Z. Of late, sessions of the General Assembly have seen the introduction of bills providing for a direct primary. Three or four years ago a commission studied the question but reported unfavorably.

The current session marks a stepping up of momentum. Governor J. Howard McGrath, in his inaugural address, asked the General Assembly to enact a "fair and impartial primary election law for the state . . . you can register a great gain for democracy if you do this."

A bill to carry out his views was drafted and introduced in the House of Representatives. While it would not provide an ideal primary system, it has no major defects. It is a compromise, representing perhaps the most that could be achieved.

Its coverage is limited to members of Congress and the state legislature and to state office-holders. Local officials are specifically excluded.

It goes to perhaps undue lengths to preserve party reponsibility. Voters and candidates for nomination must clearly announce their party affiliations, and once having done so, they may not change the same within twenty-six months thereafter. This is the "closed" primary to the extreme.

The number of signatures required for nomination petitions would seem to be excessive and unduly expensive for the independent candidate of limited financial means as compared with a candidate having machine support or large private fortune.

Primary election officials are to be bipartisan and nominated by the party committees. It is doubtful whether this is as effective insurance against electoral frauds as the appointment of nonparistan election officials would be.

Arrangement of names on the ballot is to be in alphabetical order, except that an incumbent's name is to be placed at the head of the list of names and also to be set off by an asterisk. Rotation of names on the ballot with the asterisk alone indicating incumbency might be fairer.

It is unfortunate that the bill calls for the return to paper ballots in the primary. The state now uses voting machines in all elections. Inability to get priorities on a metal connection needed to lock the machines to prevent raiding the other party's primary is the alleged reason for not using them in the proposed primary.

At an open hearing held by the House of Representatives at the request of the League of Women Voters, an unprecedented opportunity was given interested citizens to criticize the bill, to support its principles, and to debate its merits with members of the legislature. An amusing objection by two legislators was appropriately nailed. These legislators seemed to see in the direct primary an alien nomination procedure which would bring in its train a reprehensible totalitarian dictatorship, smacking of Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany. It was pointed out that those countries do not use the direct primary, and that forty-six states of the United States do use it in some form without experiencing such drastic changes.

A small state such as Rhode Island, where campaign expenses need not be large and where voters might well have personal knowledge of the candidates' qualifications, would seem an ideal ground for the direct primary.

John W. Lederle
Brown University

Missouri Chooses Constitutional Delegates

On April 6, by a very light vote, delegates to the prospective constitutional convention in Missouri[1] were elected. Sixty-eight district delegates—a Democrat and a Republican from each district—who were running without opposition were confirmed. The actual contest was for the fifteen delegates at large. The bipartisan slate, previously agreed upon by the two parties, was elected. Eight of the fifteen on this slate were also on the list supported by the Missouri League of Women Voters, and received the greatest number of votes. The seven defeated League candidates made the best showing of any that were not elected. None of the three women backed by the League was elected; one woman supported by the two parties was successful.

In St. Louis 28 per cent of the registration voted, and in Kansas City only about 6 per cent.

A constitutional amendment to permit the legislature to remain in continuous session, the only other matter submitted to the voters throughout the state, received a favorable vote.

State and Local Personnel Agencies Show Heavy Turnover

A turnover of nearly 50 per cent in the administrative and technical staffs of state and city personnel agencies is indicated by a survey conducted by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. Eighty-three of the Assembly's member agencies reporting have lost 240 key staff members since the first of the year, nearly half of the loss being to the armed forces with transfer to federal jobs next in importance.

The turnover has not resulted in a net loss, for there was an increase in the total number of administrative and technical employees since January 1, not counting staff members of agencies established since that date. Many positions left open at the technical level in the public personnel agencies now are being filled by promotion from junior grade positions, and replacements in the junior staff are made chiefly from student trainees the majority of whom are women.

Delaware Authorizes Absentee Voting

At the conclusion of its 1943 sessions the General Assembly of Delaware unanimously passed a constitutional amendment to permit absentee voting. As this had likewise been passed at two previous sessions it is now a part of the constitution. Enabling legislation was also passed, and will allow absentee voting in the 1944 general election.

Cooperation in City, Regional Planning in Virginia

The Virginia State Planning Board and the League of Virginia Municipalities have made a coöperative working arrangement by which the former, through its division of local planning, will encourage the appointment of local commissions, both in cities and in counties, and render technical assistance to such commissions. Through its field service the League will work closely with the state body to stimulate the organization of local planning commissions and development of programs. The additional costs incurred by the League will be borne by the State Planning Board.

Council Manager Plan News

To meet objections to the bill proposed in the **Pennsylvania** legislature, to permit third-class cities to adopt the council-manager plan, sponsors of the measure prepared an amendment eliminating the provision that a vote on adoption of the plan could be brought about by a petition of 2 per cent of the voters. This would leave the question to the discretion of the council. Representative Walter E. Rose, a sponsor, said that elimination of the referendum "takes out of the bill the last objections raised in the past to similar proposals."

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1942, p. 591; also p. 263 in this issue.

This bill was commented on with approval by the *Wilkes-Barre Independent,* which carried a favorable explanation of the council-manager plan. The manager plan is expected to be an issue in the fall campaign in **Wilkes-Barre**, when a mayor, controller, and two councilmen are to be chosen. The city council of **Bethlehem,** on the other hand, voted unanimously in opposition to the proposed enabling act.

William T. Howie, of **Towanda, Pennsylvania,** is the fourth man to round out a quarter-century of service as manager. On April 4 he completed twenty-five years in that position in Towanda.

The annual town meeting of **Mechanic Falls, Maine**, voted to continue the town manager plan.

The **Worcester, Massachusetts,** *Gazette* has editorially commented with approval on a statement by Councilman Longwell that the only way to stop increases in city expenditures is to adopt the city manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Hagerstown, Maryland,** voted forty-three to twenty-two in favor of the council-manager plan on March 18.

Carey, Ohio, will vote June 22 on the adoption of the manager plan.

A bill calling for a referendum on May 4 in **Las Vegas, Nevada,** on the manager plan, was adopted by the state legislature.

In **Reno, Nevada,** the Better Government League has had the city manager plan under discussion.

A charter committee is reported to be working in **Burlingame, California,** for adoption of a manager charter.

On April 6 an election in **Corpus Christi, Texas,** resulted in 2,272 votes for candidates advocating a manager plan, and 3,660 unfavorable votes. However, according to Mr. Joe Alsup, a leader in the manager movement in that city, only one-third of the qualified voters participated in the election. He believes that a large majority of the people favor the plan and states that its supporters will try again.

Upland, California, which has been operating with a city manager since 1930, has recently adopted an ordinance strengthening the plan by giving the manager complete administrative and personal authority, except as to the elective offices of city clerk and city treasurer and the council-appointed city attorney. The manager may be removed by the council after thirty days written notice and a public hearing.

The territorial legislature of **Alaska** is considering a bill to enable cities to adopt the manager plan.

A bill permitting **Thomasville, Georgia,** to adopt the manager plan was passed by the legislature in March. A referendum election can be had upon petition signed by one-fifth of the registered voters; it must come within sixty days of the passage of the bill. A majority of those voting would decide the matter.

A bill to establish the manager plan in **Winder, Georgia,** following provisions of the model council-manager charter, has been passed by the state legislature, subject to a local referendum.

Provisions of Council-Manager Act of Washington State

The act permitting cities of less than 20,000 population to adopt the manager plan, which was signed by Governor Langlie of Washington on March 22, includes the following provisions, as summarized by the Municipal League of Seattle.

Cities are authorized to hold special elections on the question of adopting the plan, upon petition of electors equal in number to 20 per cent of the vote cast for mayor at the last preceding election, the special election to be held not less than ninety days and not more than 120 days prior to the next regular municipal election.

If a majority of those voting favor the change, the city will vote at the ensuing regular election for five or seven councilmen, depending on population. Towns under 2,000 population will have a council of five, with a seven-man council for those having from 2,000 to 20,000.

Members of the council will be the only elective officials, all others being appointed by the manager, who is selected by the council "solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications, with special reference to his actual experience in, or his knowledge of, accepted practice in respect to the duties of his office." The manager would be appointed for an indefinite term, subject to removal by a majority vote of the council following a public hearing.

While giving the manager full administrative authority, the act gives the council policy-determining power, also the specific right "to have an audit made of any department or office of the city government and may select the persons to make such audit without the advice or consent of the city manager."

"Except for the purpose of inquiry," the act continues, "the council and its members shall deal with the administrative service solely through the manager, and neither the council nor any member thereof shall give orders to any subordinate of the city manager either publicly or privately. Any violation of the provisions of this section by a member of the council shall be a misdemeanor, conviction of which shall immediately forfeit the office of the member so convicted."

In conclusion the act provides that any city which has operated under its terms for more than six years may abandon the manager plan in a special election called upon petition of 20 per cent of the electors.

Several communities in King's County, outside of Seattle, have evidenced considerable interest in the act, due largely to greatly expanding problems brought on by the war effort.

Winners in National Fire Waste Contest

Milwaukee has been declared the winner of the 1942 Inter-Chamber Fire Waste Contest sponsored by the National Fire Waste Council of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The Wisconsin city led among cities of more than 500,000 population and its record was also considered best in competition with the winners of the five other classes.

Other winners, by population groups, were: 250,000 to 300,000, Providence; 100,000 to 250,000, New Haven; 50,000 to 100,000, Topeka; 20,000 to 50,000, Newburgh, N. Y.; under 20,000, Fort Collins, Colorado.

Credit is given for the fire-loss records, educational activities in fire prevention, organization for fire defense, and permanent improvements to eliminate fire hazards.

Four-Year Municipal Terms in Montana

Both houses of the Montana legislature have approved a proposed constitutional amendment that provides for four-year instead of two-year terms for municipal elective officials. This has been a prime objective of the Montana Municipal League for several years. The measure is to be submitted to popular vote in the 1944 general election.

Census Bureau Shows Effect of War on Population Movement

The civilian population of metropolitan counties increased 2.5 per cent in the 1940-42 period, as shown by the latest estimates of population trends by counties of the United States Bureau of the Census. In other than metropolitan counties the population was estimated to have receded 3.1 per cent. Movements were influenced largely by the flow of people to centers of production for war. The total civilian population of continental United States dropped 0.3 per cent, to 130,982,277 on May 1. Entry of large numbers of men into the armed forces is given as a chief cause.

Civil Service Assembly Regional Conferences Planned

The Eastern Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly will meet on May 9 and 10 at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Philadelphia. Topics for discussion include pay adjustment, selective service, manpower problems, employee services, and merit system council activities.

The Central Regional Conference meets May 26 and 27 at the Shoreland Hotel in Chicago, with the manpower problem, recruitment and selection, wartime leave policy, and other wartime personnel problems listed for discussion.

The Western Regional Conference will meet in Yosemite National Park on June 4 and 5. Its program will be announced shortly.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Missouri Picks Delegates to Revise Constitution

Citizens wage uphill battle against party domination

IMMEDIATELY following the successful campaign last fall for the calling of a constitutional convention in Missouri, the **St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee for the Revision of the Constitution,** representing many citizen groups, decided that its next job was to secure qualified constitutional delegates.

At a luncheon meeting arranged by the Committee the chairmen of the county and city central committees of both parties, who were present, were thanked for their coöperation in the successful campaign. The choice of the sixty-eight district delegates being up to the party organizations on any basis that they might choose, the revision committee expressed its desire to assist in an advisory capacity in securing qualified delegates. The party chairmen present committed themselves to such coöperation but announced they could not speak for their parties. Publicity was given this meeting and the party chairmen's acceptance of the advisory idea.

A list of 220 names for district delegates were sifted from a much larger number submitted by the League of Women Voters, College Clubs, Chamber of Commerce, Bar Association, and others of the eighty-nine organizations sponsoring the constitutional convention. These names covered the six senatorial districts in St. Louis and one in St. Louis County, calling for the selection of fourteen delegates, one for each of the two parties, by the party committees.

Both the Republican and Democratic State Committees recommended the holding of delegate conventions to select district delegates and mass meetings were advertised in each ward. Civic groups, however, fell down in their participation. As a result purely partisan, and in many cases unqualified, men were chosen. In only one contest, with the help of the papers, was the best man selected. We discovered, too, that the chairmen of the Central Committees could not speak for their committeemen who in several instances put themselves in as delegates. The press strongly criticized the parties on selling out the people for purely partisan purposes and called on the responsible party leaders to choose qualified men and women for the fifteen delegates-at-large.

The **Missouri League of Women Voters,** always on the job, came out with a slate of recommendations for delegates-at-large and circulated nominating petitions for twelve of them, getting over 80,000 signatures in a week's time. The League's activity and acceptance of its slate by the papers did much to create public opinion, forcing the party committees to put eight of the League's fifteen candidates on the single slate endorsed by the two parties. Practically the only campaign was waged by the League of Women Voters, although the Crusaders, a group sponsoring a unicameral legislature, put out a slate endorsing fourteen of the League's candidates and adding four of their own.

A decided jolt was given to the Citizens Campaign for qualified delegates-at-large when the Secretary of State arbitrarily placed the bipartisan slate at the top of a ballot of thirty-four contestants. This had been done in 1920 with the result that the top fifteen were elected and the vote for each candidate dwindled with his position on the ballot. Protests made by the League and the papers were of no avail. One of the delegates, who stood thirty-second on the ballot, got out an injunction against the Secretary of State, but the Supreme Court in a hurry-up decision held that as both parties represented about 99 per cent of the voters and as there was no law ruling on the subject and a 1920 precedent for the action, the Secretary of State was within his rights to make his own ballot.

The League of Women Voters printed some 600,000 sample ballots which were given wide distribution, but the political parties sent to their workers throughout the state a million sample ballots listing just the first fifteen out of the thirty-four on the ballot with the admonition, signed by the chairmen of both State Committees, to "vote for the first fifteen candidates on your ballot—support your party by upholding these recommendations at the special election on April 6."

Few People Vote

The handicap proved too much. Added to this, a general apathy and preoccupation with the war, ignorance on the part of the public as to what a constitutional convention is all about, the shifting of thousands of war workers who were not registered in their new localities, thousands of men in the service, no major contests throughout the state, a consequent reduction in the number and convenience of polling booths, war workers and farmers unable and unwilling to leave their work, and gas rationing, resulted in a 25 per cent vote throughout the state. Kansas City which had no other election polled only 6 per cent of its registered vote.

The press in St. Louis and Kansas City did a fine job of stressing the importance of the convention and the choice of qualified delegates but everything seemed to conspire to favor the purely political elements.

There was much satisfaction, however, with all the disappointments, in the results secured by the citizens' group. While the bipartisan slate of fifteen was elected, eight of the bipartisan candidates, taken from the slate of the League of Women Voters, headed the list with majorities averaging 25,000 above the purely partisan slate. All of the League's recommendations ran ahead of candidates not on the bipartisan slate.

Ballot Positions Help Winners

The long ballot added to the confusion and favored the bipartisan slate but many voters took care in checking their candidates so that—contrary to 1920—while the top fifteen won, the vote was not altogether in the order of their positions on the ballot.

One of the biggest disappointments was the failure of the voters to elect three outstanding League leaders—Mrs. George Gellhorn, Mrs. Virgil Loeb, and Mrs. John A. Harris. Mrs. Gellhorn was beaten by only 6,500 votes by the only politically endorsed woman candidate on the slate, who ran fifteenth.

Mrs. J. Hardin Smith, Jr., chairman of the League's Campaign Committee, said that members of the League were immensely pleased with the result. Analysis of the returns showed, she said, that if the Secretary of State had had more faith in democratic processes and had given all candidates a fair chance by rotating their names on the ballot the League's entire slate of fifteen would have been elected. In St. Louis County thirteen of the League's candidates headed the ballot.

The St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee for Revision is now sending to the successful delegates copies of the National Municipal League's *Model Constitution* with its compliments.

Delegates-at-large endorsed by both the bipartisan slate and the League of Women Voters, who headed the poll, are: Robert E. Blake, Allen McReynolds, Ethan A. H. Shepley, William L. Bradshaw, Richard S. Righter, R. W. Brown, Lewis E. Meador, and Stratford Lee Morton.

It is expected that these men, with a few outstanding district delegates chosen by the party committees, will furnish leadership and direction to the coming convention.

Various citizens' groups, including the League of Women Voters, are now preparing to focus on the changes that should be written into the new constitution.

STRATFORD LEE MORTON,
Chairman
St. Louis and St. Louis County
Committee for the Revision of the
Missouri Constitution.

Chicago's Union League Club Sponsors Many-sided Program

The Union League Club of Chicago, founded in 1879, concentrates its activities in the governmental field in its Public Affairs Committee which not only launches projects of its own but also coöperates with other organizations on city and statewide projects. The Committee is authorized to create and appoint its own subcommittees and also to raise and administer special funds for projects separate and distinct from the general funds of the Club.

From its founding until 1919 the Club had a "political action committee" to further its objectives. The committee was coördinate with the board of directors and was elected by and reported directly to the members. After World War I the political action committee and a special war committee were merged into the present Public Affairs Committee. The Club has a tradition of nonpartisan activity in public affairs, although political action may be taken by vote of the members.

The Public Affairs Committee has carried on a four-phase program: (1) it arranges for discussions of questions of public interest for the information of its members; (2) it formulates recommendations expressing the attitude of the Club toward public issues; (3) it systematically fosters the coöperative principle in promotion of civic activity in Chicago; and (4) from time to time undertakes special civic projects.

Seven Subcommittees

The Committee, under the general chairmanship of Holland M. Cassidy, for many years a member of the National Municipal League, currently has seven sub-committees enlisting the active interest of 375 members, or approximately 21 per cent of the Club's Chicago membership, on the following subjects: city manager plan, election, postwar reconstruction, public administration, public finance, schools and transportation.

Each subcommittee blocks out its own program. Some of the groups continue from year to year, with changes in personnel, and with other civic groups develop coöperative projects in their fields of interest.

Considerable attention is now being given to postwar reconstruction. In recent weeks Dr. Charles E. Merriam, Federal Works Administrator Major General Philip B. Fleming, Dr. Theodore O. Yntema and Paul Hoffman and associates of the Committee on Economic Development, have addressed the Committee.

The Club's committee on city manager plan had a leading role in initiating and later developing the movement in Illinois to obtain a permissive city manager–P. R. statute. The Chicago City Manager Committee was organized as a result, in part, of conferences called by the Club to develop interest in the idea. The chairmen of that group—Frederick Adams Virkus and H. Barry McCormick, are club members and also have been chairmen of the Club's city manager committee. The Club has also fostered the coöperative Illinois Council-Manager Conference which promotes the movement on a statewide basis. The writer, except for a two-year period, has been secretary of the Conference and is currently treasurer as well.

Cooperation with Other Groups

Similarly, the club has taken part in other coöperative movements, including the Chicago Civic Conference, the Joint Committee on the Merit System, the Joint Committee on Voting Machines, the Joint Committee on Public School Affairs, and the Joint Civic Committee on Elections.

The latter group includes the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Citizens' Association, the Cook County League of Women Voters, the City Club, the Women's City Club, and the Chicago Bar Association, which are coöperating in a plan for "policing the polls" at all elections. Volunteers are recruited by the coöperating groups and then trained and assigned through a central headquarters. The volunteer watchers may only observe, but their presence acts as a deterrent and their reports provide evidence for subsequent criminal action by the County Court if circumstances warrant. In one election more than seven thousand observers were recruited. Union Leaguers take an active part in the work. For several elections past the Club's part has been to work in the famous First Ward; its clubhouse serves as ward headquarters for election day activity.

The Club's committee on schools, in coöperation with Altrusa and other groups, sponsors an annual vocational conference for Chicago high school youth. Student delegates attend the three-session, all-day meeting and take back information to their groups.

The Club is now coöperating with the Citizens' Association of Chicago by literally "lending a hand." When the executive secretaryship of the Association became vacant last fall, the writer was requested to become acting executive secretary, which position he still holds with the Club's sanction.

Among several special projects initiated by the Club's Public Affairs Committee is the Union League Foundation for Boys' Clubs. The foundation, manned by Union League members and supported by voluntary contributions of members, maintains two boys' clubs for underprivileged youth in congested Chicago areas and a summer camp in southern Wisconsin.

The Club created a special war service committee to foster its part in winning the war. Ninety-two club members and thirty employees are in the armed services. Many others are in civilian war positions and almost to a man the members are active in civilian defense.

In addition to giving emphasis to the war effort among its own extensive clientele, the Club has given coöperative assistance since the spring of 1942 to the War Manpower Commission and its agency, the United States Employment Service, in the matter of enlisting youth in the Chicago area for farm service. The WMC appointed the Advisory Council on Farm Placement with a Union League delegate as chairman and the writer as secretary.

This council has served as a clearing house of policy and related questions for the WMC, the public and parochial schools, and youth agencies such as the YMCA, Boy Scouts, CYO, etc. In 1942 the council, with the assistance of the Club, issued a booklet containing information to orient city youth enlisting for farm service and a report on labor camp standards outlining minimum requirements for housing, sanitation, recreation, etc. This report has been adopted by the USES as an advisory basis of conditions to be met by employers filling orders for groups of youths for seasonal crop work.

The Union League Bulletin, monthly publication of the Club which is edited by the Public Affairs Committee's secretariat, provides a means of reporting to the club membership, which resides not only in metropolitan Chicago but also in thirty-eight different states, concerning the activities and recommendations of the Club's civic committees. All civic addresses are either summarized or reported in full. Many also are reissued in pocket size for private distribution by members.

EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Secretary*
Public Affairs Committee
Union League Club

Chamber of Commerce Urban Committee Plans Pamphlets

The Conference Committee on Urban Problems,[1] sponsored by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, voted at its second meeting in Washington March 31 to publish a series of pamphlets on postwar urban problems.

These pamphlets will deal with such questions as postwar highway policy, fiscal policies of cities and states, planning procedures for urban areas, effects of war housing on housing standards, blighted areas, state legislation affecting urban development, recreational facilities, and others.

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[1] See also "Communities Urged to Solve Postwar Problems," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1943, p. 104.

This proposed pamphlet series is part of the following program of the Conference Committee which was adopted to serve as a basis for the Committee's work.

1. *Purpose of Committee*

The Conference Committee provides a forum for the discussion of urban problems of all types with special reference to those involving postwar conditions. The Committee plans to furnish local organizations and community interests with information to aid in the formulation of solutions or in the education of community leaders. At no time will it take any action which commits the group to decisions or conclusions except in relation to its own procedures. The Committee will, however, exercise a reasonable control over the subjects and the emphasis to be given to the subjects it considers.

2. *Specific Activities*

The procedural program includes three activities:

(a) Conference meetings. Meetings of the full Conference Committee are to be held at convenient intervals in Washington. Typically, these meetings will be one-day sessions at which several speakers will be invited to discuss selected topics, with discussion by the members.

(b) Pamphlet series. The Conference Committee will publish a series of pamphlets, uniform in size and style, each on a selected subject coming within the general purview of the Committee's field. The Committee will try to bring out varying points of view and significant differences of opinions and approaches.

(c) Radio forums. In line with the two foregoing suggestions, there is the opportunity to present radio forums on selected subjects within the field of the Committee. In general such broadcasts would be built around those particular urban problems which have a relatively wide appeal.

3. *Relation to the United States Chamber*

Sponsorship of the President and the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is dependent upon the understanding that the program of the Conference Committee on Urban Problems shall not commit the Chamber or other participating organizations on any policies with respect to the problems considered. The Chamber sponsors the enterprise solely for the purpose of providing an adequate vehicle for the authoritative exchange of all significant points of view.

Members attending the March 31 meeting participated in the following program:

"Structure of Cities as Revealed by Census Data"—Philip M. Hauser, assistant director, Bureau of the Census.

Discussion: "Essential Community Information"—Ernest M. Fisher, director of research in mortgage and real estate finance, American Bankers Association; Howard G. Brunsman, chief, housing statistics, Bureau of the Census.

"New York State Program"—Holden A. Evans, Jr., executive secretary, Temporary State Commission for Postwar Public Works Planning.

Discussion: "Advance Preparation of Plans"—Hal H. Hale, American Society of Civil Engineers; D. K. Este Fisher, Jr., American Institute of Architects.

"General Development Plans for Urban Areas"—Abel Wolman, chairman, Maryland State Planning Commission.

Discussion: "Comprehensive Urban Area Planning"—Walter H. Blucher, executive director, American Society of Planning Officials; Alfred Bettman, Moulinier, Bettman and Hunt, Cincinnati.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

California Committee Suggests Conservation of State Surplus

Recommends postwar reserves, debt and tax reductions

A PROGRAM combining conservation of state resources with tax reduction has been recommended to Governor Warren and the California legislature by a citizens committee which recently submitted its report on what to do with a prospective surplus of nearly $228,000,000 by the end of the 1943-45 biennium.[1]

California's general fund has been laboring under a deficit for many years, but with income increased by accelerating war production the current biennium is expected to see the $68,000,000 deficit of June 30, 1941, transposed into a surplus of about $89,000,000 at June 30, 1943. Further, income during the biennium ending June 30, 1945, is expected to exceed expenditures by $137,500,000, barring changes in existing tax rates, exemptions, etc.

The Committee's problem was to decide what to do with the surplus. An important consideration was to take maximum advantage of the present period of high income to provide a "kitty" for postwar years. Hence, the Committee's recommendations look to the retention of a surplus of roundly $56,000,000 at the end of the biennium, after setting aside nearly $75,000,000 for war and postwar reserves and debt reduction, $80,000,000 for state tax reduction, and $16,000,000 for increased state aid. These figures compare with estimated expenditures for the 1941-43 biennium of $341,000,000 and of $331,000,000 for the coming biennium.

The $75,000,000 which the committee wants appropriated for reserves and debt reduction would go $33,000,000 for a state postwar construction fund, $25,000,000 for a war catastrophe reserve (to be used as and if needed), $2,300,000 to retire state bonds issued in 1873, and $14,600,000 to meet principal and interest on certain state bonds payable during 1945-49. The latter item would be set aside in U. S. securities to meet the maturities as they fall due since the bonds are not callable.

The $80,000,000 to be applied to tax reduction would be split three ways. About $37,000,000 would go for reduction of the state sales and use tax. The committee estimates the rate could be reduced from 3 per cent to 2 per cent, and drugs, medicines, and prescriptions exempted within this amount. Another $25,600,000 would go to reduce the personal income tax. This would provide for reduction of the maximum rate from 15 per cent to 7 per cent, for the increasing of the exemption from $1,000 to $1,500 for single persons and from $2,500 to $3,500 for married persons, and for the provision of a credit of 25 per cent of the tax.

Finally, $17,500,000 would allow a 25 per cent credit against the bank and corporation franchise tax and corporation income tax. The 25 per cent credits would be withheld by the taxpayer and would operate to reduce his tax payments. While this method of granting income tax reductions is of course regressive in its effect, there is obvious justification for it as an expedient in a period when the combatting of inflationary tendencies is of importance.

The $16,000,000 earmarked for increased state aid is tentatively advanced by the Committee in a recommendation that this amount be used by the state to assume one-half the cost of aged aid now being borne by the counties.

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[1] Cf. *Governor's Tax Committee Reports. The Tax Digest,* April 1943, p. 123 ff.

While it must be understood that the Committee's work is binding on neither the state administration nor the legislature, it seems clear that the California Citizens Committee has produced a program which will be closely watched elsewhere. The tax reduction afforded should the recommendations be adopted is considerable, while the state's resources are not permitted to dwindle in the progress.

Legislature Rebuffs New York City on Tax Proposals

The Republican majority played along with New York City Democrats in the New York State Assembly to defeat Mayor LaGuardia's proposal that the city be permitted to restore the city sales tax to the 2 per cent rate prevailing prior to July 1, 1942. Action was withheld by the legislature on other important phases of the Mayor's program for balancing the 1943-44 budget, including assumption by the state of state court costs now carried by the city, and authorization of city purchasing of Board of Education non-educational supplies and of city control over salaries of Board of Education non-teaching personnel.

The failure of the legislature to implement the Mayor's budget-balancing program meant that a $32,000,000 decline in general fund revenues for the coming year had to be offset by stop-gap devices. In his executive budget submitted to the Board of Estimate on March 31, the Mayor noted that he had effected a gross saving of nearly $43,000,000 to hold the new budget nearly $25,000,000 below that of 1942-43. The gross reduction in the budget was reduced by $21,000,000 of increases in mandatory appropriations, and by $8,000,000 provided for wage and salary increases to low-bracket city employees. On the revenue side, the $32,000,000 expected decline in general fund revenues was partly offset by an increase of $18,000,000 in ad valorem property taxes.

The increase in the ad valorem property tax levy is estimated to raise the tax rate from the present $2.76 to around $2.94 per $100. This proposed increase is causing a considerable rumpus among the various realty pressure groups in the city, and it is considered likely that the final budget may differ considerably from the executive budget first submitted. In fact, in the closing days of the state legislature, when it was plain that the city was not to be granted the home rule powers on revenues which it was seeking, talk was plentiful of a special session to consider New York City finances. Some people believe that the Mayor in submitting a budget calling for increased property taxes has deliberately provided the legislature with its cue to hold a special session.

New Jersey and New York Legislatures Weaken Local Finance Control

By a close vote the New Jersey legislature on April 13 overrode Governor Edison's veto of a bill permitting suspension of cash basis provisions of the state's municipal budget laws. At the same time, a bill was before Governor Dewey of New York which, if approved, will vitiate provisions of that state's local bond law by permitting promiscuous funding of operating deficits.

The New Jersey legislation was sponsored by Atlantic County legislators for the benefit of Atlantic City, and its chief feature was the elimination of the provision that budgets must include an allowance for anticipated tax delinquency. (In effect, the inclusion of the allowance operates—with other provisions of the law—to hold the amount which the unit may appropriate to the amount of cash which it may reasonably be expected to have available during a given year.) The bill originally included a provision to relax the control of the state's Municipal Finance Commission over municipalities subject to its supervision, but this provision was omitted from the act as passed over the Governor's veto.

The effect of the bill is to permit Atlantic City to omit from its budget a $910,000 reserve for tax delinquency, thus anticipating 100 per cent collection during the fiscal year, and to retain an anticipation of $660,000 from delinquent taxes. The county's assessed valuations were sharply reduced for 1943, and an increase in the tax rate from about $5.95 to $7.40 per $100 was prospective. By unbalancing the 1943 budget by nearly $1,000,000, the tax rate may be held at the former level.

The bill before Governor Dewey of New York would permit New York State municipalities to issue five-year funding bonds to provide money for emergency salary increases. It does so by "interpreting" the constitutional amendment limiting bonds to the estimated useful life of the project to mean that salary deficit funding has a five-year "useful life." The bill has been widely criticized by various organizations and individuals urging the Governor to exercise his veto power, but as we go to press its fate is still in doubt. However, a veto will kill this bill, since the New York legislature has adjourned.

Both the New Jersey and New York proposals exhibit in the worst way possible some of the fallacious thinking which always appears in times of financial stress. No service is done to taxpayers by postponing the meeting of costs; on the contrary, deficit financing is one of the surest ways known to add to the burden the taxpayer must bear and at the same time introduce elements of confusion and instability which may for years be a plague to sound budgeting.

Income and Sales Taxes Stand Constitutionality Tests

State income, sales, and chain store taxes are among those most frequently attached in the courts. Of the thirty-four states levying income taxes, only four—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Tennessee—have had acts thrown out by the courts; Pennsylvania's personal income tax was declared invalid although the corporate tax was upheld. In eleven states the income tax has been upheld against constitutional attack; the laws of eighteen other states have not been challenged. Illinois and Washington are the only states where no income tax has proved acceptable to the courts, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators.

General sales and gross receipts taxes have been held unconstitutional in two states—Illinois and Vermont; in Illinois, however, a "retailers' occupation" tax measured by gross sales, has proved acceptable. The Maryland law, sustained in 1935, expired in 1936.

In Ohio the sales tax was upheld in principle, but the law was never questioned directly; in Wyoming the sales tax law never has been litigated, though the state's use tax has been upheld. Sales or gross receipts taxes of eight other states have been upheld, while twelve have not been questioned. Sales taxes of Kentucky, New Jersey, and New York expired or were repealed without court rulings.

Twenty states have chain store taxes in operation, of which fourteen were litigated. Kentucky's original chain store tax was held unconstitutional and a decision on the present state law is pending.

Of the chain store levies upheld by the courts, Florida's was held unconstitutional in part by the U. S. Supreme Court in *Liggett* v. *Lee.* The part of the tax based on gross receipts, which was invalidated, was held separable from the rest of the act, which was allowed to stand.

Unchallenged laws were repealed in Arizona and Maine and allowed to expire in Minnesota and Wisconsin, the Federation said. In California the law was recalled by referendum.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 224)

ceptance. Clearly they must be realistic and designed to avoid unplanned, wastefully expensive programs whether they be in the name of relief or any other cause.

Much can be expected from the current planning by industry and other private enterprise but it would be folly for our natural hope that such planning will restore a normal self-operating economy to discourage governments from also making plans. Just as military and naval offices of the major nations always have files bulging with detailed plans for attacking and defending strategic spots throughout the world, we should develop methods of foreseeing and being ready to meet peacetime human emergencies with both offensive and defensive action. The livelihood of our people is surely as important in peace as in war. But let's keep our plans on a simple, realistic basis.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

North Dakota Improves County Accounting

1943 laws replace ancient practices with up-to-date methods

THE 1943 session of the North Dakota legislature passed some sixteen laws eliminating obsolete provisions and improving accounting, auditing, and budgeting procedure in county government. These laws provide in part that the state examiner shall prepare a county accounting manual and that he shall assist in securing the adoption of a uniform accounting system for all counties.

Heretofore, county accounting procedure has not only lacked uniformity, but it has been archaic in the extreme. The laws were based on conditions existing prior to the advent of typewriters, adding machines, and bookkeeping machines, and they assumed county expenditures of only a few thousand dollars. Some counties have voluntarily made improvements in their accounting practices within the limits allowed by law.

Efforts to secure uniform accounting in county government were initiated as early as 1934 when the North Dakota Taxpayers Association voted in convention to instruct its officers to work toward such objective. In 1941 the state legislature authorized the Governmental Survey Commission[1] to conduct the necessary studies. The Public Administration Service was employed by the Commission for this purpose. The Commission's report, based on the survey, was submitted to the 1943 legislature and was accepted by it. Final adaptation of the manual and changes in the county accounting, auditing, and budgeting systems will be developed gradually in order to cause the least possible amount of disruption.

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[1] See also p. 258 of this issue.

Westchester County, N. Y., May Vote Again on Small Board

The Civic League of Westchester County, New York, and the Committee of 100 of Yonkers are developing tentative plans to place on the ballot again next November a charter amendment reducing the County Board of Supervisors to a fraction of its present size. A similar amendment was defeated by the voters in November 1941, but the affirmative strength shown has encouraged proponents of the measure to give further consideration to the possibility of effecting this reform.

Los Angeles County Employs Women Tax Assessors

Los Angeles County, California, is solving its manpower problem by hiring women as personal property appraisers. These are temporary positions formerly filled only by men. The five hundred women recruited were given an intensive training course before assignment to their tasks.

Colorado County Makes Civilian Defense Self-supporting

Larimer County, Colorado, coöperating with cities and towns within it, financed all 1942 civilian defense costs through sale of scrap and other salvaged material. Publicly-owned trucks collected four hundred tons of scrap the sale of which netted approximately $3775. With these funds the local defense organization acquired equipment for its medical unit, supplies for the central control room, and other defense items.

Wilson County, N. C., to Entertain Service Men

In what may prove to be a forerunner of new county government activities, North Carolina recently passed a law (H. 57) authorizing Wilson County to join with the city of Wilson "to acquire, equip, and maintain a house or other quarters for the relief and entertainment of transient members of the armed forces of the United States."

The act provides furthermore that the cost shall not exceed $10,000, that it shall be borne equally by county and city, and that the property may be leased to the USO or similar agency.

New Hampshire Towns to Entertain Inducted Men

The New Hampshire legislature has enacted a law (C. 34) permitting the towns of that state to appropriate funds for "entertainments for men of that town at the time of their induction into the armed forces of the United States in time of war."

Washington State Expands County Police Power

The continuing trend toward enlarging the police powers of counties is evidenced again in the law enacted by the 1943 session of the Washington state legislature (House Bill 243) which declares county boards of commissioners are empowered "to make and enforce, by appropriate resolutions or ordinances, all such police and sanitary regulations as are not in conflict with state law, and provide that any violation of such regulations, ordinances, or resolutions shall constitute a misdemeanor."

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

A Study of P. R. in Northern Ireland

Case history of system under unusual circumstances

IN *Social Research* for September 1942 Dr. Arnold Brecht reviewed favorably F. A. Hermens' *Democracy or Anarchy? A Study of Proportional Representation.*[1] It is of interest to note, however, that in some instances where Dr. Brecht had specific information of a political situation in which P. R. was a factor, he could not agree that it was so deserving of opprobrium as Dr. Hermens always finds it to be.

One reference Dr. Brecht makes is to *Proportional Representation in Northern Ireland: Its Adoption, Use, and Abolition,* by David Glickman. This is a thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the New School of Social Science, New York City, in 1941. A copy is in the library of that institution and one is also in the library of the National Municipal League. It is a pity that funds are not available for its reproduction, for it deserves a place in the libraries of institutions where the study of the democratic process goes forward. If the keen young students of Notre Dame University were to read it they might question, as does Dr. Brecht, the all-out position against P. R. taken by one of their preceptors. Many of them come from homes where they have often heard some of the names mentioned by Mr. Glickman—John Redmond and Joseph Devlin, for instance.

The thesis is a case study of the use of P. R. under unusual political circumstances and, so far as a hundred pages of double-spaced typescript permit, is as complete a job as could be asked for. The space is given almost entirely to what was said and done by the principals of the drama and to some simple statistics; the writer almost suppresses his own interpretations until he gives his overall conclusions at the close. He does his best in the opening chapter of little more than a page to sketch in the historical background.

Not all of Ulster was Protestant and, therefore, Unionist when P. R. was first bruited. Glickman's figures for 1911 show that of the nine counties, three had a large Catholic majority and only two had a substantial Protestant majority. It was the fact that the Catholics numbered almost 700,000 out of a total population of slightly more than one and a half million which, in view of the fears which ruled the other 800,000, made North of Ireland politics for the sake of the North of Ireland almost out of the question. The study reveals that it was because P. R. tended to make the real interests of the people of the area as a whole the basis of their politics that led those who feared their leadership would end with such a change of base to revert to the election system which put them in power.

Home Rule Progress

Though Gladstone made home rule for Ireland an issue in the early eighties it was not until 1911 that it became, legislatively, a possibility. Not until then was the House of Lords, the citadel of the Conservative Party, shorn of its obstructive power. The next year a home rule bill was introduced and had passed second reading before the idea of P. R. was raised. It was raised by whom? Mr. Glickman shows that the demand came from Ulster. Then he quotes John Redmond, who was not always as belligerent as his red beard implied, as speaking for his followers and conceding the justice of the Protestant-Unionist proposal. But Glickman completes the picture by a quotation from one unique figure, a Unionist who was also a Catholic, to the effect that there were some Unionists who did not want P. R., for the simple reason that they did not want an Irish Parliament.

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[1] A book against P. R., reviewed in this department in May 1942.

In condensing the debates on this and the other legislative milestones of his study, Glickman does an excellent job, so that the story tells itself. But occasionally he cannot refrain from such a comment as: "These arguments are based not upon the broad question of reform of democratic processes, but rather on the individualized benefits that would accrue to the Conservative party and the economic class that provided the backbone of its electorate." He finds that the Catholics used both bases for their arguments, for he says: "Political parties, if confronted by the immediate aspects of P. R., are prone to forget democratic theories. They seek rather to judge on the basis of political advantage or disadvantage to themselves. The oppostion of the Ulster delegation was so founded; the advocacy of the Catholic forces rested on the same basis. The latter, however, mustered democratic arguments in their support." As proof of that last sentence he quotes Joseph Devlin: "I believe it is a fatal thing to keep minorities from exercising that influence that they ought to exercise."

P. R. for Local Elections

A bill to use P. R. in local elections not only carried but, unlike the act setting up an Irish Parliament, which fell a victim to the war, was put into operation. The local elections took place in 1920 and the statistics quoted show that, as measured by census figures for religious affiliation, the councils elected gave substantial justice to the two rival groups. This elicited favorable comment in many newspapers of England and Ireland, though some Ulsterites made a wry face because in some cases to get justice meant to lose power.

In the same year Lloyd George introduced a bill which when passed split Ireland into two parts and made Ulster no longer a province but the Government of North Ireland. It set up constituencies which were to elect members of its parliament by P. R. and gave that parliament the power to use any other electoral system after three years. Quotations from Unionists in the debates made it clear that if the bill were to pass, the provision for the abolition of P. R. would be taken advantage of quite early; in Ireland as a whole they were a minority, and many southern Unionists were for P. R., but in Ulster they were a majority and did not take so kindly to minority representation.

Parliamentary Elections

The bill passed and Glickman's Chapter V describes the election held under it in 1921. The Unionists and Labor Unionists captured thirty-six of the forty-eight seats, not counting Queen's College, but that was not sufficient for them. Some of the opposition candidates had discussed issues which suggested that Labor, without the appendage of Unionist, which in this connection means union with Great Britain, might come to have its own political expression. Indeed that tendency had shown itself in the local elections by P. R. held previously. This gave further impetus to the desire of Unionist leaders to get rid of P. R., as did the election of certain independent Unionists not endorsed by the organization.

The use of P. R. for local elections was the first to be abolished. Before similar action was taken in regard to

Parliament a second parliamentary election occurred in 1925. On first-choice votes for contested seats—there were eight uncontested—the Unionists and Labor Unionists received 210,000 to 174,000 for the combined opposition. Most remarkable was the fact that in Belfast, where in 1921 the Unionists had elected fifteen of the sixteen members, they now elected only eight. Only a return to the single-member district system, with such districts properly gerrymandered, was thinkable under the circumstances to the Unionist party strategists.

The eighth chapter describes what was said and done when P. R. for Parliament was abolished. It deserves to be read by those who have a strong interest in studying the human mind in action. One is simply amazed at the rationalizations masked as reasons which the intolerant majority gave for their action.

At the end of his ninth and concluding chapter Glickman sums up by first saying: "Northern Ireland is hardly a standard example for the study of the mechanisms of P. R. Democratic nations may possess similar characteristics, but each has its own internal conditions, and these influence the operation of political machinery. The ability of a minority to grow into a majority is a prime requisite to the proper functioning of democratic government. Indeed, where this possibility, for any of a number of reasons, does not exist, it can hardly be said that there is real political democracy."

Glickman's final sentences are: "Although the individuality and equality of all persons was assumed, no attempt was made by the dominant political party to take this equality seriously or to make it effective. These conditions negatived all endeavors to institute democratic government. The skeleton existed but the muscles and sinews of a healthy organism were lacking. Proportional representation was an attempt to flesh the skeleton, but it came to grief. A sharp clash within the population on the very question of the existence of the state complicated the fate of democracy. Proportional representation mitigated the effect of these clashes, but in the final analysis its very success cost it its life at the hands of those who desired to keep the skeleton in its ancient form."

Glickman's two concluding sentences say something of extreme importance: they touch on a condition which has troubled many political states. It once troubled us, and the only answer we could make was the war between the states. What shall be done when a state contains within itself large numbers of those who would destroy it? Each specific case calls for its specific answer, but Glickman concludes that in one case P. R. "mitigated the effect of such clashes," as it did when it was first introduced in Switzerland to put an end to a condition of civil war in the canton of Ticino, and as a committee of the United States Senate, under the chairmanship of Senator Buckalew, in 1869 held it would have done had it been in effect for the elections of Congress before our own Civil War.

Proportionalists should give thanks to Dr. Brecht because, in reviewing a book that claims P. R. leads to anarchy, he mentions the thesis of his student. The thesis concludes that in an unusually critical situation, aggravated by strong religious feeling, P. R. tended to mitigate the factors which made for anarchy.

Walter J. Millard

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Cities Are for People. By Mel Scott. Los Angeles, Pacific Southwest Academy, 1942. 110 pp. $1.

Today Chicago is justly proud of the great water-front development along the shores of Lake Michigan. Few cities in modern times have surpassed this "front yard" symphony of lake vistas, free space for people to play in, efficient traffic flow, amply spaced public buildings, and numerous other features which are judged good for people.

The key to Chicago's present-day water-front achievement can be found in an event that took place earlier in this century. Over twenty-five years ago the plan for this "city beautiful" of the future was presented to the children of Chicago in a textbook. For years each high school pupil in Chicago studied the *Wacker Manual.* This exposure of the young minds of the metropolis to the great and moving plans for the growing city had a profound long-term effect. As these indoctrinated youth matured into adult citizens, they carried out the plan bit by bit, modifying it here and there in terms of current evidence, but holding substantially to the pictures which the *Wacker Manual* had created in their imaginations. One could criticize the plan for not encompassing the backyard of Chicago as well, but to the extent that it planned the waterfront it did so with courage and wisdom. Here along the lake front is a good illustration of the old adage that the "child is father to the man."

In a western city we have in the making another example of such farsighted use of the schools in community development. The Los Angeles Region has been working on a master plan for years. The principal features of this master plan are now presented in a most attractive volume entitled *Cities Are for People.* This volume is being used in the high schools of this metropolitan region to "clarify the aims of planning in the Los Angeles Region" and to fire the imaginations of the younger citizens with a conception of a magnificent future city which can be achieved if the people envisage it and want it.

The volume is no dull document of facts and statistics. Contrasting sharply to most engineering treatises and school textbooks, this prospectus of the future is beautifully designed by Alvin Lustig, illustrated with eye-catching and meaningful drawings by Bob Holdeman. The text is written in simple and direct language by Mel Scott. Text and pictures on facing pages contrast the good and bad features of housing, highway facilities, recreation, flood control, conservation, etc. Animated maps show the present limitations of the area as they cramp and inhibit the people of this region and other maps depict the region as it is planned for modification so that the land and its resources may be used to provide the elements of the good life for all—employment, food, safety and security, shelter, schools, health, recreation, transportation, etc.

The volume presents not merely a dream without reality. Solid fact from history, geology and human geography, population, economics, government, engineering, and other disciplines form the basis of the planning. What are the facts of earth faults which periodically slip and cause earthquakes? How must the physical pattern and structures in the region take these fault facts into account? What are the statistics on needs of water, or transportation, or any other goods or service for present and future population? How well does the present system of water provision or traffic flow serve this population? What must be done to achieve the master plan for water or traffic—land, water, and air? How can such a plan be programmed and carried out? What are the roles of the citizens, of the official, and of the technical expert in such programs?

These and equally realistic problems are presented to the flexible minds of the younger generation now in schools. Young citizens equipped with both the vision of their city beautiful and the hard tools of programming with which to achieve that vision have the best chance of some day realizing on their dreams.

The schools of Los Angeles are being used by the community to shape the future along lines known to be possible and desirable. Here is an example of educational and municipal statesmanship that can serve both as inspiration and model to other communities.

Paul R. Hanna
Stanford University

As the Twig Is Bent. By Richard Welling. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. 295 pp. $3.

The latest of Hendrik Van Loon's books to delight and instruct us is his *Lives*. One guest whom he invites to one of his imaginary dinners left this world so recently as to have been known in the flesh by many readers, Fridtjof Nansen. A high point is the discussion Van Loon has with him in the presence of the three men who headed the first polar expedition. The question discussed is that of leadership, which as we all realize is the crucial problem of democracy.

The book here under review brings Nansen and that discussion to mind again and again. Both in physical appearance and in personality Richard Welling, its author, bears a strong resemblance to Nansen. In two ways this "experiment in autobiography" completes the discussion which ends at the stroke of twelve in Van Loon's book. Richard Welling does this, first by telling in such a fascinating way the story of his own life, now in its "eighth decile," and second, by telling of the main objective of his life, which is exemplified in the National Self Government Committee which he founded, teaching democracy to young people, not as a set of verbal statements about principles, but as a process of emotional attitudes and habits of thinking and doing.

We not only come to know Richard Welling intimately, and therefore to regard him with loving reverence, but we also learn something of practically all men and women who have played a part in the civic reform movements of New York City and of the nation in the last half century. The Index is a veritable "Who's Who" of those who have had, in our own times, an important share in making democracy work in our power-machine age.

Mr. Welling helped organize and was present at the first meeting of the National Municipal League in 1894. We trust he will be present at its fiftieth annual meeting in 1944.

Mr. Welling has other interests: in writing of sports, music, art, and animals he gives us five fine chapters which should dispel the notion that a civic reformer must have a one-track mind and a humorless spirit.

The whole book bubbles with merriment and the inclusion of pictures of W. S. Gilbert and George Ade lets us know that Richard Welling's basic methods for accomplishing reform have the flavor of Erasmus, Voltaire, and Swift, rather than of Calvin, Jonathan

Edwards, and Torquemada. The photograph of Welling and his drum, on page 65, should be in every textbook of civics as an example of effective method.

Today many people are concerned over the treatment that should be accorded the Germans and the Japanese when peace comes. The best answer is found in this book, particularly chapters VII through XII. Let those whom we can spare, who have learned how to practice and to teach democracy by the Welling method, become part of the educational force of the countries with which we are now at war. For even after our flag flies over Hitler's Chancellory the peace of the world will remain fragile so long as it does not consciously apply what this noble man has been teaching during his long life.

It has long been realized that democracy is based upon the "right sort" of school system. Richard Welling goes even further. He says: "A good school is a place where young people of any age come together to educate themselves and each other, with the help of good teachers, in those social habits of coöperation and studies needed for effective citizenship in a democracy."

Of course all our present thinkers about education, and certainly he who holds official leadership among them, Dr. John W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education, endorse that definition heartily and are working for its accomplishment. But the democrats within our school systems need the moral support of the parents of the young people they teach. Whoever reads Richard Welling's story of what he has done towards the most important job facing our age, will close the book with the quiet resolve to do all he can to spread the influence of its main idea to the seven seas and the end of time. WALTER J. MILLARD

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Budgets

Factors in Making 1943 Budgets. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1943. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Education

Sound Educational Credit for Military Experience. A Recommended Program. Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1943. 35 pp.

Wartime Handbook for Education. Washington, D. C., National Education Association of the United States, 1943. 63 pp. 15 cents.

Governors

Governors' General Messages to State Legislatures in January 1943. By Louise H. Clickner. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1943. 8 pp.

Inflation

Battle Stations for All. The Story of the Fight to Control Living Costs. Washington, D. C., Office of War Information, 1943. 128 pp.

Controlling Inflation Through Taxation in Great Britain and Canada. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1943. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Land Use

A Study of Land Use in Thirty-one Towns in Aroostook County, Maine. Orono, Maine Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Maine, 1942. 106 pp.

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Equal Chance. Books Help to Make It. Chicago, American Library Association, 1943. 32 pp. Illus.

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Municipal Index and Atlas 1943. New York City, American City Magazine Corporation, 1943. 552 pp. $5.

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Annual Municipal Reports. Suggestions and Requirements. Hallowell, Maine Municipal Association, 1943. 8 pp.

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New Plans for Old Towns. A Case Study of Hartford, Vermont. By John W. Reps. Boston, National Resources Planning Board Region 1, 1942. 43 pp.

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Point Rationing, with Particular Reference to British Experience. A bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1942. 7 pp.

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Do We Want a Federal Sales Tax. By Charles O. Hardy. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1943. 47 pp. 25 cents.

Income Tax Collection Plans. A bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1943. 8 pp.

New Zealand's Experience with Land-Value Taxation, and How that Nation Is Planning for Improved Public and Private Housing in the Post-War Years. By Walter Nash, Minister of New Zealand to the United States. New York City, Citizens Housing Council of New York, 1943. 22 pp. 20 cents.

Pruning the Municipal Budget. Part III—Studies of Individual Departments. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1943. 28 pp.

Tax Limitation Laws. A Review of the Effects on Municipal Government of Over-all Tax Limitations and a Presentation of Evidence That Such Measures Constitute a Negative Approach to Tax Reform. By G. M. Morris. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1943. 36 pp. 50 cents.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

(Continued from Page 242)

vidual insecurity can be approached on a nation-wide front, will prove more simple and economical and will serve the insured persons much more effectively.

President Roosevelt presented this view when, in his Budget Message of January 7, 1942, he said: "I recommend an increase in the coverage of old-age and survivors insurance, addition of permanent and temporary disability payments and hospitalization beyond the present benefit programs, and liberalization and expansion of unemployment compensation in a uniform national system." Moreover, in view of the present danger of inflation and the need to prepare now for sudden and extreme changes after the war, he urged that, in order to "advance the organic development of our social security system and at the same time contribute to the anti-inflationary program," action be taken immediately to expand the social security program as he had suggested.

In developing such an expanded program we should take advantage of the experience of recent years to simplify and to strengthen all of our social security programs so that they will become a more effective instrument in preserving our nation and our way of life.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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B. H. Faulkner

Big City Budget Methods

Norman N. Gill

Bonded Debt of U. S. Cities

Rosina Mohaupt

Treasury Committee Reports on Fiscal Relations

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Time to Try Men's Constitutions

NOW is not only the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country; it is also a peculiarly appropriate time to strip for action, eliminate fat in the head as well as on the tummy, and to be intolerant of waste and inefficiency not only in the kitchen but also in public affairs.

This war is unique in many ways. Our attitude toward it is cold, calm, determined. We are infinitely more grown-up about it than we have been in previous wars. The hysteria and excesses in the name of patriotism are miraculously lacking; but we are no less patriotic.

One demonstration of our calm is found in the fact that three states are taking the present as the time to streamline their constitutions. And, let it be said parenthetically, there are few if any state constitutions in this country which would not benefit from a good measure of high-minded overhauling to bring order out of the chaos which has accumulated over long years of tinkering.

Missouri has chosen delegates for a convention to revise its constitution. The Georgia legislature[1] has provided for a committee to study its constitution and to propose changes. New Jersey's legislature[1] has finally voted to let the people decide whether the next legislature shall be constituted also a convention to revise that state's century-old and badly outmoded basic document.

These three efforts, in addition to the scores of others currently being made in communities, counties, and states to provide more workable governments, are especially refreshing in view of the inevitable cry of the obstructionists that during a war there should be no basic changes even though they be for the purpose of saving money which we can't afford to squander or of strengthening and preserving at home the democratic processes for which we are waging the most difficult war in history.

Such an argument is, of course poppycock. The obstructionists always have a reason. Let it be remembered that some of the most honored leaders of the American Revolution were only barely stopped from making this country a monarchy in the hope of bringing immediate unity and of forestalling "dangerous" discussion. After this war there will be a cry for a return to "normalcy." If times are good, it will be argued that we should do nothing for fear of making them bad. If bad, we will be warned against making them worse. In the eyes of the obstructionist there is always an excuse for retaining the confusion on which he feeds.

We must be on guard against cheap emotional stunts such as the disciplined descent of World War I veterans on the committee of the New Jersey legislature last year with the cry: "This will be a stab in the back to the men in the armed forces." Interestingly enough, the veterans came from Boss Hague's Jersey City; and no one doubted, anyway, that Mr. Hague would like to keep things as they are, or at least no better. But temporarily this empty emotionalism blocked the action taken later.

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[1] See pages 328 and 329.

In Houston and some other cities attempting to clean up local situations, on the other hand, this type of "red herring" was easily disposed of with the answer that during a war it is especially imperative that all governments operate as effectively, efficiently, economically, and decently as possible.

It is to be hoped that the mature attitude with which we are waging this war will continue to prevail. There will be no aid to victory in permitting the distortion of our patriotism. The pardonable pride in our past progress, in the high principles to which we have tried to adhere, and in the ideals toward which we have been haltingly marching should never be permitted to lure us into the smug belief that we have now or ever will reach our ultimate goal. We are still pretty far from perfection in most things; and we are more capable of purposeful, constructive change during periods of upheaval than when things are what is known as normal.

What's in a Name?

AMONG the important problems which should be high on the list of postwar projects is that of education for citizenship. Of course we don't want to gorge either youth or adult with any hateful doctrine such as those employed in other countries with the deliberate aim of bringing on this war, but we might well be giving serious thought now to sensible plans designed to give citizens an appreciation of our way of life.

Many good experiments have been tried and are now in progress. Among these is the observance of National Citizenship Day in recognition of the native-born new voter's attainment of his majority. This observance was originally planned as the climax of a program of forums, roundtable discussions, panel discussions, lectures, and conventions of new voters to help our youth step over the threshold of adult life with a purposeful appreciation of not only the privileges but also the responsibilities of citizenship.

The tendency to permit this deeply constructive plan to become just another patriotic celebration, against which these pages warned several years ago, unfortunately has continued. Had it not been for the war and the consequent absence of a large proportion of our young men, this easier course might have met more resistance.

One thing which tended to undermine the original idea of a serious adult education program was the last-minute re-naming of National Citizenship Day "I Am an American Day." There are many reasons why this choice was undesirable. For one, it behooves us, in the interests of

(Continued on Page 352)

Private Enterprise Plan in Housing Faces First Test

Insurance company to undertake redevelopment of New York blighted area after war under new law to encourage the use of private capital.

By **PAUL WINDELS**
President, Regional Plan Association of New York

SEVERAL weeks ago announcement was made of a new housing project for the lower East Side of the Borough of Manhattan. This project is to be undertaken by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company immediately after the close of the war.

The significance of this enterprise as a step in the rebuilding of New York City can be appreciated not only by the magnitude of the plan but also by a review of the factors which have compelled official and private action in New York City's fight to check the processes of decay in its older sections. These factors have resulted in a drift to the suburbs of those willing to spend long hours of daily travel to and from their work in the city in order to enjoy wholesome conditions for family life not to be found in the city itself.

The Regional Plan Association defines the metropolitan area in which this shifting of population has been under way since the turn of the century as a belt of twenty-two counties in three states surrounding the Port of New York. Only five of these are in the city proper. The remaining seventeen are suburban areas whose population in substantial part originally settled from the older portions of the city.

This drift from city to countryside is not, of course, peculiar to New York City, but in times past there have been factors at work which have aggravated the general tendency.

Throughout all its history, the Port of New York has been the focal point of the pressure of immigrant population. Much of it settled in the older areas of the city and, while temporarily blocking the holes caused by the movement away of earlier inhabitants, it also, by reason of congestion and low living standards, accelerated the trend toward neighborhood deterioration.

About twenty years ago immigration stopped and the birth rate began to decline. The trend to the countryside continued, however, and there was a declining number of new residents to take the places of those who left. Large areas of the city suffered tremendous decreases in population and conditions of blight and decay were aggravated.

This caused widespread concern for the future of the city. In addition to leaving behind it unused facilities for public services installed by heavy capital outlays—some still not paid for—much of this population shifted not beyond the borders of the city but to its outlying undeveloped areas where these public facilities had to be duplicated.

This mass migration was greatly aided by the extension of the longest local rapid transit system in the world to the very limits of the city's borders. It is now possible to ride for over twenty-seven miles in the City of New York on a five-cent fare. In times past the people of the city have been inclined to boast about this but today they are beginning to realize that it is one of the basic reasons for many of their municipal financial problems. It is an interesting fact that both the deficits created by the less-than-cost fare and the heavy capital outlays for a population attracted to the city's outlying sections by the transit system are unexpected by-products of the city's venture into rapid transit. The system has also, of course, tremendously increased the city's assessment rolls by spreading population.

The long-range problem is one of profound difficulty and perplexity. How can we stop the drift away from the city and maintain assessed valuations in the older areas? We depend on real estate taxes to pay most of the cost of running our city as well as its capital debt.

The first approach to rebuilding the city became intertwined with the need for decent housing for people in the lowest income brackets, who could not otherwise afford it within certain minimum standards of decency, comfort, and safety. The need for low-cost housing was presented as the only proper way to undertake slum clearance. Those who believe in public housing only and have little faith in private initiative soon evolved the theory that all housing for which there is any form of public assistance should be under heavy public control with a right of bureaucratic interference in leasing, management, etc.

Private Capital Needed

This point of view, which aimed at limiting the field of rehabilitation to public housing, seemed objectionable on at least two grounds. In the first place, there is not enough money in the public treasury—and never will be—to meet the cost if rehabilitation is to be achieved entirely at public expense. In the second place, the thought of having a substantial part of the population of New York City tenants of the city administration was suggestive of future political machine access to and grip on a large part of the population. This would be harmful in the long fight to maintain an independent interest on the part of the electorate. And finally, low-cost housing would make no provision for the middle-income group, who would continue to move to the suburbs.

It became apparent that, if real progress was to be made in solving this problem, access must also be had to the quasi-public reservoirs of capital—the banks and insurance companies—who, in turn, are constantly in search of new fields of safe investment. The field of real estate equities could be of special importance to them at the present time as a possible hedge against inflation for companies which carry in their portfolios tremendous sums of money invested in bonds.

The first step in New York State in the program to make available these capital resources was the adoption by the 1938 State Constitutional Convention of Article 18, known as the housing amendment, which recognized two separate appropriate public purposes for use of the power of condemnation: (1) for low-cost housing and (2) for the clearance of slums.

New Laws Adopted

This was followed in 1941 by the adoption of the Urban Redevelopment Law, drafted and urged by civic associations. The general scheme of the law was to permit owners of equity and mortgage interests in a given area to pool their interests in an urban redevelopment company which would be aided by partial tax exemption for a period of years, and also by the use of the power of condemnation directed against a possible minority of owners who might attempt to block a proposed housing project which had the approval of the City Planning Commission.

No use has as yet been made of this law. It is somewhat complicated in its provisions and is believed to need a good deal of simplification. So in 1942 another effort was made—known as the Redevelopment Companies Act—particularly for the purpose of making available the resources of savings banks and insurance companies. Because of the objection of the State Superintendent of Banks, the provision permitting savings banks to invest in this type of housing was eliminated from the bill. As finally enacted, it provided that any three persons might form an urban redevelopment company, and specifically authorized insurance companies to create such companies and use their resources for the purposes of the act.

The provisions of the 1942 law are simple. The city makes two contributions only in return for which it gets very substantial advantages. These are the use of the power of condemnation to acquire the land and partial tax exemption. The company pays taxes for a period of twenty-five years in the amount previously payable to the city from the area. Thereafter it pays full taxes. Public safeguards are provided in the form of control of profits, approval of the project's plans by the City Planning Commission, and constant financial supervision. During the twenty-five-year period of partial tax exemption the company may not take out of the project any more than operating costs and 6 per cent a year to cover interest and amortization. All other income goes to the city. If at any time during the period of twenty-five years the company wishes to be free from its partnership with the city, it must first repay all the partial tax exemption which it received with interest at 5 per cent.

The project just announced, under the 1942 act, by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is the first major effort anywhere in the United States, so far as we know, to combine the powers of government and the resources of a great financial institution in a large-scale attack on the problem of neighborhood decay in the cities. It will be watched with profound interest and may be the precursor not only of similar efforts by insurance companies but also, if successful, to the opening of this field to savings banks.

The proposal was approved by the New York City Planning Commission at a meeting held on May 20. The project as planned will be contained in the area bounded by East Twentieth Street, East River Drive, Avenue C, East Fourteenth Street and First Avenue. This is a gross area of seventy-five acres, of which twenty-five acres are now streets.

Population Will Increase

It has been stated that, when completed, the project will accommodate a population of approximately 24,000 persons. The existing population in the area is now about 11,000, with a previous population of 21,000 in 1920.

The building coverage of land at present is about 47 per cent compared with a reported coverage of 30 per cent for the project. Both figures include street areas. The average height of structures in the present area is less than four stories.

With a population of 24,000 people, the seventy-five acres would have a density of 320 persons per gross acre, which compares with 146 persons per gross acre at present. Such density approximates the average of the last four public housing projects in Manhattan, which have a density of 357 persons per gross acre. If the residential area of Manhattan Island were built up to the density of these last four public projects, an area of 5.7 square miles, or about four and one-third times the size of Central Park, would be left over after providing for the present total population of the borough. A density of 320 persons per acre would be 50 per cent more than the present average gross density of the predominantly residential area of Manhattan, which is now 211 persons per acre.

It is also reported that the plan contemplates the elimination of certain interior streets and avenues and the provision of access roads which do not invite through traffic, together with the widening of the boundary streets. Such treatment presents an opportunity for sound residential development and neighborhood environment which would be unique in the heart of any great metropolitan area.

Requirements for Success

The success of this project will depend in part upon how the following requirements are met:

(1) Community facilities to provide a genuine, well rounded, wholesome community life.

(2) A basic plan with provision for limited land coverage, which will be protected against the possibility of future fundamental change without the consent of the City Planning Commission, but will leave some reasonable discretion to the owner in minor matters not altering in any important way the basic features of the development.

(3) Protection against undue concentration of population in the area by the use of high buildings even though the land coverage is kept small.

In these large projects we must aim toward an equitable and even distribution of the estimated future population of the city so as to eliminate gradually uncertain speculative values based on congestion and also areas where there are no values because of decay. Our long-range aim must be the equalization and standardization of real estate values which, in turn, produce stability of assessed valuations based upon stability in neighborhood environment. The threat to stability of assessed valuations, reflected in steadily declining assessment rolls, is one of the principal reasons for our constantly recurring annual budget crises.

Some anxiety has been expressed lest the company make a profit out of this project. It is to be hoped that it does, and that its intelligence, courage, and enterprise will earn it a fair reward. It is also to be hoped that its success will encourage other insurance companies, and ultimately savings banks, to enter this field with their vast resources, making possible the conversion of whole areas into desirable neighborhood environments containing modern housing with adequate provision for recreation and other community facilities.

The city has much to gain by such private initiative. For one thing, it means placing a floor under the present tax income. During the period of so-called partial tax exemption the company is bound to pay the present income from the area plus the profits above operating expenses and debt service. Without such developments the tax income may be expected to decline steadily. It makes certain that the city, at least in twenty-five years and possibly much sooner, will get a tremendously increased tax income from the rebuilt areas. It provides a means of controlling the distribution of population within the city. It reduces the cost to the city of maintaining its public services. It provides an effective public control over the basic physical rebuilding of the city. It brings under control the slow but steady process of decentralization, which hitherto has been accelerated by lack of decent housing, particularly for the great middle class, an essential element of wholesome community life.

And by no means the least of the possibilities now before us is the unparalleled opportunity which such large projects present gradually to achieve some degree of architectural coherence in our cities.

This project, both because of its own interest and as a possible precursor of tremendous changes in the City of New York will be watched with profound interest throughout the nation.

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

A Long Range Approach to Public Safety Problems

Business man commissioner takes police and firemen into partnership as his advisors on policy, training, wage scales, disputes.

By B. H. FAULKNER
Director of Public Safety
Montclair, New Jersey

THERE are three vital factors which any director of public safety in New Jersey must face. First is tenure and the "vested interest" resulting therefrom; second is the deadly effect of never-ending routine on interest and morale; third is the blighting results of changing policies on departmental attitude and efficiencies.

There is no need here to argue the merits and demerits of tenure. The fact remains that any new director of a tenure-protected department must recognize the difficulties inherent in dealing with a ready-made staff, selected over a long period of years by many elected directors with no substantial changes permitted except as the march of time may require. Tenure-protected departments ARE—for better or worse.

Then there is the inevitable rut worn by daily routine. This is particularly true of the suburban fire department where days and even weeks may elapse before the bell calls for action. With four houses and two shifts, the average fireman in Montclair leaves his headquarters about three times a month. Ask any member of the armed forces what waiting does to morale. And even in police work the endless round of eight-hour "tricks" on constantly rotating shifts tends to rob a policeman's life of stimulus.

But this article deals primarily with the third factor—the blighting results arising from changing policies and viewpoints of elected officials. This problem is of course nothing new in municipal government. It has long been recognized as inherent in the democratic process. But the history of Montclair's Department of Public Safety over the past fifteen years offers an excellent illustration and a challenge.

Of the four directors from 1928 to 1943, one was an exceedingly conscientious West Pointer who brought to the department the military viewpoint. Another was a politician. The third was a brilliant lawyer whose field was in the realm of ideas rather than in management. My own background is that of business and business organization.

The inevitable result of such completely differing concepts of leadership was to create a defense mechanism in the department's staff. Never could there be any certainty among officers and men. Never could a man be sure that a course of action looking toward personal advancement or departmental progress would be effective under a different director.

To meet the problem the plan announced recently to the Police and Fire Departments establishes an Advisory Policy Staff for each department. These staffs consist of a public representative appointed by the Director, an officer of the department—initially the Chief—and a representative of the men below officer rank, elected by them for a six months' period. Serving with the men's representative but without vote is an elected alternate who will automatically become the regular representative at the end of six months, the men to elect a new alternate at that time.

Staffs Combined

The police and fire staffs are then combined under the Director's chairmanship into an overall staff of seven for consideration of policies relating to the entire Department of Public Safety.

Under New Jersey law final responsibility rests upon the Director and hence the separate and combined staffs can be only advisory in character. But if the plan proves workable and is acceptable to the public and to the uniformed forces I doubt that subsequent directors will abandon it or resist without good reason the staff's considered opinions.

It is contemplated that the Advisory Policy Staffs will consider such subjects as establishment of modern personnel practices, study of enabling ordinances and regulations, development of training programs, vacation and sick-leave allowances, wage schedules, departmental organization; hear with the Director all charges for delinquencies, and in general deal with those questions of policy which arise in protecting the lives and property of an American community.

The plan is not new to industry but I do not know of its being tried in the municipal field, at least in a uniformed department. It can reasonably be expected to improve morale, to make the men feel a greater sense of responsibility, to bring unity of purpose to heretofore jealously guarded areas of police and fire activities, to provide a safety valve for departmental "grousing," to encourage constructive suggestions from both officers and men, and to stimulate public interest in the processes of municipal government. Better than all these, the plan provides for a policy-making mechanism which can go down through the years as a stabilizing influence on department operations and as a check on whims of the then current director.

Men Interested in Plan

It has been interesting to note rank and file reaction to the plan. At first there was much suspicion of motives. Mechanics of the plan were questioned. Misunderstanding of objectives prevailed. No criticism is implied in listing these reactions. Any group of men would have experienced the same doubts when faced with a sudden turn-about in policy.

But when the time for balloting approached, and the need became apparent for selecting representatives to sit with officers and public in a common effort for better public service, the attitude quickly changed

(Continued on Page 352)

Big City Budget Methods

Principal weaknesses of many existing agencies are lack of adequate funds, absence of proper controls after budget adoption, and limited facilities and authority for general research.

By **NORMAN N. GILL**
Municipal Reference Librarian
City of Milwaukee

PROPER budget procedure demands that definite responsibility and adequate authority be placed on individuals and agencies for preparing, revising, adopting, and executing the budget. It is essential, if a coördinated and effective budget procedure is desired, that responsibility and authority for all the administrative phases of the budget procedure be centralized in some one official or agency.[1]

The administrative phases of the budget procedure are centralized, entirely or to some extent, in a number of large cities. The cities in which such centralization is formally established, by the creation of a position with the title of budget officer, budget commissioner, director of the budget, budget director, engineer-examiner, supervisor of budget statistics, budget clerk, budget and efficiency director, budget controller, etc., include New York, Detroit, Los Angeles, Baltimore, St. Louis, Boston, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Buffalo, Seattle, Louisville, Toledo, and Washington, D. C.

The Minneapolis Board of Estimate and Taxation has a statistical clerk and also a technical consultant, the latter having served as secretary of the board for many years prior to his recent retirement. Prior to 1938 the Seattle budget officer was called the auditor of appropriations. The Baltimore budget director had the title of budget clerk of the Board of Estimates until 1934, and the comparable official in Milwaukee carries the title of secretary.

In some of the cities which have not created a budget bureau or a position of budget officer, there is a high degree of centralization of the administrative phases of budget procedure under a department or director of finance, as in the council-manager cities of Cincinnati, Kansas City, Rochester (New York), and Toledo, and in the mayor-council cities of Cleveland, Portland (Oregon), and Louisville.

This article is based upon data gathered from a number of large cities regarding their budget staff agencies. The information was secured pursuant to a Common Council resolution, in connection with the work of a special committee on budget procedure, appointed to draft a new city budget law for Milwaukee. The committee included Acting Mayor John L. Bohn as chairman, City Comptroller William H. Wendt, city treasurer, city attorney, the five members of the Common Council Finance Committee, and representatives of the public school system, the vocational school, the Citizens Bureau, and the City Club, with the writer as secretary of the committee.

[1] Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Municipal Budget Procedure and Budgetary Accounting*, 1942, pp. 3-4.

Appointing Power

In Detroit, Baltimore, and St. Louis the budget director is appointed by the comptroller or controller, and in all three cities the position is under civil service. In St. Louis the appointment must be approved by the three-man Board of Estimate and Apportionment, of which the comptroller is a member. The Detroit budget director is a career official, and is this year vice-president of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association. The Baltimore budget director has been in the city service since 1915.

The secretary of the Milwaukee Board of Estimates, a civil service appointee of the comptroller, has held this position continuously since 1918 and also the position of deputy city comptroller since 1933. In San Francisco and St. Paul the comptroller is the superior officer of the employee engaged in budget work. In Cleveland, Rochester, and Louisville, the comptroller or finance director is the head of the Department of Finance, one of this department's divisions being in charge of the budget work. In Cincinnati, Kansas City, and Toledo, budget procedures are the responsibility of an assistant in the city manager's office.

The mayor is the superior officer of the budget director or similar official in New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Boston, and Buffalo. In Los Angeles the director of the Bureau of Budget and Efficiency is appointed by the mayor. In Buffalo the Budget Division is a part of the executive department. The Boston budget commissioner is appointed by the mayor for a four-year term. In Philadelphia the "budget-contract-ordinance clerk" is appointed by the mayor, and is provided for in the mayor's personal budget.

In Chicago the budget examiners, accountants, and engineers who constitute the staff of the City Council Finance Committee are under civil service. The Pittsburgh budget controller and the Seattle budget officer are each appointed by their respective city councils, are provided for in that body's budget, and serve as budget staff to the finance committee of the legislative bodies.

Legal Basis

In New York, Los Angeles, and Buffalo, the budget agencies are provided for in the city charter; in St. Louis, Boston, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Seattle, by city ordinance. The Detroit Budget Bureau, created in 1924 by a budget appropriation, derives its authority from the powers given to the controller in the city charter.

The St. Louis ordinance, adopted in 1933, provides that "the Board of Estimate and Apportionment shall establish rules and otherwise control a permanent bureau," which "shall be staffed with a budget director and other employees, in accordance with the annual budget appropriation." In actuality, however, the budget director is a subordinate officer in the comptroller's office, and carries the title of "first assistant [comptroller] and budget director."

The Baltimore ordinance, adopted in 1932 and amended in 1934, provides for the creation of a Bureau of Control and Accounts, whose head "shall be known as the budget director" and who "shall be assisted . . . by a cost accountant, a supervisor of controls, a general bookkeeper, and such other technical, clerical, and stenographic assistants as may be authorized by the Board of Estimates."

The 1925 Los Angeles city charter provides for the establishment of a Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, and makes it "the duty of the Mayor and Council to provide by ordinance for the necessary employees for the work of the bureau." In Pittsburgh the position of budget controller was created by ordinance some twelve years ago; in Seattle the position was set up in 1919.

Budgets and Salaries

The Detroit and the Los Angeles budget agency expenditures are $65,000 and $60,000 respectively, while the salaries of the Chicago City Council Finance Committee staff totalled over $57,000 in 1942. The Los Angeles city charter provides mandatory financial support for the budget bureau "by an annual sum of not less than ¼ cent on each $100 of the assessed value of all taxable property in the city." This provision, however, has never been invoked, and the annual bureau budget has been considerably in excess of the charter minimum provision.

The current year's appropriation for Buffalo's Budget Division is $18,100, for Boston's Budget Department $13,800, for Baltimore's Budget Office about $12,000, and for St. Louis' Budget Bureau about $10,000. The budget officer or comparable official receives over $6,000 in the cities of Baltimore ($7,000), Los Angeles, Detroit ($8,000), Chicago and New York ($12,000); $6,000 in Buffalo and Boston; $5,000 in Cleveland, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Louisville; and $3,900 to $4,800 in San Francisco, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, and Seattle. In Detroit, Los Angeles, and Buffalo there is also an assistant budget director at a salary of $6,540, $6,000, and $4,000 respectively.

Duties and Responsibilities

The St. Louis ordinance provides that "the budget director shall perform the work of preparing the budget; of investigating department methods, procedures and costs continuously; and of checking allotments and recommending quarterly adjustments to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment."

According to the Los Angeles city charter, the director of the Bureau of Budget and Efficiency "shall assist the Mayor and Council in the preparation of the annual budget . . . and throughout the year shall conduct studies and investigations that will assist in the preparation of the budget." The bureau director is given the power and the duty "to investigate the administration of the various departments of the city for the purpose of recommending to the Mayor and Council concerning the duties of the various positions, the methods, the standards of efficiency, and such changes as in his judgment will promote economy and efficiency in the conduct of the city government."

The Baltimore ordinance requires the budget director "to receive, tabulate, and review all budget requests submitted by department heads, commissions, etc., and submit to the Board of Estimates recommendations relative thereto, and compile all data necessary for the annual ordinance of estimates." In addition, the budget director "shall have general supervision and control of all the accounting and bookkeeping of all the officers, boards, departments, and commissions of the city government; shall install and maintain proper cost accounting records for every agency of the city government; shall maintain a complete physical and cost record of all city property."

The New York City charter makes it the duty of the budget director "to prepare each year an executive budget" and gives him power "to survey each agency for the purpose of ascertaining its budgetary requirements."

The Buffalo city charter makes it the duty of the budget director "to assist in the formulation of the budget and in assembling, correlating, and revising the estimates and requests for appropriations of the departments, boards, and agencies of the city."

The extent of the St. Paul comptroller's powers over the budget is indicated by the limitation upon the City Council's authority for revision to a total increase of 3 per cent and an item increase of 10 per cent.

In Pittsburgh the budget controller attends all meetings of the City Council Finance Committee and makes investigations and studies at the request of the committee. During budget time he attends all sessions and records all actions taken upon budgetary matters, and prepares the appropriation and salary bills for adoption by the City Council.

The Seattle budget officer, in addition to the regular budgeting and secretarial duties for the City Council Finance Committee, is required "to perform such other and further duties relating to the financial affairs of the city government as may be required from time to time by the city council."

In addition to the duties involved in budget preparation, the Detroit Budget Bureau and the budget commissioner of Boston have certain responsibilities with respect to classification and compensation of city personnel.

The Detroit Budget Bureau "is charged with making an annual survey of rates paid in private employment for the various skills and trades, and with recommending a comparable schedule for consideration and adoption by the common council. It also recommends for establishment the proper salary range for new or revised classifications authorized by the Civil Service Commission; and makes periodic [every three to five years] surveys and studies of rates paid outside of the city government for any necessary revision of the salary structure."

In addition the bureau must approve "as to current necessity, all requisitions, contracts, and commitments submitted by the departments for materials, supplies, equipment, and personnel, before their transmittal to the Purchasing or Civil Service Departments."

In 1931 the Boston budget commissioner was also designated personnel director, and his office "is empowered to pass upon all promotions, transfers, new appointments, and the compensation of personnel [of Suffolk County]."

In Cincinnati, Rochester, New York, St. Paul, Detroit, St. Louis, and Kansas City, the budget office is either charged with the legal responsibility for, or is in practice operating, an allotment system of departmental budgetary controls on a quarterly or monthly basis.

The Baltimore budget agency places special emphasis upon the preparation of current financial reports of actual departmental expenditures in comparison with the original budget appropriations.[2]

Recent Developments

In recent years there has been a slow but growing recognition among cities of the need for some permanent type of budget staff agency, with responsibility not only for the preparation of the departmental budget estimates but also for the exercise of supervision over the execution of the budget, the administration of quarterly allotment systems, the handling of fund transfers, the exercise of personnel classification and compensation controls and, in general, the development of year-round, full-time budgetary-research agencies serving the entire city government.

In the past decade the position of budget director or officer has been created in the cities of Baltimore, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Seattle. A similar development in practice has taken place in some of the council-manager and mayor-council cities with centralized departments of finance headed by a comptroller or a director of finance appointed by the chief executive. An employee is designated by the head of the finance department to work full time on budget matters, as is illustrated by the position title "supervisor of budget statistics" in the San Francisco city controller's office. Other cities are modernizing their budget procedures, the latest examples being the charter amendment adopted by the Kansas City electorate on November 3, 1942; the recent action of the City Council of Providence, Rhode Island, creating the office of budget director to be appointed by the mayor at a salary of $6,000; and the new city budget law for Milwaukee, adopted in May 1943.

The factors which determine the kind of staff agency for budget preparation to be found in a given city government include the form of local government and the size of the legislative body, the number of appointive and elective officials, the tenure and ability of the finance officers, the existence of a modern budget law and procedure, the legal financial powers and responsibilities of the chief executive and the finance officials, and the type of budget-making authority — whether executive, board, or legislative in character.[3]

It is important to note that

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[2] Herbert Fallin, "Financial Organization of the City of Baltimore," *Municipal Finance,* Nov. 1942, pp. 12-16.

[3] A. E. Buck, *Public Budgeting,* New York, Harper, 1929, pp. 287-89; 297-99; 441-44; and the references in G. W. Emsley, *The Rôle of Budgeting in Government,* The Tax Foundation, 1941.

progress in the development of staff agencies has taken place in cities with varying types of budget-making authority. It is also significant that the development of budget staff agencies has led to an increase in the powers and influence of the chief executive over budgetary procedures and policies, both in cities with an executive budget-making authority, and in those with some other type, but where the comptroller or the director of finance is an appointee of the mayor. Cities of the latter class are Cleveland, Detroit, Boston, and San Francisco. This trend is also evident even in some cities with the board of estimate type of budget-making authority. In Baltimore the mayor is a member of the three-man Board of Estimate; and the budget director, an appointee of the independently-elected comptroller, works closely with the chief executive. In Milwaukee the mayor is president of the Board of Estimates.

The three principal weaknesses of many existing budget staff agencies are the lack of adequate funds and staff, the absence of proper budgetary controls after the budget is adopted, and the limited facilities and authority for general administrative research. An outstanding exception is the Los Angeles Bureau of Budget and Efficiency. Citizen organizations for better government could be of assistance to public officials in obtaining additional staff and funds needed for the effective operation of a budget staff agency. Researchers and specialists in public budgeting have a fertile field for research in the development of budgetary controls that will really control.[4]

As the writer has stated elsewhere, "The coming years may witness a marked increase in the number of publicly-supported research agencies in our local governments. Most of them will probably be budget staffs. It is in the budgetary process that the need is most apparent for continuous studies of all departments in order to determine intelligently what the financial requirements will be; and there is a fairly easy transition from a technical budget staff to a budget-systems-research division. It is therefore likely that in most cities in which such divisions are established, they will develop either around the existing budget unit, or be made part of the new agency for budget preparation which may be created."[5]

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[4] In various cities the practices as to budgetary controls have not changed much since R. E. Taylor wrote his *Municipal Budget-Making* in 1925. A more recent picture is given by M. E. Lukens, "Organization for Financial Administration in Twenty-four Cities," Unpublished M.S. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1939.

[5] Norman N. Gill, *The Municipal Research Bureau Movement,* to be published by the American Council on Public Affairs, Fall 1943.

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

Treasury Committee Reports on Fiscal Relations

"Coordination and cooperation rather than subordination and coercion is the answer to intergovernmental fiscal problems in U. S."

THE United States Treasury's Committee on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations, composed of Luther Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration, Harold M. Groves, of the University of Wisconsin, and Mabel Newcomer, of Vassar College, recently has completed its report after two years' intensive study of problems that are fundamental to the future of our cities and states as well as the nation.

Volume I of the report, containing all the Committee's major conclusions and recommendations, has been made public but is not yet generally available. The full report of six volumes, including supporting data and special studies, will be published by the Treasury later this year.

Because of the importance of the study to local and state governments the REVIEW reprints below excerpts from Parts I and II of Volume I. These indicate the Committee's general viewpoint and its proposal for a Federal-State Fiscal Authority. Excerpts from succeeding sections will be published in future issues.

The report covers problems in federal-state-local fiscal relations, examines the need for independent sources of local revenue, reallocation of functions among layers of government, the need for federal participation in financing public education, removal of trade barriers and coördination of other interstate relations, cost of tax administration and taxpayers' compliance. It considers in detail the coordination of federal and state taxes in the fields of income, death, tobacco, liquor, automotive, sales, business, stock-transfer, and payroll taxation. The general property tax is critically examined. Federal payments in lieu of taxes, state and local taxation of government contracts, and tax-exempt securities also are dealt with. Specific recommendations for action by federal, state, and local governments are made in these and other fields.

This digest is, of course, unofficial.

EDITOR

I. EMPHASIS AND APPROACH

1. *Emphasis Upon Coöperation*

Coördination and coöperation rather than subordination and coercion is the answer to intergovernmental fiscal problems in the United States.

Our federal system with its present division of power and responsibility is supported not only by traditional and legal precedent but also by widespread recognition of the very real values of decentralized government.

The federal government has a vital interest in maintaining and strengthening both state and local governments. Much valuable energy has been wasted unnecessarily in quarreling over the proper spheres of the federal government and the states when the seeds of solid achievement lie in the scantily tilled field of intergovernmental coöperation and coördination. Progress in this field requires some willingness to compromise, to surrender vested interests, and to forget jealousies on the part of both the federal government and the states.

A change in *attitude* of revolutionary proportions seems to be needed. The American governmental system has not been viewed as a unit by most public officials, with loyalties evoked and encouraged for the entire system. If the mayor of a municipality believes that a change in the federal income tax would embarrass his own government, he is likely to feel no great concern as to whether the change is needed to strengthen and equalize the federal system of personal taxation. Federal administrators show equally unfortunate blind spots.

Fiscal independence is a large sector of general independence, and the latter a large part of local self-government which, in turn, has important democratic values. It has been suggested that another major war might put an end to federal systems everywhere. Whether or not this be true, it appears that a large degree of state and local fiscal independence does carry values of a high order, and that they should not be sacrificed until the necessity is clearly demonstrated. It is not believed that such is yet the case.

2. *The Pragmatic Approach*

An analysis of the history of the fiscal coördination movement in the United States, and of the experience in other countries, suggests that a pragmatic approach to the problems of intergovernmental fiscal relations is likely to be the most fruitful. The pragmatic approach does not exclude the necessity of some analysis of "long-run" principles and interests. However, hopes for *a* solution of the fiscal coördination problem, or for *a* comprehensive single plan for immediate adoption, are doomed to disappointment. Some scholars have rejected the idea of "nibbling" at the problem, bit by bit, as entirely inadequate, but it is this unspectacular method that promises most in the way of progress in what must be a coöperative venture. Indeed, the preoccupation of the critics with grandiose plans for fiscal coördination may account for the rather low score of achievement to date.

3. *The Coördination Movement*

The history of the fiscal coördination movement is characterized by much frustration, wishful thinking, and rationalization, but the efforts expended have brought to public attention a set of problems that are real and urgent. It has called attention to real and urgent problems growing not only out of the overlapping tax system, but also out of the increasing national economic integration and interdependence. The development of huge corporations, only a little if at all less powerful than the states which charter them, and the growth of interstate trade, travel, communication, and migration, have intensified problems of multiple taxation, allocation, interstate competition, and costs of administration and compliance. Tendencies toward instability and insecurity, coupled with increasing economic capacity, have developed an interest in overall fiscal planning. These are only a few of the many reasons for concern about a revenue system that has developed piecemeal and is largely uncoördinated.

In the course of the history of the coördination movement most of the principal devices for coördination have been recommended for adoption or extension. These include separation of sources, joint administration, state supplements to federal taxes, credits, sharing of revenues, federal and state grants-in-aid, and reallocation of functions. All these devices have been tried either in this country or abroad. Experience suggests that no one of them will achieve desirable results under all conditions. The means must be adapted to the nature of the problem.

4. *General Position of This Report*

This report seeks a middle ground in the coördination problem. On the one extreme are the strong centralizers who feel that state and local fiscal independence has served its usefulness and is no longer compatible with modern economic facts. At the other extreme are those who are satisfied with what we have and who argue that the frictions and waste of uncoördinated taxation are the necessary price which we wisely pay for our federal system with its large measure of local freedom. Both these groups are more realistic than the hybrid school which hopes for a completely coördinated fiscal system with no shift in the division of governmental powers.

But we think that there is another and sounder middle ground, which accepts the framework of the American governmental system and seeks no large shift in the division of power. This view starts with the observation that federal-state relations have been marked with coolness, distance, suspicion, and jealousy. Governmental problems in our modern era have become so large and vital, and participation in a united attack upon them is so essential, that a new attitude, facilitated by new institutions, should be the minimum acceptable program of fiscal modification. While much weight needs to be given to the values associated with autonomous local government, these have to be balanced against the advantages, such as reduced confusion and wider perspective, which attend central control. *A priori* generalizations concerning centralization are of little use. Each specific problem has to be considered on its own merits. In some cases federalization of a function may, by a balance of the interests, be warranted; in others retention of the function by states and municipalities may be called for; and most often joint participation, in one way or another, may be the best solution. Decentralization within the sphere of federal activities may also have a place in the picture. The presumption should probably favor decentralized control but it is by no means a final or conclusive presumption.

This approach to the problem calls for a high degree of genuine mutuality. State suspicion that intergovernmental coöperation will be mostly federal domination must be dispelled. A program of full and genuine mutuality is entirely possible.

The middle way which we have sought to follow has some claim to acceptance as the American way. American belief in the dispersion of initiative and in safety of numbers is very deep. The pragmatic approach, adapting machinery to the necessities of time and place, is also American in tone. Finally, the views here taken—that private enterprise should be encouraged, not hampered, in carrying as large a share of the future economic load as its performance will justify; that government, nevertheless, must be relied upon to insure an end-product in security and well-being compatible with a developing social conscience—these, too, are a part of the American tradition.

II. Plan for a Federal-State Fiscal Authority

It is recommended that a Federal-State Fiscal Authority be created. This is in line with the general approach here taken, namely, that the problem is not likely to be settled all at once, but that constant study of and readjustment in intergovernmental arrangements will be necessary; also, that the keynote in intergovernmental relations should be coöperation rather than subordination.

A Federal-State Fiscal Authority could be expected to perform the following functions:

(1) Promote close collaboration among state and federal administrators with the objective of joint administration of selected overlapping taxes. Administrators have made some progress toward coördinated tax administration, notably in making federal income tax information available to the states. Also in the liquor tax field, collaboration of state and federal officials is highly developed and has proved mutually satisfactory. However, efforts to devise and inaugurate a joint return for federal and state income tax reporting have proved abortive. Recent experience with the federal automobile use tax warrants the conclusion that effective federal-state coöperation in administration cannot be improvised, but requires extensive negotiation and preparation. A Federal-State Fiscal Authority would be admirably suited for this role.

The administrative approach to the problem of coördination is likely to prove the most fruitful one in the case of net income taxes, business taxes, sales taxes (if the federal government enters this field), and possibly death taxes. Joint returns, joint audits, and joint use of administrative personnel offer possibilities for future development.

Much could be said for an authority which would administer overlapping taxes directly. The experience of Australia, which has made greatest progress in the administrative approach to the coördination problem, points toward a joint administrative agency. But Australia's problem is simpler than that of the United States. The Commonwealth has only six states and their revenue systems are more important relatively than those of our forty-eight states. (The latter factor creates a more even balance of power than that which exists in the United States.) Eventually a Federal-State Fiscal Authority of the type here recommended might be given power to administer some taxes in its own right. But at the outset its role had best be confined to that of meditation between federal and state officials. It should be observed, however, that joint administration is not federal administration; a large factor of mutuality is implied.

(2) Facilitate interstate coöperation. For example, working with existing agencies, the authority could promote reciprocity legislation, as in the licensing of out-of-state trucks.

Interstate coöperation, to function most efficiently, needs a "friend at court" within the federal government. And it needs an easy vehicle of transition from the field of interstate to that of federal-state coöperation. A federal-state agency should supply the factors needed to lift interstate coöperation to a much more active and more useful plane.

(3) Act as a clearing house for proposals relating to federal payments in lieu of property taxes on federally-owned property. In the past, legislation in this field has followed no consistent principles, and an unduly complicated pattern of procedure has developed. The authority might also serve as a "board of appeals" to hear complaints regarding federal payments in lieu of taxes, and the use of taxation or other instrumentalities as trade barriers.

(4) Conduct research. Evidence of high costs of excessive tax machinery, both to governments and to taxpayers, is sufficient to warrant much more intensive study than the subject has thus far received. It is surprising that almost no evidence is available concerning the compliance costs of our social security system with its substantial reporting requirements. Similarly, only scattered and inconclusive evidence is available concerning the effects on firms engaged in interstate business of diverse apportionment formulae applied under income and business taxes. Little convincing evidence is available concerning differential tax burdens as a factor in industrial location and relocation.

(5) Create public interest in intergovernmental relations. Public apathy does not signify that the problem is unimportant. That the public—excepting certain classes of taxpayers seriously inconvenienced by duplication—has never been much interested in the "frictional expense" involved in taxation (cost of administration and compliance) is evident enough from the paucity of data concerning these costs. Public concern in these matters, however, can and should be developed.

(6) Disseminate among the states information on federal taxes and economic trends as they affect the states.

(7) Promote better governmental reporting, accounting, and statistics.

As to organization, it is suggested that the personnel of the authority consist of one member appointed by the President, one selected by a conference of delegates named by state governors, and one named by these two, all to be suitably qualified in the field of intergovernmental fiscal relations. Terms might be staggered, and of four years duration; offices should be located in Washington.

This commission of experts should be assisted by a representative council. Intergovernmental coöperation is not likely to develop very far except through the process of a meeting of a large number of minds. Representation and conference are the essence of this procedure and, either by legislation or working rule, a federal-state agency program should include an advisory and supervisory council. The council would provide a means of getting a consensus. It should afford direct representation of Congressional committees and recognized organizations of state and local and federal agencies. Further representation for municipalities might also be secured by a provision requiring that one of the three experts be especially informed on municipal affairs.

It is proposed that $150,000 to $200,000 be authorized as the initial budget of the authority and that half this fund be appropriated by the federal government without any contingent—matching—provision, the other half to be raised from state legislatures through the governors and their delegates. It is recognized that the process of raising financial support in the states will involve delay and uncertainty. The federal share should be sufficient to enable the authority to make a showing.

The plan of organization here proposed contemplates that as soon as the authority has been authorized by Congress and the federal appointee has been named by the President, the latter should call upon the governors to name delegates to attend a conference. At this conference the states' representative should be chosen and a plan of state financing adopted. A fair method of distributing the states' share of the authority's cost would be in proportion to the amounts of state and local taxes raised. This outline of procedure is suggestive only. An alternative method would be to provide for the selection of the states' representative by the governors, the choice of a method of selecting being left to the governors and the selectee to become official as soon as the President has satisfied himself that the selectee truly represents the wishes of the governors.

The impression should not be conveyed that the development of administrative collaboration is impossible without a federal-state agency. Much coöperation could be achieved without any institutional changes. New interest and a new coöperative attitude would be sufficient. But a federal-state agency should help to develop this new outlook, and the latter might not be forthcoming without some new factor of the kind suggested.

The idea of a Federal-State Fiscal Authority is not new or original. It has been endorsed by a large number of organizations and individuals, and as an antidote to interstate trade barriers has received strong support from high ranking federal officials. In our opinion it would go far toward assuring that continual progress in this field of intergovernmental fiscal relationships which is becoming more and more necessary.

Bonded Debt of 290 U. S. Cities as at January 1, 1943

Municipalities report greatest debt reduction in their history; new figures show 3 per cent decline in gross bonded debt over last year.

By **ROSINA MOHAUPT**
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AFTER six years of continuously declining debt, American cities over 30,000 population report the greatest annual decrease in their history. The estimated gross bonded debt of the 343 cities over 30,000 as of January 1, 1943, was $8,492,000,000. This represents a decrease of 3 per cent below last year, or from $171 to $166.75 per capita, roughly one-fifth of the federal per capita debt of $814.50.

Eliminating New York City because of its disproportionate size, the remaining 279 cities studied in 1942 and 1943 report a reduction in gross debt of $216,100,000, or 4 per cent in the last year. This is a reduction of $5.47 per capita and is the largest decrease in debt reported since 1923. Net debt, excluding utilities, dropped $159,500,000 in the last year, which is $4.04 per capita or 4.7 per cent.

Indications of this tendency were first noticed in the early thirties, but actual reductions in the total outstanding debt were not reported until 1935. Slight reversals in the trend were observed in the next two years, but since 1937 there has been a marked decline in debt at a rate which has been definitely accelerating.

This trend derives in large measure from the part taken by the federal government in the financing of local capital improvements during the depression and the present inability of local government to undertake improvements because of war restrictions. The policy adopted for the financing of postwar programs will do much to accelerate or counteract this trend.

Over the five-year period, 1938 to 1943, the gross debt of the 240 cities reporting increased by one-half of one per cent due to the extreme influence of New York City. When this undue influence is eliminated the gross debt dropped 10 per cent over this period. The net debt, excluding utilities, decreased by 13.3 per cent over the five-year period.

The four cities over one million population, except New York City, have shown the greatest reduction in debt over the last five years, but apparently are having difficulty in maintaining this enviable record. They were able to reduce their net debt only 2.8 per cent in the past year in comparison with the 4.7 per cent average reduction for all cities. The per capita net debt of these cities dropped $2.84, from $101.56 in 1942 to $98.72 in 1943.

The nine cities between 500,000 and 1,000,000 population show substantial reductions in debt again this year, the percentage decrease for this year and last year remaining constant at 5.5 per cent. Their reduction in debt over the past five years was 16.6 per cent, second only to that of cities over 1,000,000.

Medium-sized cities, between 250-000 and 500,000 (Group III) again report a decrease in debt this year approximately equivalent to the average decrease for all cities—4.8 per cent. This group reported the smallest five-year decrease—only half of the 13 per cent average decrease for all cities.

The smaller cities, between 30,000 and 250,000, show much improvement over last year in their debt reduction record. These cities which fall into population groups IV, V, and VI show reductions in net debt of 5.8 per cent, 4.6 per cent, and 6.4 per cent, respectively, equal to or greater than the average for all cities of 4.7 per cent. Last year these cities were considerably below the general average in their debt decrease. They have roughly maintained an average debt reduction program over the five-year period.

Methods of Tabulation

1. *Population Groups*

In the tabulations following this article cities are classified into population groups to conform with the breakdown used by the Division of Population of the Bureau of the Census with the exception of group VI cities. The Bureau of the Census defines group VI cities as those between 25,000 and 50,000 population. In this tabulation, cities below 30,000 are not studied. Group I includes cities over 1,000,000; group II, cities between 500,000 and 1,000,000; group III, cities between 250,000 and 500,000; group IV, cities between 100,000 and 250,000; group V, cities between 50,000 and 100,000; group VI as defined above.

2. *Debt of Ad Hoc Units*

The debt tabulated represents bonds issued in the name of the municipality except as indicated in footnotes. Where *ad hoc* units of government, such as school districts, park districts, sanitation districts, etc., administer functions ordinarily performed by the city, the city's pro rata share of the debt of such districts is included with city debt as explained by the footnotes. The city's pro rata share is computed on the basis of the relative proportions of the assessed valuation of the district lying within and outside of the city limits.

3. *Overlapping Debt*

Overlapping debt is not compiled in this tabulation except as indicated in the footnotes. In a few instances, notably in the larger cities, a combined city-county government makes it impossible to accurately report city debt. In such cases, no attempt is made to estimate the city and county portions of the debt. The total debt is reported and the situation is explained in the footnote.

4. *Special Assessment Debt*

Special assessment debt, except in a very few instances indicated in the footnotes, has not been included in the total or per capita debt figures. The last two columns of the tabulation show the amount of such debt and indicate what portion of it is backed by the full faith and credit of the city.

5. *Per Capita Net Debt*

The per capita debt is net debt excluding *all* utilities and is computed on the basis of the 1940 census. Before

TABLE I
ANNUAL DEBT REDUCTION IN AMERICAN CITIES
(EXCLUDING NEW YORK CITY)

Period	Decrease in Gross Debt Per Capita	Decrease in Gross Debt Percentage	Decrease in Net Debt Less Utilities Per Capita	Decrease in Net Debt Less Utilities Percentage
1942-43	$5.47	4.0%	$4.04	4.7%
1941-42	3.63	2.6	3.72	4.1
1940-41	3.78	2.6	3.05	3.3
1939-40	1.01	.7	2.00	2.0
1938-39	1.43	.9	1.35	1.4
1937-38	1.59	1.0	1.84	1.7
1936-37	+ .40	+ .2	1.27	1.2

TABLE II
TOTAL GROSS AND NET BONDED DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1942-43
280 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES (IN MILLION DOLLARS)

Population Group[a]	No. of Cities	Gross Bonded Debt 1943	Gross Bonded Debt 1942	Net Bonded Debt less Utilities 1943	Net Bonded Debt less Utilities 1942
I	5	$4,471	$4,544	$1,711	$1,751
I[b]	4	1,483	1,544	835	859
II[c]	8	872	897	498	527
III	23	1,126	1,174	723	759
IV	52	837	873	550	584
V	83	568	595	417	437
VI[d]	109	324	344	232	248
Total	280	8,198	8,427	4,132	4,307
Total[b]	279	5,210	5,426	3,255	3,415

TABLE III
PER CAPITA DECREASE IN GROSS AND NET DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1942-43
280 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group[a]	1940-Population (000 omitted)	Gross Bonded Debt 1943	Gross Bonded Debt 1942	Gross Bonded Debt Decrease	Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities 1943	Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities 1942	Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities Decrease
I	15,911	$281.00	$285.60	$4.60	$107.57	$110.04	$2.47
I[b]	8,456	175.37	182.55	7.18	98.72	101.56	2.84
II[c]	5,794	150.45	154.82	4.37	85.91	91.00	5.09
III	7,828	143.88	149.96	6.08	92.40	97.02	4.62
IV	7,444	112.47	117.31	4.84	73.93	78.45	4.52
V	5,741	98.90	103.55	4.65	72.69	76.20	3.51
VI[d]	4,226	76.70	81.35	4.65	54.89	58.65	3.76
Total	46,943	174.64	179.51	4.87	88.02	91.75	3.73
Total[b]	39,488	131.94	137.41	5.47	82.44	86.48	4.04

[a] For upper and lower limits of population groups, see discussion.
[b] Excluding New York City.
[c] Does not include Washington, D. C., which has no debt.
[d] Cities between 25,000 and 30,000 not included in this study. See discussion.

TABLE IV
Percentage Decrease in Debt Over One-Year and Five-Year Periods

	1942-43 Decrease			*1938-43 Decrease*		
Population Group[a]	*No. of Cities*	*Gross Debt*	*Net Debt Less Utilities*	*No. of Cities*	*Gross Debt*	*Net Debt Less Utilities*
I	5	1.6%	2.2%	5	+ 9.7%	6.9%
I[b]	4	3.9	2.8	4	12.4	17.7
II[c]	8	2.8	5.6	8	12.3	16.6
III	23	4.1	4.8	23	5.7	6.2
IV	52	4.1	5.8	51	7.5	12.4
V	83	4.5	4.6	72	10.7	11.0
VI[d]	109	5.7	6.4	81	13.6	15.4
Total	280	2.7	4.1	240	+ .5	9.6
Total[b]	279	4.0	4.7	239	10.1	13.3

TABLE V
Total Gross and Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities 1938-43
240 Comparable American Cities (in Million Dollars)

		Gross Bonded Debt		*Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities*	
Population Group[a]	*No. of Cities*	*1943*	*1938*	*1943*	*1938*
I	5	$4,471	$4,074	$1,711	$1,837
I[b]	4	1,483	1,694	835	1,015
II[c]	8	872	993	498	597
III	23	1,126	1,194	723	771
IV	51	823	890	540	617
V	72	505	566	375	421
VI[d]	81	239	277	174	205
Total	240	8,036	7,993	4,021	4,449
Total[b]	239	5,047	5,613	3,145	3,626

TABLE VI
Per Capita Decrease in Gross and Net Debt Less Utilities 1938-43
240 Comparable American Cities

		Gross Bonded Debt			*Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities*		
Population Group[a]	*1940 Population (000 omitted)*	*1943*	*1938*	*Decrease*	*1943*	*1938*	*Decrease*
I	15,911	$281.00	$256.05	+$24.95	$107.57	$115.49	$ 7.92
I[b]	8,456	175.37	200.28	24.91	98.72	120.00	21.28
II[c]	5,794	150.45	171.46	21.01	85.91	103.06	17.15
III	7,828	143.88	152.56	8.68	92.40	98.47	6.07
IV	7,336	112.15	121.26	9.11	73.68	84.12	10.44
V	5,045	100.10	112.09	11.99	74.26	83.47	9.21
VI[d]	3,283	72.77	84.24	11.47	52.88	62.50	9.62
Total	45,196	177.79	176.85	+ .94	88.97	98.43	9.46
Total[b]	37,741	133.74	148.72	14.98	83.32	96.07	12.75

[a] For upper and lower limits of population groups, see discussion.
[b] Excluding New York City.
[c] Does not include Washington, D. C., which has no debt.
[d] Cities between 25,000 and 30,000 not included in this study. See discussion.

1939 the per capita debt excluding *self-supporting* utilities was reported, but the determination of whether a utility was self-supporting or not was complicated by so many varying factors in different cities and from year to year that it was decided to deduct all utilities. Adjustments have been made for this in the five-year comparisons shown in this discussion.

6. *Public Utilities*

For the purposes of this study a utility has been defined as a commercial enterprise operated by a unit of government, performing a service entirely outside the scope of purely governmental functions, serving the city as a whole rather than any small group, and earning a portion or all of its overhead, operating, and debt charges from revenues based on a rate structure. Water, light and power, gas, street railway, rapid transit, port and harbor facilities, docks, sewage disposal plants, and housing fall within the scope of this definition. Public service enterprises such as golf courses, swimming pools, stadiums, convention halls, and airports are not included as public utilities. While such enterprises are often entirely or partially self-supporting, debt incurred to finance them is included with general public improvement debt.[1]

7. *Method of Compilation*

Data for this compilation were gathered from questionnaires mailed to public officials, research bureaus, chambers of commerce, and other civic organizations in the 343 cities over 30,000 population. The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research wishes to acknowledge the coöperation of these agencies in making possible this compilation.

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Miss Arla Weinert in gathering and summarizing the figures reported herein.

(See following pages for complete tabulations.)

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[1] For a more detailed discussion of public utility debt see "The Bonded Debt of 289 Cities as at January 1, 1939," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1939.

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

BONDED DEBT OF UNITED STATES CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1943

From Data Furnished by Members of the Governmental Research Association, City Officials, and Chambers of Commerce

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
	Group I															
	Population 1,000,000 or over		$	$	$	$	$				$	$	$	$		
1	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,454,995	754,414,820	335,362,199	1,898,275,213	2,988,052,232	556,541,352	—	—	62	2,431,510,880	876,758,385	117.61	169,583,000	100	1
2	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,396,808	238,906,839	35,474,000	1,780,000	276,160,839	31,109,807	65	35	N	244,951,032	243,171,032	71.59	14,968,471	0	2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,931,334	296,206,335	64,170,000	190,784,265	551,160,600	161,296,974	47	16	37*	389,863,626	258,079,361	133.63	N	N	3
4	Detroit, Mich.[4]	1,623,452	190,311,000	64,923,000	91,788,739	347,022,739	30,235,948	18	11	71	316,786,791	246,308,809	151.72	335,000	100	4
5	Los Angeles, Calif.[5]	1,504,277	42,186,965	44,982,225	221,351,348	308,520,538	825,000	N	N	100	307,695,538	87,169,190	57.95	5,160,850	0	5
	Group II															
	Population 500,000 to 1,000,000															
6	Cleveland, Ohio[6]	878,336	87,886,282	6,152,000	38,282,500	132,320,782	10,787,586	71	N	29	121,533,196	86,423,819	98.39	741,872	100	6
7	Baltimore, Md.	859,100	100,394,976	15,272,000	50,332,524	165,999,500	33,095,468	78	4	18	132,904,032	88,653,619	103.19	N	N	7
8	St. Louis, Mo.[7]	816,048	54,762,000	1,625,000	3,948,000	60,335,000	4,097,289	82	8	10	56,237,711	52,707,234	64.59	N	N	8
9	Boston, Mass.[8]	770,816	60,501,750	6,687,000	112,534,300	179,723,050	24,297,141	16	13	71	155,425,909	60,047,547	77.90	—	—	9
10	Pittsburgh, Pa.	671,659	52,926,700	19,331,898	3,422,500	75,681,098	6,238,974	74	21	5	69,442,124	66,326,584	98.75	N	N	10
11	Washington, D. C.	663,091	No Bonded Debt													11
12	San Francisco, Calif.[9]	634,536	27,257,500	9,492,000	92,328,300	129,077,800	N	N	N	N	129,077,800	36,749,500	57.92	700,000	0	12
13	Milwaukee, Wis.[10]	587,472	25,237,289	2,988,500	2,210,000	30,435,789	4,613,900	70	30	0	25,821,889	23,614,889	40.19	N	N	13
14	Buffalo, N. Y.[11]	575,901	74,586,883	8,705,250	14,799,000	98,091,133	4,546,462	1	N	99	93,544,671	83,228,509	144.52	675,000	100	14
	Group III															
	Population 250,000 to 500,000															
15	New Orleans, La.[12]	494,537	62,705,000	6,688,000	7,434,653	76,827,653	2,080,803	82	18	N	74,746,850	67,312,197	136.11	1,848,020	100	15

*=Estimated.
N=None.
—=Figures or breakdown not available.

Cities are arranged in groups according to population in the 1940 census. The groups are identical with those of the Bureau of the Census except that in this tabulation group VI takes in cities only from 30,000 to 50,000.

[1] **New York City.** General debt includes $156,215,000 assessment and $13,368,000 special assessment debt. Only $987,495,710 of utility debt is self-supporting. School sinking fund in general city.

[2] **Chicago.** General debt includes $43,971,700 park and $55,438,945 sanitary district debt (city's pro-rata share). County debt of $25,962,410 and forest preserve district debt of $11,181,750 (80.89% of total debt of these units) not included.

[3] **Philadelphia.** Self-supporting utilities estimated at $82,000,000.

[4] **Detroit.** Utility debt includes $4,258,000 sewage disposal bonds not faith and credit of the city. Housing Commission bond anticipation notes of $20,200,000, street railway equipment trust notes of $1,201,000, and street railway revenue notes of $1,847,000 not included.

[5] **Los Angeles.** General debt includes $13,302,865 flood control and utility debt includes $126,897,348 metropolitan water district debt (city's pro-rata share). Harbor debt ($14,125,000) is only 50% self-supporting.

[6] **Cleveland.** Utility debt includes $2,440,000 light debt serviced by taxation. Special assessment debt of $741,872 and library debt of $420,000 included in general city debt.

[7] **St. Louis.** Includes all local overlapping debt (certain county functions are performed by the city). Relief bonds of $1,883,000 are serviced by municipal bridge tolls but are also general obligations.

[8] **Boston.** Utility debt includes city's share (60%) of Boston Metropolitan District debt which is a general obligation of the district but is serviced from revenues.

[9] **San Francisco.** Does not include $29,580,000 (city's share) of Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District debt. Utility debt includes $14,271,000 water debt which is not self-supporting.

[10] **Milwaukee.** General debt includes city's share of county debt for relief ($6,311,182) and metropolitan sewage district debt ($8,673,607).

[11] **Buffalo.** Debt as of June 30, 1942.

[12] **New Orleans.** General debt includes $23,159,000 Orleans Levee District debt. Port bonds of $32,547,000 not included.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
16	Minneapolis, Minn.[13]	492,370	48,084,898	14,508,117	10,940,000	73,533,015	1,470,163	55	25	20	72,062,852	61,425,072	124.75	2,487,444	100	16
17	Cincinnati, Ohio[14]	455,610	39,672,571	9,796,500	29,292,939	78,762,010	23,837,895	38	12	50	54,924,115	37,461,008	82.22	1,069,258	100	17
18	Newark, N. J.[15]	429,760	66,696,051	16,157,200	18,716,000	101,569,251	20,259,374	51	34	15	81,309,877	65,664,091	152.79	N	N	18
19	Kansas City, Mo.	399,178	30,829,000	18,700,000	14,767,000	64,296,000	7,284,052	N	100	N	57,011,948	42,244,948	105.83	N	N	19
20	Indianapolis, Ind.[16]	386,972	16,109,023	7,182,000	13,406,000	36,697,023	1,228,883	74	12	14	35,468,140	22,232,473	57.45	1,237,880	100	20
21	Houston, Tex.[17]	384,514	25,145,250	8,351,250	2,993,500	36,490,000	4,582,795	70	18	12	31,907,205	29,448,206	76.58	N	N	21
22	Seattle, Wash.	368,302	13,760,000	5,745,000	50,553,000	70,058,000	2,737,670	12	N	88	66,320,330	19,162,027	52.03	11,912,595	0	22
23	Rochester, N. Y.	324,975	37,719,000	11,866,000	4,428,000	54,013,000	4,923,540	39	17	44	49,089,460	46,815,808	144.06	6,074,000	100	23
24	Denver, Colo.[18]	322,412	15,209,160	4,754,500	24,263,600	44,227,260	1,834,887	14	N	86	42,392,373	19,705,507	61.12	2,764,200	10	24
25	Louisville, Ky.[19]	319,077	30,321,400	10,966,400	1,000,000	42,287,800	10,833,471	92	—	8	31,454,329	31,354,596	98.27	N	N	25
26	Columbus, Ohio[20]	306,087	20,990,456	4,853,834	3,286,000	29,130,290	4,158,348	33	45	22	24,971,942	22,619,989	73.90	1,910,006	100	26
27	Portland, Ore.[21]	305,394	14,753,560	3,076,180	12,496,000	30,325,740	6,029,286	73	N	27	24,296,454	13,449,767	44.04	2,271,781	100	27
28	Atlanta, Ga.	302,288	5,891,000	3,163,000	1,662,000	10,716,000	1,154,327	65	25	10	9,561,673	8,019,603	26.53	494,000	100	28
29	Oakland, Calif.[22]	302,163	7,285,753	7,600,000	28,778,750	43,664,503	N	N	N	N	43,664,503	14,885,753	49.26	274,698	100	29
30	Jersey City, N. J.[23]	301,173	38,650,000	10,027,000	12,662,255	61,339,255	7,668,579	27	19	54	53,670,676	45,140,499	149.88	N	N	30
31	Dallas, Tex.	294,734	18,944,500	6,869,750	9,526,000	35,340,250	3,267,020	54	12	34	32,073,230	23,627,532	80.16	N	N	31
32	Memphis, Tenn.[24]	292,942	14,093,000	5,017,000	21,464,000	40,574,000	3,966,587	60	14	26	36,607,413	16,130,103	55.06	16,000	100	32
33	St. Paul, Minn.[19]	287,736	18,051,000	8,992,000	6,119,000	33,162,000	7,230,596	—	—	23	25,931,404	21,520,491	74.79	6,000,000	100	33
34	Toledo, Ohio[25]	282,349	22,211,885	11,084,000	4,099,000	37,394,885	1,390,728	4	82	14	36,004,157	32,100.977	113.69	563,740	100	34
35	Birmingham, Ala.	267,583	11,975,000	9,170,000	4,250,000	25,395,000	3,292,661	100	N	N	22,102,339	17,852,339	66.72	—	100	35
36	San Antonio, Tex.[26]	253,854	12,939,500	5,752,000	5,616,000	24,307,500	1,055,891	22	19	59	23,251,609	18,265,432	71.95	138,500	100	36
37	Providence, R. I.[27]	253,504	44,085,228	14,262,000	17,795,708	76,142,936	18,000,025	45	19	36	58,142,911	46,814,089	184.67	N	N	37
	Group IV **Population 100,000 to 250,000**															
38	Akron, Ohio	244,791	20,894,020	3,384,423	6,119,000	30,397,443	441,711	58	24	18	29,955,732	23,913,417	97.69	696,500	100	38
39	Omaha, Neb.	223,844	5,866,320	7,819,750	1,140,000	14,826,070	5,055,780	15	63	22	9,770,290	9,770,290	43.65	2,358,180	100	39
40	Dayton, Ohio	210,718	6,580,580	3,704,593	2,581,000	12,866,173	1,365,092	72	N	28	11,501,081	9,304,219	44.15	432,138	100	40

[13] **Minneapolis.** General debt includes market bonds which are almost self-supporting. Utility debt includes $5,955,000 sewage disposal bonds.

[14] **Cincinnati.** General debt includes $374,000 airport bonds not self-supporting. Utility debt includes $4,540,000 rapid transit railway bonds not self-supporting. Annual rental of Cincinnati Southern Railway is enough in excess of retirement requirements to service $14,750,000 25-year, 3% bonds.

[15] **Newark.** General debt includes refunded subway, airport, port and dock bonds, but not $780,000 of bond anticipation notes or $1,400,000 due the federal government for airport improvements (not in form of bonds).

[16] **Indianapolis.** General debt includes city's share of debt of five poor relief districts in city.

[17] **Houston.** General city debt includes $645,000 convention hall.

[18] **Denver.** General city debt includes $8,168,160 Moffat Tunnel District bonds (city's share) financed through taxation and $284,000 airport bonds. Debt as of December 31.

[19] **Louisville, et al.** School sinking fund included in general city sinking fund.

[20] **Columbus.** General debt includes $1,910,006 special assessment debt.

[21] **Portland.** General debt includes $76,000 golf bonds which are self-supporting, and city's share of Port of Portland (91%).

[22] **Oakland.** General debt includes harbor debt which is tax-supported. Utility debt is city's share of East Bay Municipal District debt.

[23] **Jersey City.** Debt as of February 28, 1943.

[24] **Memphis.** Debt as of February 2, 1943.

[25] **Toledo.** School debt includes $1,050,000 library bonds.

[26] **San Antonio.** Debt as of March 1, 1943.

[27] **Providence.** General debt includes $5,355,228 and utility debt includes $795,708 long term notes.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
41	Syracuse, N. Y.	205,967	20,599,275	3,516,155	4,329,375	28,444,805	N	N	N	N	28,444,805	24,115,430	117.08	12,000	100	41
42	Oklahoma City, Okla.	204,424	6,776,300	4,028,023	8,662,600	19,466,923	3,884,035	31	32	37	15,582,888	8,354,188	40.87	2,027,289	0	42
43	San Diego, Calif.[28]	203,341	4,000,620	2,700,750	14,864,408	21,565,778	N	N	N	N	21,565,778	6,701,370	32.96	1,305,485	0	43
44	Worcester, Mass.	193,694	7,885,000	16,000	1,846,000	9,747,000	N	N	N	N	9,747,000	7,901,000	40.79	N	N	44
45	Richmond, Va.[29]	193,042	27,175,897	6,993,465	7,962,472	42,131,834	14,332,002	59	20	21	27,799,832	22,793,159	118.07	N	N	45
46	Honolulu, Hawaii	179,358	Not Reporting										—			46
47	Fort Worth, Texas	177,662	13,133,000	5,591,000	6,801,000	25,525,000	1,457,004	33	45	22	24,067,996	17,594,233	99.03	N	N	47
48	Jacksonville, Fla.[30]	173,065	8,882,000	3,376,000	2,601,000	14,859,000	1,401,365	48	42	10	13,457,635	11,004.802	63.59	645,000	100	48
49	Miami, Fla.[31]	172,172	27,527,000	8,422,000	8,667,000	44,616,000	2,354,839	68	25	7	42,262,161	33,758,204	196.07	—	100	49
50	Youngstown, Ohio[32]	167,720	8,205,880	1,143,000	467,500	9,816,380	422,882	16	84	N	9,393,498	8,925,998	53.22	37,000	100	50
51	Nashville, Tenn.	167,402	8,370,000	3,255,000	16,513,000	28,138,000	2,553,900	54	N	46	25,584,100	10,247,021	61.21	202,000	100	51
52	Hartford, Conn.[33]	166,267	15,653,000	4,221,000	1,580,000	21,454,000	2,789,212	61	28	11	18,664,788	17,381,566	104.54	N	N	52
53	Grand Rapids, Mich.	164,292	3,817,400	443,158	4,225,000	8,485,558	1,116,500	N	N	100	7,369,058	4,260,558	25.93	847,000	100	53
54	Long Beach, Cal.[34]	164,271	4,645,926	5,496,916	25,424,802	35,567,644	N	N	N	N	35,567,644	10,142,842	61.74	213,555	0	54
55	New Haven, Conn.[19]	160,605	10,420,000	216,000	N	10,636,000	476,929	—	—	N	10,159,071	10,159,071	63.26	N	N	55
56	Des Moines, Iowa	159,819	4,680,367	6,228,000	3,679,000	14,587,367	439,188	N	N	100	14,148,179	10,908,367	68.25	—	—	56
57	Flint, Mich.	151,543	4,307,000	3,416,000	1,294,600	9,017,600	2,667,845	28	34	38	6,349,755	6,070,750	40.06	367,000	100	57
58	Salt Lake City, Utah[35]	149,934	1,901,000	3,761,000	3,939,000	9,601,000	1,005,138	—	30	—	8,595,862	4,656,862	31.06	220,600	100	58
59	Springfield, Mass.	149,554	6,271,000	1,257,000	5,192,000	12,720,000	N	N	N	N	12,720,000	7,528,000	50.34	N	N	59
60	Bridgeport, Conn.	147,121	9,974,000	2,277,000	N	12,251,000	N	N	N	N	12,251,000	12,251,000	83.27	N	N	60
61	Norfolk, Va.[19]	144,332	16,746,543	7,150,253	16,407,904	40,304,700	14,284,082	—	—	46	26,020,618	16,155,352	111.93	N	N	61
62	Yonkers, N. Y.[36]	142,598	19,113,000	6,505,450	4,512,750	30,131,200	N	N	N	N	30,131,200	25,618,450	179.66	3,600,000	100	62
63	Tulsa, Okla.[37]	142,157	9,590,024	3,471,745	3,334,000	16,395,769	4,359,925	—	28	—	12,035,844	8,701,844	61.21	—	—	63
64	Scranton, Pa.	140,404	2,592,000	6,200,000	N	8,792,000	246,331	52	48	N	8,545,669	8,545,669	60.86	264.400	0	64
65	Paterson, N. J.	139,656	8,470,278	4,771,800	12,438,000	25,680,078	745,000	91	9	N	24,935,078	12,497,078	89.48	1,530	0	65
66	Albany, N. Y.[38]	130,577	15,318,561	4,030,500	13,003,000	32,352,061	1,682,802	—	—	N	30,669,259	17,666,259	135.29	80,000	100	66
67	Chattanooga, Tenn.[39]	128,163	14,750,300	—	13,050,000	27,800,300	1,490,620	—	—	23	26,309,680	13,607,082	106.17	773,400	0	67

[28] **San Diego.** General debt includes $977,500 harbor and $422,500 airport debt. Utility debt is not self-supporting and is backed by full faith and credit of the city.

[29] **Richmond.** Debt as of January 31, 1943.

[30] **Jacksonville.** General debt includes $235,000 dock bonds which are not self-supporting.

[31] **Miami.** School debt is city's share of four independent school districts and is as of June 30, 1942. General debt includes $207,000 hospital and $134,000 stadium debt which are self-supporting.

[32] **Youngstown.** School debt is not an obligation of the city.

[33] **Hartford.** Debt as of January 5, 1943.

[34] **Long Beach.** Utility debt includes $16,334,427, (city's share) of Metropolitan Water District debt. General debt includes $1,731,551 (city's share) of county flood control debt.

[35] **Salt Lake City, et al.** Utility sinking fund included in general city sinking fund.

[36] **Yonkers, et al.** Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[37] **Tulsa.** Utility debt is not self-supporting. Utility sinking fund included in general city.

[38] **Albany.** School sinking fund in general city. Utility debt not self-supporting.

[39] **Chattanooga.** Utility debt as of June 30, 1942. School bonds included in general city debt

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
68	Trenton, N. J.	124,697	10,017,360	6,590,163	1,078,800	17,686,323	1,320,413	29	38	33	16,365,910	15,730,086	126.15	N	N	68
69	Spokane, Wash.	122,001	1,977,000	537,000	171,000	2,685,000	132,145	61	11	28	2,552,855	2,419,092	19.83	1,612,207	0	69
70	Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	3,239,760	2,369,000	2,509,000	8,117,760	2,171,417	12	3	85	5,946,343	5,278,883	43.46	328,153	100	70
71	Fort Wayne, Ind.[40]	118,410	504,100	1,485,000	1,412,000	3,401,100	N	N	N	N	3,401,100	1,989,100	16.80	2,873,000	0	71
72	Camden, N. J.	117,536	20,342,795	3,277,000	935,125	24,554,920	1,323,800	63	33	4	23,231,120	22,343,116	190.10	N	N	72
73	Erie, Pa.	116,955	4,332,000	3,956,064	1,125,000	9,413,064	259,172	60	N	40	9,153,892	8,131,892	69.53	513,792	0	73
74	Fall River, Mass.	115,428	Not Reporting													74
75	Wichita, Kans.[41]	114,966	4,970,975	3,115,500	1,451,000	9,537,475	N	N	N	N	9,537,475	8,086,475	70.34	2,823,659	100	75
76	Wilmington, Del.[42]	112,504	6,306,700	646,000	3,495,000	10,447,700	1,440,175	—	—	—	9,007,525	5,512,525	49.00	—	—	76
77	Gary, Ind.	111,719	4,950,297	3,117,000	N	8,067,297	N	N	N	N	8,067,297	8,067,297	72.21	—	—	77
78	Knoxville, Tenn.	111,580	18,503,235	1,649,000	4,168,238	24,320,473	1,988,330	74	N	26	22,332,143	18,684,166	167.45	—	—	78
79	Cambridge, Mass.[35]	110,879	7,156,500	975,000	473,000	8,604,500	1,364,000	—	N	—	7,240,500	6,767,500	61.04	N	N	79
80	Reading, Pa.	110,568	2,482,000	5,846,000	1,885,000	10,213,000	717,366	52	N	48	9,495,634	7,956,278	71.96	330,000	0	80
81	New Bedford, Mass.[43]	110,341	4,641,000	501,000	709,000	5,851,000	838,614	100	N	N	5,012,386	4,303,386	39.00	N	N	81
82	Elizabeth, N. J.	109,912	5,281,491	4,452,450	3,748,000	13,481,941	753,247	24	76	N	12,728,694	8,980,694	81.71	N	N	82
83	Tacoma, Wash.[44]	109,408	2,784,500	710,000	14,327,000	17,821,500	17,800	100	N	N	17,803,700	3,476,700	31.78	1,100,315	0	83
84	Canton, Ohio	108,401	3,183,407	3,981,000	559,000	7,723,407	2,119,454	49	51	N	5,603,953	5,044,953	46.54	79,523	100	84
85	Tampa, Fla.	108,391	8,254,000	2,217,160	4,046,000	14,517,160	744,524	51	36	13	13,772,636	9,826,553	90.66	—	—	85
86	Sacramento, Calif.	105,958	3,515,550	5,270,500	3,075,500	11,861,550	N	N	N	N	11,861,550	8,786,050	82.92	755,039	100	86
87	Peoria, Ill.	105,087	Not Reporting													87
88	Somerville, Mass.[36]	102,177	3,503,200	897,000	239,000	4,639,200	N	N	N	N	4,639,200	4,400,200	43.06	N	N	88
89	Lowell, Mass.	101,389	3,528,180	211,000	345,000	4,084,180	N	N	N	N	4,084,180	3,739,180	36.88	N	N	89
90	South Bend, Ind.[45]	101,268	3,624,977	1,179,000	575,000	5,378,977	650,530	39	3	59	4,728,447	4,531,964	44.75	1,650,000	100	90
91	Duluth, Minn.	101,065	3,303,000	1,720,000	1,922,000	6,945,000	N	N	N	N	6,945,000	5,023,000	49.70	50,000	0	91
92	Charlotte, N. C.	100,899	4,229,399	1,065,000	2,807,422	8,101,821	216,170	100	N	N	7,885,651	5,078,229	50.33	1,105,049	100	92
93	Utica, N. Y.[46]	100,518	8,161,348	1,239,917	N	9,401,265	168,383	—	—	—	9,232,882	9,232,882	91.85	62,850	100	93
	Group V **Population 50,000 to 100,000**															
94	Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	8,471,000	833,000	6,832,000	16,136,000	N	N	N	N	16,136,000	9,304,000	93.68	N	N	94
95	Shreveport, La.[47]	98,167	7,160,000	76,000	275,000	7,511,000	229,409	69	31	N	7,281,591	7,034,272	71.66	—	—	95

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[40] **Fort Wayne.** Does not include $2,873,000 sewage revenue bonds not faith and credit of the city. School debt not a city obligation.

[41] **Wichita.** General debt includes city's share ($1,302,140) of county debt for welfare. Utility debt not self-supporting.

[42] **Wilmington.** General debt includes $2,560,000 harbor bonds not self-supporting. Debt as of June 30, 1942. No breakdown of sinking fund available.

[43] **New Bedford.** General debt includes $40,000 wharf bonds not self-supporting.

[44] **Tacoma.** General debt includes 65% of Port of Tacoma bonds serviced through taxation but partially self-supporting.

[45] **South Bend.** Court decision has made $1,650,000 special assessment debt a city obligation.

[46] **Utica, et al.** No breakdown of sinking fund available.

[47] **Shreveport.** School debt as of January 31, 1943. General debt includes $2,082,500 water bonds not self-supporting and a general city obligation.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
96	Lynn, Mass.	98,123	4,284,500	926,000	273,000	5,483,500	N	N	N	N	5,483,500	5,210,500	53.10	2,015,500	0	96
97	Evansville, Ind.	97,062	Not Reporting													97
98	Allentown, Pa.	96,904	4,989,700	3,092,000	690,000	8,771,700	954,521	48	49	3	7,817,179	7,155,714	73.84	430,800	100	98
99	El Paso, Tex.[48]	96,810	3,137,000	1,608,100	1,329,000	6,074,100	320,118	62	17	21	5,753,982	4,491,933	46.40	—	—	99
100	Savannah, Ga.[35]	95,996	4,649,500	398,650	345,000	5,393,150	361,000	—	N	—	5,032,150	4,687,150	48.83	N	N	100
101	Little Rock, Ark.	88,039	2,453,500	1,719,500	6,988,000	11,161,000	598,290	38	N	62	10,562,710	3,946,589	44.83	—	—	101
102	Austin, Tex.[46]	87,930	3,477,000	1,687,000	947,000	6,111,000	4,059	—	—	—	6,106,941	5,159,941	58.68	N	N	102
103	Schenectady, N. Y.[19]	87,549	9,340,500	616,000	445,000	10,401,500	434,075	—	—	1	9,967,425	9,528,269	108.83	210,000	100	103
104	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	86,236	Not Reporting													104
105	Berkeley, Calif.[49]	85,547	611,263	1,180,000	7,848,750	9,640,013	N	N	N	N	9,640,013	1,791,263	20.94	7,470	100	105
106	Rockford, Ill.	84,637	456,750	2,244,000	15,000	2,715,750	31,250	100	N	N	2,684,500	2,669,500	31.54	—	—	106
107	Lawrence, Mass.	84,323	2,133,000	113,500	386,000	2,632,500	N	N	N	N	2,632,500	2,246,500	26.64	N	N	107
108	Harrisburg, Pa.	83,893	1,692,060	1,534,500	2,144,740	5,371,300	499,822	22	34	44	4,871,478	2,944,838	35.10	N	N	108
109	Saginaw, Mich.[50]	82,794	374,000	N	1,658,000	2,032,000	N	N	N	N	2,032,000	374,000	4.52	271,600	44	109
110	Glendale, Cal.[51]	82,582	1,055,000	3,273,000	216,500	4,544,500	39,247	N	N	100	4,505,253	4,328,000	52.41	75,760	0	110
111	Sioux City, Iowa[52]	82,364	3,698,365	911,000	434,000	5,043,365	165,990	100	N	N	4,877,375	4,443,375	53.95	43,000	0	111
112	Lincoln, Neb.	81,984	2,191,500	3,124,000	763,000	6,078,500	416,156	25	N	75	5,662,344	5,212,369	63.58	141,780	100	112
113	Pasadena, Calif.[53]	81,864	2,460,225	2,230,400	5,681,875	10,372,500	109,250	N	N	100	10,263,250	4,690,625	57.30	1,405,527	50	113
114	Altoona, Pa.[35]	80,214	1,742,000	2,994,000	440,000	5,176,000	530,997	—	33	—	4,645,003	4,205,003	52.42	629,000	—	114
115	Winston-Salem, N. C.	79,815	Not Reporting													115
116	Bayonne, N. J.[54]	79,198	8,264,000	3,346,000	2,529,000	14,139,000	N	N	N	N	14,139,000	11,610,000	146.59	N	N	116
117	Huntington, W. Va.[55]	78,836	1,195,000	395,000	N	1,590,000	484,130	81	19	N	1,105,870	1,105,870	14.03	1,267,000	100	117
118	Lansing, Mich.	78,753	322,000	N	553,000	875,000	553,000	N	N	100	322,000	322,000	4.09	N	N	118
119	Mobile, Ala.[56]	78,720	8,524,000	—	5,052,000	13,576,000	79,532	—	—	—	13,496,468	8,444,468	107.27	3,258,000	0	119
120	Binghamton, N. Y.[57]	78,309	2,128,000	2,486,700	55,000	4,669,700	N	N	N	N	4,669,700	4,614,700	58.93	N	N	120
121	Montgomery, Ala.	78,084	Not Reporting													121
122	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[58]	78,029	7,874,935	6,310,210	1,330,130	15,515,275	105,241	N	N	100	15,410,034	14,185,145	181.79	N	N	122
123	Manchester, N. H.	77,685	3,081,500	130,000	33,000	3,244,500	N	N	N	N	3,244,500	3,211,500	41.34	N	N	123
124	Quincy, Mass.	75,810	Not Reporting													124
125	Pawtucket, R. I.	75,797	11,157,000	3,277,000	2.556,000	16,990,000	2,734,475	53	35	12	14.255.525	12,033,864	158.76	N	N	125

[48] **El Paso.** General debt includes $27,000 stadium which is self-supporting.

[49] **Berkeley.** Utility debt is city's share of East Bay Utility District debt.

[50] **Saginaw.** Debt as of July 1, 1942. Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[51] **Glendale.** Does not include city's share of metropolitan water district bonds ($6,209,295) nor flood control district debt ($629,800).

[52] **Sioux City.** General city debt includes $90,365 swimming pool debt.

[53] **Pasadena.** Does not include city's share of overlapping debt ($7,763,000 metropolitan water and $813,500 flood control).

[54] **Bayonne.** Does not include $2,110,000 bonds of port terminal taken over by U. S. Navy.

[55] **Huntington.** Flood control debt of $1,267,000 retired by special assessments not included.

[56] **Mobile.** General debt includes school debt. Debt as of September 30, 1942. No breakdown of sinking fund available.

[57] **Binghamton.** General debt includes $127,000 flood control debt.

[58] **Niagara Falls.** School debt includes $1,300,000 school district bonds excluded by constitution for calculation of debt limits.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
126	St. Joseph, Mo.	75,711	3,936,000	2,016,800	N	5,952,800	225,723	82	18	N	5,727,077	5,727,077	75.64	—	—	126
127	East St. Louis, Ill.	75,609	Not Reporting													127
128	Springfield, Ill.	75,503	N	—	4,405,000	—	112,316	N	N	100	Incomplete	—	—	48,714	0	128
129	Portland, Me.	73,643	Not Reporting													129
130	Charleston, S. C.[59]	71,275	4,462,000	897,000	3,625,000	8,984,000	892,327	57	31	12	8,091,673	4,577,946	64.23	N	N	130
131	Springfield, Ohio	70,662	Not Reporting													131
132	Troy, N. Y.	70,304	5,948,985	542,500	643,950	7,135,435	N	N	N	N	7,135,435	6,491,485	92.33	N	N	132
133	Hammond, Ind.	70,184	3,065,670	1,313,500	927,000	5,306,170	270,393	61	N	39	5,035,777	4,214,988	60.06	4,308,046	0	133
134	Newton, Mass.	69,873	3,089,000	1,243,000	545,000	4,877,000	N	N	N	N	4,877,000	4,332,000	62.00	N	N	134
135	Roanoke, Va.	69,287	4,125,000	2,550,000	4,600,000	11,275,000	1,078,276	44	42	14	10,196,724	5,748,793	82.97	N	N	135
136	Lakewood, Ohio	69,160	1,510,045	1,479,500	1,796,500	4,786,045	314,250	85	10	5	4,471,795	2,690,584	38.90	25,915	100	136
137	East Orange, N. J	68,945	5,059,500	3,087,445	314,000	8,460,945	808,559	18	81	1	7,652,386	7,349,137	106.59	33,500	100	137
138	New Britain, Conn.[60]	68,685	1,401,000	1,797,000	1,808,000	5,006,000	198,027	100	N	N	4,807,973	2,999,973	43.68	N	N	138
139	San Jose, Calif.[61]	68,457	676,500	758,000	N	1,434,500	N	N	N	N	1,434,500	1,434,500	20.95	115,672	—	139
140	Charleston, W. Va.	67,914	Not Reporting													140
141	Topeka, Kans.	67,833	932,805	1,619,000	N	2,551,805	N	N	N	N	2,551,805	2,551,805	37.62	432,592	100	141
142	Madison, Wis.[62]	67,447	2,134,000	1,798,750	458,000	4,390,750	N	N	N	N	4,390,750	3,932,750	58.31	111,700	45	142
143	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	67,362	5,129,000	2,906,050	1,081,000	9,116,050	717,917	36	N	64	8,398,133	7,779,987	115.50	N	N	143
144	Racine, Wis.	67,195	1,745,000	659,000	795,000	3,199,000	187,948	23	N	77	3,011,052	2,360,000	35.12	—	0	144
145	Johnstown, Pa.	66,668	3,840,000	3,686,000	N	7,526,000	1,600,398	73	27	N	5,925,602	5,925,602	88.88	N	N	145
146	Pontiac, Mich.[63]	66,626	2,779,000	1,674,100	1,325,000	5,778,100	379,878	97	N	3	5,398,222	4,083,996	61.30	1,052,000	100	146
147	Davenport, Iowa	66,039	2,155,417	1,296,000	877,000	4,328,417	284,493	46	N	54	4,043,924	3,320,437	50.28	161,829	0	147
148	Oak Park, Ill.[64]	66,015	1,121,000	1,114,000	1,063,000	3,298,000	85,000	N	100	N	3,213,000	2,150,000	32.57	129,519	0	148
149	Augusta, Ga.	65,919	2,421,000	770,000	493,000	3,684,000	378,453	95	N	5	3,305,547	2,829,614	42.92	N	N	149
150	Phoenix, Ariz.[66]	65,414	3,982,000	2,888,000	5,039,000	11,909,000	1,148,119	N	100	N	10,760,881	5,721,881	87.47	500,726	100	150
151	Evanston, Ill.	65,389	550,000	2,190,000	39,000	2,779,000	215,516	N	97	3	2,563,484	2,531,484	38.71	644,194	0	151
152	Cicero, Ill.	64,712	Not Reporting													152
153	Atlantic City, N. J.[65]	64,094	22,188,000	—	2,095,000	24,283,000	N	N	N	N	24,283,000	22,188,000	346.18	—	—	153
154	Dearborn, Mich.[66]	63,584	9,195,751	4,809,900	1,546,000	15,551,651	5,056,888	90	N	10	10,494,763	9,481,551	149.12	826,752	100	154
155	Medford, Mass.	63,083	2,663,500	486,000	368,000	3,517,500	N	N	N	N	3,517,500	3,149,500	49.93	N	N	155
156	Terre Haute, Ind.	62,693	862,500	265,000	N	1,127,500	97,925	37	63	N	1,029,575	1,029,575	16.42	—	—	156

[59] **Charleston.** Utility debt includes $1,800,000 port and terminal utility bonds not self-supporting.

[60] **New Britain.** Utility debt includes $200,000 sewage disposal bonds not self-supporting.

[61] **San Jose.** Debt as of November 30, 1942.

[62] **Madison.** Utility debt includes $300,000 hospital and $158,000 water debt of which $38,000 is not self-supporting.

[63] **Pontiac.** Utility debt includes $1,137,000 water debt not self-supporting.

[64] **Oak Park.** General debt includes park district bonds of $562,000.

[65] **Atlantic City, Alexandria.** School debt included in general city debt.

[66] **Dearborn.** School debt is city's share of debt of five separate school districts.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
157	Columbia, S. C.	62,396	Not Reporting													157
158	Brockton, Mass.	62,343	2,537,500	26,000	545,100	3,108,600	N	N	N	N	3,108,600	2,563,500	41.12	—	—	158
159	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	62,120	1,197,600	818,000	780,000	2,795,600	197,366	N	100	N	2,598,234	1,818,234	29.27	N	N	159
160	Jackson, Miss.	62,107	3,979,080	909,500	546,500	5,435,080	N	N	N	N	5,435,080	4,888,580	78.71	536,500	100	160
161	Covington, Ky.	62,018	1,676,000	1,305,000	2,023,700	5,004,700	N	N	N	N	5,004,700	2,981,000	48.07	—	—	161
162	Passaic, N. J.	61,394	5,324,500	1,458,000	6,978,000	13,760,500	1,086,959	78	22	N	12,673,541	5,695,541	92.77	N	N	162
163	Lancaster, Pa.[36]	61,345	1,212,000	2,881,000	2,333,000	6,426,000	845,000	4	96	N	5,581,000	3,248,000	52.95	N	N	163
164	Springfield, Mo.	61,238	1,367,000	1,147,000	N	2,514,000	265,809	65	35	N	2,248,191	2,248,191	36.71	—	0	164
165	Wheeling, W. Va.[67]	61,099	1,668,500	1,581,000	3,747,000	6,996,500	N	N	N	N	6,996,500	3,249,500	53.18	N	N	165
166	Galveston, Tex.	60,862	Not Reporting													166
167	St. Petersburg, Fla.	60,812	19,017,000	3,881,000	3,027,000	25,925,000	597,588	48	24	28	25,327,412	22,469,951	369.50	N	N	167
168	Fresno, Calif.	60,685	588,000	3,318,000	1,997,000	5,903,000	384,018	N	50	50	5,518,982	3,717,140	61.25	—	—	168
169	Durham, N. C.	60,195	3,247,538	1,054,000	3,014,000	7,315,538	219,437	100	N	N	7,096,101	4,082,101	67.81	807,000	100	169
170	Greensboro, N. C.[35]	59,319	7,129,022	—	2,504,470	—	190,383	—	N	—	Incomplete	—	—	3,224,508	100	170
171	Decatur, Ill.[68]	59,305	1,486,000	430,350	160,000	2,076,350	104,405	100	N	N	1,971,945	1,811,945	30.55	600,000	0	171
172	Chester, Pa.	59,285	3,017,000	2,254,000	N	5,271,000	1,583,725	26	74	N	3,687,275	3,687,275	62.20	—	—	172
173	Beaumont, Tex.	59,061	Not Reporting													173
174	Bethlehem, Pa.[69]	58,490	1,269,000	1,981,000	2,578,500*	5,828,500	760,550	2	98	—	5,067,950	2,489,450	42.56	N	N	174
175	New Rochelle, N. Y.[46]	58,408	7,533,000	4,455,000	N	11,988,000	139,000	—	—	—	11,849,000	11,849,000	202.87	—	—	175
176	Malden, Mass.[70]	58,010	2,256,000	900,000	105,000	3,261,000	140,000	100	N	N	3,121,000	3,016,000	51.99	70,533	100	176
177	Macon, Ga.	57,865	672,000	540,200	N	1,212,200	N	N	N	N	1,212,200	1,212,200	20.95	N	N	177
178	Corpus Christi, Tex.[71]	57,301	9,827,330	1,993,000	1,091,500	12,911,830	1,608,728	81	10	9	11,303,102	10,353,920	180.69	N	N	178
179	York, Pa.	56,712	1,152,000	1,921,000	N	3,073,000	337,713	67	33	N	2,735,287	2,735,287	48.23	N	N	179
180	Union City, N. J.	56,173	4,779,000	1,481,000	N	6,260,000	50,178	51	49	N	6,209,822	6,209,822	110.55	N	N	180
181	Waco, Tex.[36]	55,982	3,303,500	950,600	1,472,000	5,726,100	696,761	69	31	N	5,029,339	3,557,622	63.55	N	N	181
182	McKeesport, Pa.	55,355	Not Reporting													182
183	Irvington, N. J.	55,328	3,566,400	3,624,150	N	7,190,550	467,474	67	33	N	6,723,076	6,723,076	121.51	121,744	100	183
184	Cleveland Heights, Ohio	54,992	302,000	3,676,500	N	3,978,500	954,959	43	57	N	3,023,541	3,023,541	54.98	200,000	100	184
185	Stockton, Calif.	54,714	4,246,125	170,000	N	4,416,125	N	N	N	N	4,416,125	4,416,125	80.71	38,777	100	185
186	East Chicago, Ind.	54,637	2,034,635	1,285,000	1,598,000	4,917,635	209,300	51	31	18	4,708,335	3,147,335	57.60	334,519	100	186
187	Kalamazoo, Mich.[31]	54,097	N	844,500	N	844,500	N	N	N	N	844,500	844,500	15.61	N	N	187
188	Holyoke, Mass.	53,750	189,000	288,000	852,000	1,329,000	N	N	N	N	1,329,000	477,000	8.87	N	N	188
189	Santa Monica, Calif.[72]	53,500	1,541,000	1,595,000	843,500	3,979,500	79,511	30	45	25	3,899,989	3,076,640	57.51	155,000	100	189
190	Columbus, Ga.	53,280	1,468,600	563,800	30,000	2,062,400	N	N	N	N	2,062,400	2,032,400	38.14	N	N	190

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[67] **Wheeling.** Utility debt includes $1,017,000 water debt not self-supporting.

[68] **Decatur.** General city debt includes $750,000 park district and sanitary district debt.

[69] **Bethlehem.** Utility debt includes $2,100,000 debt of independent municipal water authority.

[70] **Malden.** Does not include $70,533 assessment representing city's portion of county tuberculosis hospital cost.

[71] **Corpus Christi.** General debt includes $2,805,000 sea wall and breakwater construction bonds serviced by state aid.

[72] **Santa Monica.** Utility debt is not self-supporting. Does not include city's share of metropolitan water ($4,874,500) or flood control ($524,900) debt.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
191	Pueblo, Colo.	52,162	Not Reporting													191
192	Waterloo, Iowa[73]	51,743	956,000	913,000	98,000	1,967,000	N	N	N	N	1,967,000	1,869,000	36.12	79,242	0	192
193	Amarillo, Tex.[81]	51,686	2,920,500	1,623,000	2,059,000	6,602,500	427,493	49	39	12	6,175,007	4,166,425	80.61	N	N	193
194	Asheville, N. C.	51,310	14,188,948	2,540,349	5,044,828	21,774,125	N	N	N	N	21,774,125	16,729,297	326.04	N	N	194
195	Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	945,700	2,615,000	104,000	3,664,700	1,949,442	51	45	4	1,715,258	1,694,989	33.36	10,700	100	195
196	Portsmouth, Va.	50,745	4,881,000	570,000	2,971,000	8,422,000	2,854,521	23	N	77	5,567,479	4,786,798	94.33	N	N	196
197	Hamilton, Ohio	50,592	1,200,943	681,000	591,000	2,472,943	149,449	20	80	N	2,323,495	1,732,495	34.24	104,844	100	197
198	Hoboken, N. J.	50,115	Not Reporting													198
	Group VI **Population 30,000 to 50,000**															
199	Hamtramck, Mich.[74]	49,839	3,845,593	1,855,000	491,000	6,191,593	1,260,914	—	73	—	4,930,679	4,439,679	89.08	N	N	199
200	Brookline, Mass.	49,786	Not Reporting													200
201	Muncie, Ind.	49,720	831,925	700,000	901,000	2,432,925	N	N	N	N	2,432,925	1,531,925	30.81	—	—	201
202	Pittsfield, Mass.	49,684	693,000	235,000	117,000	1,045,000	N	N	N	N	1,045,000	928,000	18.68	N	N	202
203	Jackson, Mich.[75]	49,656	1,150,500	687,000	1,065,500	2,903,000	N	N	N	N	2,903,000	1,837,500	37.00	131,000	100	203
204	Lexington, Ky.	49,304	1,964,000	497,000	N	2,461,000	453,905	91	9	N	2,007,095	2,007,095	40.71	36,288	0	204
205	Woonsocket, R. I.	49,303	4,499,000	914,000	644,000	6,057,000	1,087,310	83	13	4	4,969,690	4,372,461	88.68	N	N	205
206	Clifton, N. J.	48,827	4,515,000	2,203,000	4,261,000	10,979,000	174,000	93	7	N	10,805,000	6,544,000	134.02	N	N	206
207	Kenosha, Wis.	48,765	326,500	2,053,000	488,000	2,867,500	N	N	N	N	2,867,500	2,379,500	48.80	30,994	100	207
208	Berwyn, Ill.	48,451	841,000	—	N	—	N	N	N	N	Incomplete	—	—	—	—	208
209	Bay City, Mich.[76]	47,956	301,000	467,500	1,026,000	1,794,500	147,034	39	5	56	1,647,466	703,732	14.67	188,000	100	209
210	Stamford, Conn.	47,938	2,448,409	1,801,500	N	4,249,909	N	N	N	N	4,249,909	4,249,909	88.65	N	N	210
211	Muskegon, Mich.	47,697	1,321,000	1,272,504	838,000	3,431,504	178,112	100	N	N	3,253,392	2,415,392	50.64	25,000	100	211
212	New Castle, Pa.	47,638	Not Reporting													212
213	Aurora, Ill.	47,170	792,200	260,000	247,000	1,299,200	N	N	N	N	1,299,200	1,052,200	22.31	846,672	28	213
214	Cranston, R. I.[19]	47,085	2,799,500	2,027,000	N	4,826,500	220,454	—	—	N	4,606,046	4,606,046	97.82	N	N	214
215	Raleigh, N. C.	46,897	Not Reporting													215
216	Everett, Mass.	46,784	1,121,900	268,000	92,000	1,481,900	N	N	N	N	1,481,900	1,389,900	29.71	N	N	216
217	Haverhill, Mass.	46,752	1,396,000	36,000	131,000	1,563,000	N	N	N	N	1,563,000	1,432,000	30.63	N	N	217
218	Green Bay, Wis.	46,235	82,200	1,153,500	716,000	1,951,700	217,000	N	86	14	1,734,700	1,049,700	22.70	—	—	218
219	Port Arthur, Tex.	46,140	Not Reporting													219
220	Wichita Falls, Tex.[77]	45,112	3,286,500	1,328,000	2,827,200	7,441,700	249,982	7	9	84	7,191,718	4,589,193	101.73	N	N	220
221	Elmira, N. Y.	45,106	1,575,000	762,000	180,000	2,517,000	N	N	N	N	2,517,000	2,337,000	51.81	N	N	221
222	Lima, Ohio	44,711	1,970,100	269,000	296,000	2,535,100	N	N	N	N	2,535,100	2,239,100	50.08	N	N	222

[73] **Waterloo.** School debt as of June 1, 1942.

[74] **Hamtramck.** Utility sinking fund included in general city. Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[75] **Jackson.** Utility debt includes $610,500 water debt not self-supporting.

[76] **Bay City.** School debt as of July 1, 1942.

[77] **Wichita Falls.** Utility debt includes city's share of Wichita County water district debt ($2,443,200) which is not self-supporting.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
223	Lynchburg, Va.[78]	44,541	3,061,151	—	2,248,333	5,309,484	1,190,577	—	—	45	4,118,907	2,410,574	54.12	N	N	223
224	Williamsport, Pa.[79]	44,355	478,000	812,000	N	1,290,000	289,592	15	85	N	1,000,408	1,000,408	22.55	N	N	224
225	Lorain, Ohio	44,125	890,072	323,000	23,000	1,236,072	17,020	100	N	N	1,219,052	1,196,052	27.11	130,995	100	225
226	Dubuque, Iowa[80]	43,892	810,000	420,000	63,000	1,293,000	278,116	55	16	29	1,014,884	1,030,988	23.49	27,100	0	226
227	Ogden, Utah	43,688	Not Reporting													227
228	San Bernardino, Calif.	43,646	458,167	762,030	157,025	1,377,222	100,038	34	58	8	1,277,184	1,128,605	25.86	N	N	228
229	Battle Creek, Mich.	43,453	247,000	593,500	256,000	1,096,500	N	N	N	N	1,096,500	840,500	19.34	N	N	229
230	Warren, Ohio[81]	42,837	1,153,871	425,040	197,000	1,775,911	84,059	27	34	39	1,691,852	1,527,852	35.67	N	N	230
231	Rock Island, Ill.	42,775	491,400	924,000	4,210,000	5,625,400	191,181	16	N	84	5,434,219	1,385,466	32.39	92,269	0	231
232	La Crosse, Wis.	42,707	433,000	529,000	9,000	971,000	3,500	100	N	N	967,500	958,500	22.44	—	—	232
233	Jamestown, N. Y.	42,638	407,000	1,300,000	311,000	2,018,000	73,000	N	N	100	1,945,000	1,707,000	40.03	N	N	233
234	Joliet, Ill.[81]	42,365	586,821	978,000	92,000	1,656,821	N	N	N	N	1,656,821	1,564,821	36.94	414,720	13	234
235	Fitchburg, Mass.[81]	41,824	964,957	490,243	137,000	1,592,200	N	N	N	N	1,592,200	1,455,200	34.79	N	N	235
236	Chicopee, Mass.	41,664	746,000	N	311,531	1,057,531	N	N	N	N	1,057,531	746,000	17.90	24,000	100	236
237	Bloomfield, N. J.	41,623	1,954,000	2,216,000	1,000,000	5,170,000	N	N	N	N	5,170,000	4,170,000	100.18	N	N	237
238	Anderson, Ind.	41,572	Not Reporting													238
239	Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439	Not Reporting													239
240	Chelsea, Mass.	41,259	1,851,000	154,500	N	2,005,500	476,862	100	N	N	1,528,638	1,528,638	37.05	N	N	240
241	Perth Amboy, N. J.	41,242	8,077,500	1,047,000	1,435,000	10,559,500	382,865	40	26	34	10,176,635	8,870,423	215.08	N	N	241
242	Salem, Mass.	41,213	1,186,000	8,000	148,500	1,342,500	N	N	N	N	1,342,500	1,194,000	28.97	N	N	242
243	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.	40,832	910,000	697,000	N	1,607,000	370,158	N	100	N	1,236,842	1,236,842	30.29	—	—	243
244	Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	1,140,000	410,000	96,000	1,646,000	N	N	N	N	1,646,000	1,550,000	38.14	26,742	0	244
245	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	40,478	3,259,692	925,900	297,000	4,482,592	22,935	67	33	N	4,459,657	4,162,657	102.84	101,692	100	245
246	Quincy, Ill.[81]	40,469	250,000	514,000	173,000	937,000	N	N	N	N	937,000	764,000	18.88	107,050	0	246
247	Portsmouth, Ohio[82]	40,466	3,185,500	1,155,000	974,000	5,314,500	105,262	—	—	65	5,209,238	4,304,445	106.37	N	N	247
248	White Plains, N. Y.	40,327	4,322,758	6,134,000	958,000	11,414,758	249,017	63	35	2	11,165,741	10,214,064	253.28	N	N	248
249	Waltham, Mass.	40,020	1,597,000	280,000	178,000	2,055,000	N	N	N	N	2,055,000	1,877,000	46.90	—	—	249
250	Arlington, Mass.	40,013	26,000	238,000	N	264,000	13,986	100	N	N	250,014	250,014	6.25	N	N	250
251	Norwalk, Conn.[83]	39,849	1,922,877	1,758,000	744,000	4,424,877	53,076	—	—	N	4,371,801	3,627,801	91.04	N	N	251
252	Montclair, N. J.	39,807	Not Reporting													252
253	East Cleveland, Ohio[84]	39,495	728,300	989,000	N	1,717,300	655,151	37	63	N	1,062,149	1,062,149	26.89	311,300	100	253
254	Meriden, Conn.	39,494	428,000	609,000	20,000	1,057,000	13,192	100	N	N	1,043,808	1,023,808	25.92	—	—	254
255	Cumberland, Md.[85]	39,483	2,810,000	1,661,500	2,705,000	7,176,500	1,082,213	53	N	47	6,094,287	3,901,505	98.81	N	N	255

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[78] **Lynchburg.** City debt includes school debt.

[79] **Williamsport.** Debt as of January 4, 1943.

[80] **Dubuque.** City debt includes $128,000 dock bonds not self-supporting.

[81] **Joliet, et al.** School debt is not a direct obligation of the city.

[82] **Portsmouth.** Utility debt only partially self-supporting. School sinking fund included in general city.

[83] **Norwalk.** Debt as of September 1, 1942. School sinking fund included in general city.

[84] **East Cleveland.** City debt includes $50,000 bonds of independent library district and city's portion ($212,800) of special assessment debt.

[85] **Cumberland.** School debt issued by county, amount reported is city's pro-rata share.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
256	Kearny, N. J.	39,467	4,673,500	1,708,000	4,492,000	10,873,500	208,000	100	N	N	10,665,500	6,173,500	156.42	N	N	256
257	West New York, N. J.	39,439	Not Reporting													257
258	Laredo, Texas	39,274	1,219,400	521,000	N	1,740,400	75,681	85	15	N	1,664,719	1,664,719	42.39	N	N	258
259	Oshkosh, Wisconsin	39,089	368,000	180,000	452,000	1,000,000	20,736	N	N	100	979,264	548,000	14.02	N	N	259
260	Alhambra, California	38,935	Not Reporting													260
261	Lewiston, Me.	38,598	518,000	370,000	328,000	1,216,000	N	N	N	N	1,216,000	888,000	23.01	N	N	261
262	High Point, N. C.[86]	38,495	4,896,794	1,803,791	2,442,613	9,143,198	219,457	66	15	19	8,923,741	6,522,152	169.43	968,203	100	262
263	Elgin, Ill.	38,333	840,500	432,000	124,000	1,396,500	76,654	73	N	27	1,319,846	1,216,817	31.74	162,690	0	263
264	Norristown, Pa.	38,181	520,000	1,255,000	N	1,775,000	253,421	26	74	N	1,521,579	1,521,579	39.85	N	N	264
265	Hazleton, Pa.	38,009	1,413,000	1,115,000	N	2,528,000	282,517	7	93	N	2,245,483	2,245,483	59.08	—	—	265
266	Steubenville, Ohio	37,651	480,210	608,750	17,000	1,105,960	46,442	87	13	N	1,059,518	1,042,518	27.69	602,240	100	266
267	Zanesville, Ohio	37,500	751,980	351,917	66,500	1,170,397	210,000	N	100	N	960,397	893,897	23.84	84,936	100	267
268	Plainfield, N. J.[19]	37,469	2,428,000	1,390,300	N	3,818,300	101,110	—	—	N	3,717,190	3,717,190	99.21	N	N	268
269	Pensacola, Fla.	37,449	Not Reporting													269
270	Taunton, Mass.	37,395	Not Reporting													270
271	Mansfield, Ohio	37,154	219,000	797,000	32,000	1,048,000	156,088	95	N	5	891,912	867,685	23.35	102,200	100	271
272	Joplin, Mo.	37,144	307,500	586,000	N	893,500	205,147	65	35	N	688,353	688,353	18.53	N	N	272
273	Butte, Mont.[87]	37,081	828,000	548,690	N	1,376,690	102,186	60	40	N	1,274,504	1,274,504	34.37	—	—	273
274	Newport News, Va.[19]	37,067	2,359,500	1,078,500	2,466,000	5,904,000	1,362,707	—	—	N	4,541,293	2,075,293	55.99	N	N	274
275	Gadsden, Ala.[88]	36,975	1,937,500	903,000	54,500	2,895,000	N	N	N	N	2,895,000	2,840,500	76.82	235,000	100	275
276	Danville, Ill.	36,919	87,000	404,700	N	491,700	N	N	N	N	491,700	491.700	13.32	54,389	0	276
277	Tucson, Ariz.[89]	36,818	1,065,000	885,600	696,000	2,646,600	557,300	55	13	32	2,089,300	1,572,270	42.70	553,192	100	277
278	Colorado Springs, Colo.[81]	36,789	218,000	435,000	1,262,000	1,915,000	105,810	N	N	100	1,809,190	653,000	17.75	6,000	100	278
279	Orlando, Fla.	36,736	Not Reporting													279
280	Fort Smith, Ark.	36,584	68,000	700,100	1,185,000	1,953,100	N	N	N	N	1,953,100	768,100	21.00	168,000	20	280
281	West Allis, Wis.[36]	36,364	1,177,000	1,109,000	199,000	2,485,000	N	N	N	N	2,485,000	2,286,000	62.86	322,111	0	281
282	Alameda, Calif.	36,256	Not Reporting													282
283	Auburn, N. Y.	35,753	2,532,067	859,000	152,000	3,543,067	65,500	N	N	100	3,477,567	3,391,067	94.85	98,166	100	283
284	Orange, N. J.[90]	35,717	2,628,000	1,166,500	182,000	3,976,500	260,199	45	55	N	3,716,301	3,534,301	98.95	N	N	284
285	Meridian, Miss.[91]	35,481	2,166,968	798,011	388,000	3,352,979	N	N	N	N	3,352,979	2,964,979	83.57	148,184	100	285
286	Albuquerque, N. Mex.[87]	35,449	1,519,000	591,000	744,000	2,854,000	420,026	96	4	N	2,433,974	1,689,974	47.67	513,000	0	286
287	Watertown, Mass.[36]	35,427	517,000	175,000	1,000	693,000	N	N	N	N	693,000	692,000	19.53	N	N	287
288	Richmond, Ind.	35,147	509,000	567,500	N	1,076,500	66,270	55	45	N	1,010,230	1,010,230	28.74	121,784	0	288

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[86] **High Point.** General debt includes $2,502,000 bonds for which electric revenues are pledged and which are also backed by the faith and credit of the city.

[87] **Butte, Albuquerque.** Debt as of June 30, 1942.

[88] **Gadsden.** Debt as of September 30, 1942.

[89] **Tucson.** School debt as of March 3, 1943. Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[90] **Orange.** Utility debt includes $90,000 light and power debt not self-supporting.

[91] **Meridian.** Debt as of October 1, 1942.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
289	Superior, Wis.[92]	35,136	639,023	1,258,158	N	1,897,181	N	N	N	N	1,897,181	1,897,181	54.00	N	N	289
290	Santa Barbara, Calif.[88]	34,958	1,027,975	738,375	468,250	2,234,600	160,157	59	N	41	2,074,443	1,672,636	47.85	—	—	290
291	Greenville, S. C.	34,734	1,079,500	480,480	4,529,000	6,088,980	605,548	23	N	77	5,483,432	1,419,550	40.87	18,000	—	291
292	Baton Rouge, La.	34,719	Not Reporting													292
293	Riverside, Calif.	34,696	136,933	1,219,000	453,160	1,809,093	N	N	N	N	1,809,093	1,355,933	39.08	N	N	293
294	Moline, Ill.	34,608	767,500	452,000	276,000	1,495,500	N	N	N	N	1,495,500	1,219,500	35.24	102,638	0	294
295	Revere, Mass.	34,405	Not Reporting													295
296	Burbank, Calif.[93]	34,337	224,500	2,030,000	468,750	2,723,250	N	N	N	N	2,723,250	2,254,500	65.66	N	N	296
297	Waukegan, Ill.	34,241	Not Reporting													297
298	Rome, N. Y.	34,214	Not Reporting													298
299	Norwood, Ohio[88]	34,010	428,900	518,000	89,000	1,035,900	188,392	96	4	N	846,608	758,508	22.30	N	N	299
300	Kokomo, Ind.	33,795	Not Reporting													300
301	West Hartford, Conn.[94]	33,776	635,000	1,409,000	N	2,044,000	430,364	22	78	N	1,613,636	1,613,636	47.77	N	N	301
302	Paducah, Ky.	33,765	Not Reporting													302
303	West Palm Beach, Fla.	33,693	Not Reporting													303
304	Easton, Pa.	33,589	2,226,900	1,296,000	3,289,000	6,811,900	954,249	40	60	N	5,857,651	2,568,651	76.47	N	N	304
305	Alexandria, Va.[65]	33,523	3,330,900	—	N	3,330,900	N	N	N	N	3,330,900	3,330,900	99.36	N	N	305
306	Elkhart, Ind.	33,434	26,000	345,900	1,030,000	1,401,900	77,820	1	N	99	1,324,080	371,276	11.10	N	N	306
307	Wilmington, N. C.	33,407	1,920,205	645,000	1,507,295	4,072,500	371,645	42	16	42	3,700,855	2,348,065	70.29	—	—	307
308	Watertown, N. Y.	33,385	1,450,379	745,000	408,000	2,603,379	193,911	53	47	N	2,409,468	2,001,468	59.95	N	N	308
309	Amsterdam, N. Y.	33,329	823,700	1,524,650	78,000	2,426,350	79,477	N	38	62	2,346,873	2,318,462	69.56	N	N	309
310	New Brunswick, N. J.	33,180	2,234,000	996,000	884,000	4,114,000	N	N	N	N	4.114,000	3,230,000	97.35	N	N	310
311	University City, Mo.[95]	33,023	1,758,000	1,242,600	N	3,000,600	N	N	N	N	3,000,600	3,000,600	90.86	N	N	311
312	Nashua, N. H.[19]	32,927	853,000	342,000	N	1,195,000	42,443	—	—	N	1,152,557	1,152,557	35.00	N	N	312
313	Bloomington, Ill.	32,868	Not Reporting													313
314	Port Huron, Mich.[81]	32,759	628,789	112,000	10,000	750,789	87,359	100	N	N	663,430	653,430	19.95	250,929	100	314
315	Danville, Va.	32,749	1,593,000	348,000	1,941,800	3,882,800	N	N	N	N	3,882,800	1,941,000	59.27	N	N	315
316	Fargo, N. Dak.	32,580	Not Reporting													316
317	Hagerstown, Md.[96]	32,491	1,981,000	1,169,000	2,560,000	5,710,000	N	N	N	N	5,710,000	3,150,000	96.95	N	N	317
318	Muskogee, Okla.	32,332	Not Reporting													318
319	Spartanburg, S. C.	32,249	2,160,000	711,000	1,318,000	4,189,000	642,313	55	45	N	3,546,687	2,228,687	69.11	N	N	319
320	East Providence, R. I.[97]	32,165	2,087,000	908,500	655,000	3,650,500	521,971	—	—	—	3,128,529	2,473,529	76.90	N	N	320

[92] **Superior.** General debt does not include $3,000 matured serial bonds not presented for redemption.

[93] **Burbank.** Does not include city's share ($6,860,300) of metropolitan water district or ($708,600) of flood control debt.

[94] **West Hartford.** Debt as of February 28, 1943.

[95] **University City.** Debt as of June 30, 1942. School debt is not a direct obligation of the city.

[96] **Hagerstown.** Utility debt includes $2,290,000 water bonds not self-supporting.

[97] **East Providence.** Debt as of October 10, 1942. No breakdown of sinking fund available.

		Census 1940	GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS		
			General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation	
321	Santa Ana, Calif.[98]	31,921	447,380	1,336,000	67,680	1,851,060	N	N	N	N	1,851,060	1,783,380	55.87	—	—	321
322	Newburgh, N. Y.	31,883	Not Reporting													322
323	Lubbock, Tex.[99]	31,853	1,486,000	1,294,200	959,000	3,739,200	288,544	—	11	—	3,450,656	2,491,656	78.22	—	—	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa	31,570	Not Reporting													324
325	Newark, Ohio	31,487	Not Reporting													325
326	Alton, Ill.	31,255	Not Reporting													326
327	Middletown, Ohio	31,220	432,000	666,000	11,000	1,109,000	134,990	25	75	N	974,010	963,010	30.84	110,000	100	327
328	Salem, Ore.	30,908	Not Reporting													328
329	Marion, Ohio	30,817	Not Reporting													329
330	Eau Claire, Wis.	30,745	479,000	166,000	207,000	852,000	N	N	N	N	852,000	645,000	20.98	N	N	330
331	Newport, Ky.	30,631	Not Reporting													331
332	Petersburg, Va.[19]	30,631	4,152,000	990,000	N	5,142,000	1,967,648	—	—	N	3,174,352	3,174,352	103.63	N	N	332
333	Wyandotte, Mich.	30,618	543,257	451,000	532,919	1,527,176	906,704	46	18	36	620,472	254,955	8.33	197,128	100	333
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.	30,579	131,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Incomplete	—	—	295,000	100	334
335	Newport, R. I.	30,532	Not Reporting													335
336	New London, Conn.[19]	30,456	3,670,000	349,000	1,142,000	5,161,000	312,388	—	—	99	4,848,612	4,017,236	131.90	N	N	336
337	Owensboro, Ky.	30,245	1,159,000	359,000	1,389,000	2,907,000	22,567	N	100	N	2,884,433	1,495,433	49.44	—	—	337
338	Everett, Wash.	30,224	606,000	226,800	1,410,000	2,242,800	250,370	3	68	29	1,992,430	768,899	25.44	197,215	0	338
339	Bristol, Conn.	30,167	1,640,000	451,200	700,000	2,791,200	520,260	73	N	27	2,270,940	1,712,921	56.78	N	N	339
340	Inglewood, Calif.	30,114	121,116	340,700	236,500	698,316	66,705	14	39	47	631,611	426,026	14.15	493,000	100	340
341	Parkersburg, W. Va.	30,103	Not Reporting													341
342	West Haven, Conn.	30,021	Not Reporting													342
343	Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013	944,739	303,600	N	1,248,339	N	N	N	N	1,248,339	1,248,339	41.59	440,469	100	343

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[98] **Santa Ana.** Debt as of July 1, 1942. Does not include $2,346,900, city's share of overlapping debt of the metropolitan water district.

[99] **Lubbock.** Utility debt includes $802,000 water bonds not self-supporting and $157,000 light and power bonds only partially self-supporting. Utility sinking fund included in general city.

Contributors in Review

A BUSINESS man with a vital interest in the affairs of his home town, **B. H. Faulkner** *(A Long Range Approach to Public Safety Problems)* is both secretary of the Seaboard Oil Company and commissioner of the Department of Public Safety of Montclair, New Jersey. Mr. Faulkner has long been interested in good government. He led the city manager campaign in Montclair (defeated by only 250 votes) in 1934. Two years later he was elected one of the city's commissioners with three out of four associates on the Citizens ticket, and has been consistently re-elected ever since. He served as finance director until 1942 when he was elected director of public safety. He has been largely responsible for the rehabilitation of the Montclair Water Distribution System, refunding and adjustment of the town debt structure, mechanization of procedures in the tax and water offices and other modernizations.

SECRETARY of a special committee appointed by the Common Council to draft a new budget law for Milwaukee, **Norman N. Gill** *(Big City Budget Methods)* has had much experience in research on public administration problems. He was staff member of the Committee on Inquiry of Public Service Personnel of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, of the National Resources Planning Board's Urbanism and Science Committees, and of the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council. Mr. Gill has been municipal reference librarian of the city of Milwaukee since 1940 and has served as secretary of numerous official committees by appointment of the mayor or the council.

ONCE again the REVIEW is indebted to **Miss Rosina Mohaupt** for its annual compilation of the *Bonded Debt of U. S. Cities*. Miss Mohaupt is statistician for the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. She is author and coauthor of numerous studies published by the Detroit Bureau and the University.

URBAN rehabilitation and housing have long been matters of importance in the life of **Paul Windels** *(Private Enterprise Plan in Housing Faces First Test)*. He is president of the Regional Plan Association of New York and a member of the Mayor's committee which prepared and recommended a housing amendment to the State Constitutional Convention in 1938. At the request of city and state officials, Mr. Windels drafted the 1942 Urban Development Company's Act under which the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's project, about which he writes in this issue, is being planned. Mr. Windels was corporation counsel for the City of New York from 1934 to 1937. He has been counsel for numerous public enterprises including the New York State Bridge and Tunnel Authority and the Triborough Bridge Authority and at present is acting in the same capacity for the Joint Legislative Commission to Investigate the Public Education System.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Charles P. Taft, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Three Community Wartime Child Care Programs

EDITOR'S NOTE. Hundreds of communities throughout the country are faced with the problem of providing facilities and services for the children of a steadily increasing number of working mothers. The experience of three war-impacted towns may have bearing on similar situations in other communities. These three were selected not because they have the best programs, since programs must necessarily vary considerably from locality to locality, but because they offer examples of (1) varying degrees of adequacy of local resources to deal with the problem, (2) different agencies which might participate in planning and operation, and (3) the kind and amount of state and federal assistance requested.

Cleveland, Ohio

The United States Employment Service estimates that in January 1943 there were at least 150,000 women employed in the Cleveland area, of whom 54,000 were in war industries. It anticipated that between January 1943 and March 1944 it would be necessary to employ 75,000 additional women.

The Children's Council of the Welfare Federation (Council of Social Agencies), accepting the fact that many of these women were mothers of young children, organized an Emergency Day Care Committee to develop a program for the protection of these children.

The original Emergency Day Care Committee was composed in the main of representatives of community health and welfare agencies. Six months after its organization it came under the sponsorship of the Civilian Defense Council and broadened its membership to take in the field of education and to include representatives from industry, labor unions, civic organizations, women's groups, the United States Employment Service, the Metropolitan Housing Authority, and the lay public. The Cleveland War Chest is currently supporting the Committee through the Welfare Federation to the extent of $1,000 per month plus office space. The Cleveland Foundation has contributed $7,500.

The first job of the Committee was to assess the need for day care. A subcommittee on needs and facilities canvassed social agencies and, with the coöperation of public and parochial schools, made a survey covering more than 25,000 children in selected neighborhoods. The Committee made a thorough canvass and listing of local facilities for the daytime care of children.

These surveys served to show the chief areas of need, and the blank spots so far as facilities were concerned. They indicated that large numbers of children were being neglected, many of them because working parents could find no place where they might be well cared for.

The Committee set up an information and consultation service for mothers in the office of the Welfare Federation, to help them decide whether or not to go to work and to aid them in placing their children if they did go to work. In less than one year more than 1,800 mothers were assisted. This service also helped to localize the demand for child care.

When a cluster of requests came from a single neighborhood, it was a signal to the Emergency Day Care Committee to develop services.

In May 1942, when the Consultation Service was set up, there were eight day nurseries capable of caring for 443 children, supported by the Community Fund of Cleveland. There were also several private nurseries none of which were licensed.

At the present time there are thirty-six day care centers capable of caring for 1,568 children. Most are for pre-school-age children but seven have recently been set up for school-age children, and more are being planned. Those developed so far have been in settlement houses and housing projects. Though largely recreational in character, the program provides for feeding, regular care and supervision, a formal agreement with the child's parents for his care and a fee for that care.

The City Health Department and the State Welfare Department have set up health standards which must be met before a pre-school center may be licensed. Neighborhood schools and the Board of Education have coöperated in setting up before-and-after-school programs. Intake service and sometimes follow-up social work service are borrowed from a family or children's case work agency.

In the main the new centers have been financed by fees from parents, contributions from the sponsor, usually a settlement house, church, or housing project, and other neighborhood contributions. The latter include gifts from a local foundation, service clubs, and two war plants. A very substantial contribution has been made by the WPA through the assignment of staff. Some centers have been subsidized by the Emergency Day Care Committee through the Welfare Federation, usually with small amounts until they reached full enrollment.

Realizing that these centers were not easily available to all working mothers who desired outside care for their children, a Cleveland newspaper became interested in developing the use of private homes for the care of children. The paper undertook through its child care column to secure offers of homes. The Emergency Day Care Committee in turn studied and evaluated such homes, arranged for them to be licensed, and placed children in them. Within a few weeks, five hundred homes had been offered, most of good quality. Offers of homes soon outstripped the demand.

The Emergency Day Care Committee has developed a training course for volunteers secured through the volunteer office of the Defense Council, to supplement the service of the paid staff in the centers. The Cleveland high schools have trained many members of their Victory Corps in child care and these too are helping. Girl Scouts also coöperate in the program.

All these local resources and funds have made it possible to move ahead with the program and keep pretty well up with the need to date. The rapid increase in the employment of women and the withdrawal of WPA assistance have, however, made it necessary for Cleveland to apply for a federal grant to supplement its local resources.

An application for federal funds provided through Public Law 137 (Lanham Act) was made by the Board of Education to the Federal Works Agency which administers the act. A grant of $133,143 will partially cover the cost of operation of forty centers capable of caring for 1,775 children. Cleveland will meet at least 50 per cent of the total cost.

Wichita, Kansas

Wichita was one of the original thirty-two areas which the War Manpower Commission pointed out as having an acute labor shortage and recommended that further industrial development in the area through war contracts be limited as much as possible.

In order to fill their labor needs, the war industries of Wichita, particularly the three large aircraft plants, have employed and are planning to employ many local women. The United States Employment Service estimates that more than half of the approximately 60,000 workers needed in Wichita during 1943 will be women.

Questionnaires Used

Not the least of the community problems which Wichita faced was that of providing adequate care and protection for the children of these employed women.

A questionnaire answered by 353 working mothers of 622 children indicated that 300 of them were not satisfied with present arrangements for their children's care. Industries reported considerably higher rates of absenteeism and turnover among women than men. Much of this was caused by household and child care problems, and an increasing number of women were terminating employment because of such responsibilities. Increasing instances of neglect and need for supervision were noted by welfare and school authorities.

As a first step to meet this need, a child care committee of the local Defense Council was organized. Its membership included representatives from health, welfare and education agencies, civic groups, the United States Employment Service, management of local housing projects, personnel offices of local industries, and labor.

This committee functioned solely as a planning group which pulled together those agencies, groups, and individuals who had knowledge and experience to contribute. After several committee meetings it became evident that there was no agency existing in Wichita which could take full responsibility for the development of the total community program.

To take on this job, an Emergency Child Care Agency was organized as a part of the Community Chest, with an appropriation of $5,000 to cover 1943 operations. A board of directors was selected consisting of five members of the Day Care Committee, one member each from the Manpower Commission, Community Welfare Council and the Board of Education, and four members representing the large industrial employers of women. The Agency was incorporated as a non-profit association and an executive coördinator was appointed by the Board of Directors.

In order to put themselves immediately in touch with the child care problems of working mothers and at the same time implement a sound policy on the employment of women, the Wichita Wartime Child Care Agency established a Counselling Service in the offices of the United States Employment Service. The large industrial plants also send representatives of their personnel departments to maintain offices at the Employment Service and have agreed to refer all women applicants with children for a conference with the child care counsellor before employing them.

The industrial plants believe that absenteeism among their women employees has been greatly reduced since this plan was put into effect.

The WPA had established three nursery schools, providing care for about 90 children, and the Wichita Day Nursery, supported by the Community Chest, provided for seventy. A recent grant from the federal government provides supplementary funds for the continuation of the three WPA nurseries and the maintenance and operation of one other in connection with one of the housing projects.

Foster Homes Planned

Realizing that transportation difficulties would make group care in the four nursery schools in existence and any others which might be established inaccessible to many working mothers, the Agency devoted much of its immediate attention to the development of foster day care homes. A deplorable condition had arisen in the starting up of many such homes without safeguards or standards. A confidential survey of nine homes advertising child care was made by the City Health Department. More than a hundred children were cared for in these homes and only two could meet even minimum standards. Diets served in many of the homes were inadequate and children were showing evidences of malnutrition.

The Wartime Child Care Agency has undertaken to break up this racket by working through the health and welfare departments and through private social agencies to find proper foster homes. This job has been difficult because of the shortage of trained personnel but about a hundred homes with facilities for approximately 350 children have been given at least temporary licenses.

The Agency has asked the newspapers to accept ads only from licensed homes, and with the Counselling Service at the United States Employment Service referring the working mother only to licensed homes, the situation is much improved.

Both the Child Care Committee and the Wartime Child Care Agency had felt from the start that the group care program should be developed in connection with the schools. This was particularly true because the earliest surveys of need indicated that the large proportion of children needing care were of school age.

Difficulties in providing educational facilities for the regular school program have slowed progress on the development of before-and-after-school activities and supervision for the school-age children of working mothers.

The principal of one of the schools has worked out a recreational program to operate for six months including the summer vacation with 150 children enrolled. This is the only extended school program now in operation, but the Board of Education has planned to provide such programs throughout the school system and prepared an application for federal funds to help with the operation.

San Diego

Between May and November of 1942 the employment of women in aircraft manufacturing in San Diego increased from 7,000 to 16,000. By March of 1943 the United States Employment Service reported that the number of women in war industry establishments employing 200 or more had reached about 26,000.

Because of this sudden large increase, the problem of providing services for the care of their children got away ahead of the planning. The problem was upon the community in its most dramatic forms of neglect, delinquency, and calls for help. Social workers, teachers, civic groups, organized and unorganized volunteers pitched in when they saw a need and did what they could to provide temporary assistance. The WPA established twelve nursery schools, caring for thirty children each, under the sponsorship of the Board of Education. Some eleven privately operated nursery schools were taxed to capacity. The family and child welfare agencies gave what assistance they could in addition to carrying a bigger load of their regular work. But all these diverse efforts could not deal adequately with the community-wide problem.

Special Committee Appointed

The City and County Defense Councils appointed a Committee on Child Welfare in Wartime and secured the temporary loan, from the Community War Chest, of a coördinator. This committee was to be responsible for the coördination of the community's entire program of child care in wartime, including evaluation of the various child care needs and integration and expansion of existing agencies, approach to governmental bodies for the appropriation of funds and personnel for child care, and to act as a policy-forming committee governing the activities of the coördinator.

A general survey by the Committee reveals that in no part of the county were requests for child care being met, that there was need for a vast expansion of all educational, health, recreational, and welfare resources. It found that the various community agencies and groups were doing their utmost to deal with that part of the problem which came within their purview but that areas of responsibility were undefined and that local resources in both money and personnel were entirely inadequate.

Through agreement with the two departments concerned the Day Care Committee decided that the development of the group care program—nursery schools and before-and-after-school activities—should be the responsibility of the Board of Education, and that the development of individualized care, through foster day homes and homemaker service, and counselling service for placement and help on home and family problems, would be the responsibility of the Welfare Department.

A grant from the President's Emergency Fund, administered by the Office of Community War Services, secured through the State Department of Public Welfare, provided a permanent coördinator for the San Diego Wartime Child Welfare Committee, who acts as executive secretary of the committee in carrying out its plans and policies and in integrating the community program. The State Welfare Department also made available four additional welfare workers in San Diego County.

Through a grant from the Office of Community War Services, the State Education Department was able to make available to the local school authorities the assistance of a specialist in nursery school education and a consultant on before-and-after-school programs. These two worked with the school authorities in planning programs, setting up standards, selecting personnel; and outlining training courses for volunteers.

They planned for twenty-five nursery schools including the WPA nurseries already established and twenty-five before-and-after-school projects to be operated by the school authorities. A grant from the federal government under the Lanham Act was obtained to supplement fees from parents and local contributions for the operation of these projects.

It is expected that with this grant for the operation of group care facilities and the additional workers on the staff of the Welfare Department that San Diego has its day care problem well in hand and will be able to anticipate and make provision for needs which will still arise.

Researcher's Digest: June

Kansas City Bureau publishes colorful reports; newspapers pick up St. Louis Bureau items; Philadelphia in light blue; report on Indiana legislative activities; city financial data.

SOMEBODY in the **Civic Research Institute of Kansas City** (Missouri) has an eye for color and texture. Two publications rolled off the duplicating machinery in April which are so handsome as to cover as almost to tempt one to pin them upon the wall without even reading what's inside. The provocative titles which apparently the same artistic person has chosen save the reports from such a fate, however. Who would not want to look further when confronted with the title *Facing the Future* superimposed on the mysterious letters KCFD which are in turn superimposed on a bright red cover? And whose curiosity would not be piqued by a maroon *Gearing for War* bestride the letters DPW, mounted upon pebbly gray cover stock?

The first one deals with a plan for reorganizing the Kansas City Fire Department; the latter is a dissertation upon similar changes in the Kansas City Department of Public Works. Both are in considerable detail, a result of apparently exhaustive surveys. Recommendations are divided into long-range suggestions, which may have to wait upon the end of the war, and improvements which may be made immediately. Because the reports apply quite specifically to Kansas City, their details will not be discussed here. However, their entire approach and content might well be taken as models of how to make an administrative survey.

Art

Art flourishes in St. Louis, too. The **Governmental Research Institute** there has just added another to its considerable line of attractive reports, in the form of a book of reproductions of press clippings dealing with Institute work, *The Institute . . . And the Press . . . On Public Business.* The psychologists could probably tell us why a clipping looks more interesting when it is slanted on a page than when it marches along in parallel lines; the Institute has taken advantage of this quirk, as well as of some provocative handwritten commentaries on each page, to show with immense effectiveness how great a splash governmental research has made in the public prints and, thus, in the public mind.

Another type of report on bureau work also comes dressed up to entice the eye. **Philadelphia's Bureau of Municipal Research** prints its *Service Report for 1942* in light blue ink on cream colored paper. The Bureau's activities fell under many headings during the twelve months. Its contributions to the public weal included bond interest savings, safeguarding of sinking funds, assistance in the sewage disposal problem, aid in city planning, findings on refuse collection and disposal, coöperation in the water supply problem and in improvement of personnel administration.

Legislature

Still in the realm of attractive pamphlets and what about it, the connoisseur of such items might enjoy the *Report on the 1943 Indiana State Legislature* put out by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce.** An odd-sized pamphlet will always tend to catch the eye, and so the Bureau has put out a five by eight affair—wide and short—

printed in brown ink. The internal makeup is also good, with plenty of subheadings, a liberal leavening of bold face type and the page numbers written out in words. What a legislature does with itself is mightily important stuff and it is all to the good when a bureau translates these activities into a form which will force the interest which, unhappily, may *have* to be forced a little.

Treasure

A "complete" financial picture is one of the Holy Grails of governmental research and the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** bids fair to have provided an approximation of this treasure for all those interested in Providence affairs. *Financial Data, City of Providence, 1932-1942* comprises table after table, with a few paragraphs of comment for each, on assessed valuations, tax rate, tax collections, indebtedness, future debt service requirements, revenues and expenditures. In short, a gold mine, and no pun intended.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Finance

Financial Data, City of Providence, Rhode Island, 1932-1942. Providence Governmental Research Bureau, 1943. 15 pp.

Fire

Facing the Future. By Robert E. Pickup. Kansas City, Missouri, Civic Research Institute, April 1943. 41 pp.

Legislatures

Report on the 1943 Indiana State Legislature. Indianapolis, Bureau of Governmental Research of the Chamber of Commerce, 1943. 14 pp.

The Veto Power in Illinois with Special Relation to Adjournment of the Legislature. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, January 1943. 21 pp.

Property Taxation

Property Assessment in New York State. Property Tax Collections in New York State. Tax Collection and Tax Delinquency—Fifteen Rural New York Counties. By C. A. Bratton. Ithaca, New York, Department of Agricultural Economics, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, March 1943. 25, 25, and 53 pp. respectively.

Public Works

Gearing for War. Kansas City, Missouri, Civic Research Institute, April 1943. 55 pp.

Research and Research Bureaus

The Institute . . . And the Press . . . On Public Business. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, March 1943. 16 pp.

The Northwest Regional Council and Regional Development. Portland, Oregon, Northwest Regional Council, 1943. 8 pp.

Service Report for 1942. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1943. 4 pp.

Suggestions for a Research Program for the Universities and Colleges of the Pacific Northwest. Portland, Oregon, Northwest Regional Council, 1943. 5 pp.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

New Jersey Will Vote on Constitutional Revision

Voters asked to give 1944 legislature mandate to draft new constitution

FOR the first time since the adoption of the present constitution of New Jersey in 1844, New Jersey voters will have an opportunity to express themselves on constitutional revision next November. The question which will appear on the ballot will, in effect, ask the voters whether or not they wish the 1944 legislature to act as a constitutional convention. If a majority of the persons voting on the question say "yes," it will become the duty of the next legislature to draw up a revised constitution acceptable to each house of the legislature and submit it to the people at the general election in the hundredth anniversary year of the present constitution.

This novel procedure was first suggested last year by the Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution, headed by State Senator, now Treasurer, Robert Hendrickson. The revisionists were very much disappointed when a majority of the joint legislative committee, which conducted hearings on the revision throughout last summer, advised the legislature that the whole matter should be postponed until after the war.

Assemblyman Amlicke, of Passaic, now speaker of the House, and Assemblyman Cavicchia, now majority leader, entered strong minority reports. They took the position, afterwards endorsed by most of the civic organizations and leading newspapers, that the people are entitled to decide whether or not they consider improvement of the state constitution an appropriate or necessary phase of our struggle for democracy.

The setback last September disappointed but did not discourage advocates of revision. The New Jersey Committee on Constitutional Convention continued to advocate action, and secured the introduction, by Assemblyman Milton Feller of Union County, of a bill which was finally adopted, with minor amendments, on May 10. It was passed by the Assembly on April 2 by the decisive vote of thirty-seven to fourteen. The Senate, meeting ten days later, refused to act after an adverse vote in a stormy session of the Republican caucus.

The factor which finally brought the Senate around was the sudden emergence of New Jersey's World War I Governor, later U. S. Senator and Ambassador to France, Walter E. Edge, as the practically unanimous choice of the Republican county leaders for the nomination for governor. Mr. Edge's first public statement as an avowed candidate emphasized his determination to promote the cause of constitutional revision and to eschew bipartisan deals with Hague's Democratic organization.

Mr. Edge immediately followed up this statement by inviting the Republican senators to lunch with him and by insisting upon their coming back for a special meeting of the legislature to adopt the Feller bill. He suggested two amendments designed to reassure persons who were fearful that a revised constitution might tamper with the present basis of county representation in the legislature or with the Bill of Rights. Consequently, the Feller bill was amended so that the voters will be asked to give a limited mandate to the legislature, excepting the Bill of Rights and legislative representation from the general authorization to revise the constitution.

These amendments are considered immaterial by revisionists, because there is no substantial sentiment for changing the Bill of Rights and no one ever dreamed that the legislature would deliberately change the present system which gives the small counties equal representation in the Senate and assures each county at least one assemblyman in a lower house limited to sixty members. This peculiar system of representation has been, in fact, the great stumbling block to constitutional revision for three-quarters of a century. Many people would like to see a change, but Governor Edison and other advocates of revision long ago decided that they would gladly settle for a streamlining of the courts and of the executive department, the elimination of annual legislative elections, an easier amending process, and other refinements and safeguards.

A new factor in the situation appeared last December, when the New Jersey Constitution Foundation was organized to conduct impartial research and nonpartisan popular education on the constitution and government of the state. The Foundation, supported by private contributions, has a board of trustees composed of a fair cross-section of the educational and civic leaders in the state.

The Foundation announced that it would disseminate factual information necessary for sound judgment on constitutional issues but that it would not take sides on purely controversial questions. It is the belief of the Foundation that the postwar world will make demands on American government which cannot properly be met unless the citizens of our states take a more intelligent and effective interest in state and local affairs. The organizers of the Foundation felt that the movement for revision of the New Jersey constitution made it particularly important that a job of adult civic education be undertaken here at once.

The Foundation has been developing a varied program of education through existing organizations and local committees set up for the purpose. It has inaugurated a series of educational news releases, popular leaflets and pamphlets, a speakers' bureau, a small staff of field workers, and a series of weekly radio programs which have been broadcast for about three months over the New Jersey network consisting of stations WAAT, WTTM, and WFPG.

John Bebout,
Executive Vice-President
New Jersey Constitution Foundation

Georgia Constitution to Be Revised

The 1943 General Assembly of Georgia has provided machinery to revise the state constitution, which dates from 1877, and has done some state departmental reorganization, according to *Southern City*.

The present constitution has been amended 268 times and includes a total of 269 paragraphs. To one of the latter, which limits the amount of debt that a county or city may incur, 125 amendments have been made, largely relaxing the restrictions.

A commission of twenty-three senators, representatives, judges, the attorney-general, state auditor, and laymen was set up to draft a new constitution, for submission to the next legislature and thereafter, if passed by the legislature, to the voters.

The Georgia Municipal Association has urged that the commission appointees include persons who represent the municipal viewpoint, and has invited ideas and suggestions for the sections of the new constitution dealing with municipal powers. It expects to make recommendations to the commission embodying the composite views of municipal leaders.

The Highway Department reorganization act supersedes the present three-man board by one of twelve members—one from each congressional district and two from the state at large—to serve chiefly in an advisory capacity. It gives the Highway Department power and authority to cooperate with municipalities by providing surveys, maps, specifications, etc., necessary in planning, supervising, locating, improving, and constructing roads, highways, and streets. It makes no material change as to aid in the construction and maintenance of streets on highway routes.

West Coast States Cooperate in Air Raid Precautions

The states of California, Oregon, and Washington, in conjunction with the Army and the Office of Civilian Defense, have worked out a uniform pattern of air raid protection specifications. The Governors of Oregon and Washington, under their emergency war powers, have proclaimed uniform blackout and dimout orders, to be made more definite by the preparation of specific rules and regulations. Basically the same uniform blackout and dimout procedure was enacted by the California legislature.

New State Legislation on Urban Redevelopment

The Maryland legislature has adopted a bill authorizing a Land Development Commission to be created by the city of Baltimore. According to the Urban Land Institute, this commission will have authority to acquire blighted city land by purchase, lease, and condemnation, in areas eight acres or more in size. Condemnation may be used after 60 per cent of the area has been acquired by purchase or option. The procedure must be in accordance with the official plans of the Baltimore Commission on City Plan.

The Land Development Commission is authorized to petition an "appropriate federal department" for loans to be used in the acquisition of land in slums and blighted areas for the purpose of redevelopment. The commission is empowered to sell and lease land acquired by it to private builders for redevelopment, and may lay down appropriate restrictions as to proper standards of population density, property maintenance, land use, and architectural standards established for the particular neighborhood in which the property is situated, all in accordance with a redevelopment plan approved by the Commission on City Plan. The new commission can make agreements with local taxing authorities under which annual use value shall be the principal factor in determining the value for taxation of land sold by the commission, as well as for improvements erected on it.

The legislature also adopted a proposal for a constitutional amendment specifically authorizing a redevelopment commission for Baltimore.

The Kansas legislature recently authorized the creation of urban redevelopment corporations with power of land condemnation, under supervision of the State Corporation Commission, for private redevelopment of slums and blighted areas. Similar legislation has been under consideration in Missouri and Wisconsin.

The New York State redevelopment companies law of 1942, providing for private redevelopment companies and the investment therein of insurance funds, has been amended this year to lighten its restrictions in various respects. According to the Citizens

Housing Council of New York, the amendments change the former requirements as to interest and dividend rates; permit withdrawal from controls on land use, which in the original bill were maintained for the life of the project, upon payment by the redevelopment companies of exempted taxes; remove the provision that the availability of proper accommodations for displaced tenants be passed on by the City Planning Commission; grant a twenty-five-year instead of a twenty-year period of partial tax exemption; declare for purposes of condemnation that this public use is superior even as to property already used for public purposes.

Shortly after passage of the amendments it was announced that a large insurance company was prepared to develop a large area in the east part of the borough of Manhattan, New York City.[1]

Sanitation Problem Solved by Mutual Effort

Coöperation on the part of local, state, and federal officials has provided a solution to what is described by the editors of the *Michigan Municipal Review* as the worst sanitation problem in Michigan. In the April issue of that publication Edward M. Shafter and Jay F. Gibbs, city managers of Royal Oak and Ferndale, respectively, describe the sewage collection and disposal arrangments that were agreed upon and the facilities for which are now under construction. An editorial note comments: "It required many administrative conferences between municipal, county, state, and federal officials to get the technical, legal, financial, and engineering work on the project under way, since Michigan law is ill-adapted to this kind of coöperative enterprise. A spirit of tolerance, patience, and intelligent determination made possible the realization of the objective."

The project involves the disposal of sewage from the southeastern part of Oakland County, which lies north of Wayne County, containing the city of Detroit. The authors believe that its consummation will permanently solve the problem and stimulate building development in the area. It is expected to satisfy the requirements of the State Department of Health and the State Stream Control Commission, and will permit the Federal Housing Administration to approve insured mortgage loans in vacant portions of the district which, because of the lack of proper sewage disposal facilities, were ineligible for such aid.

Sewage is to be carried to the intercepting sewer of the disposal system of Detroit, which will be paid accordingly. The Federal Works Agency contributes a grant of $662,000 for the project, and $905,000 will be financed by the sponsors through thirty-year revenue bonds, to be retired by means of sewer service charges based on the water consumption of the political subdivisions involved. Oakland County has been empowered by statute to act as the sponsoring agent for the ten political subdivisions affected.

Federal Coordination for Congested Production Areas

By executive order of President Roosevelt, issued on April 7, wide powers of coördination have been assigned to a newly authorized Committee for Congested Production Areas, intended to bring about better cooperation among the various government agencies concerned with providing housing and community facilities and services for war workers in congested production areas.

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[1] See also "Private Enterprise Plan in Housing Faces First Test," p. 284.

The committee is headed by Harold Smith, Director of the Budget, and includes representatives of the War Production Board, the National Housing Agency, the War and Navy Departments, the War Manpower Commission, and the Federal Works Agency. The duties of the committee include designation of the congested production areas, coöperation with and supplementing of the efforts of state and local governments, coördination of the activities of all federal agencies in so far as they affect problems arising out of congestion, and prescribing of such policies and action as may be necessary to effectuate such coördination.

Council-Manager Plan News

A bill that would have authorized the citizens of **Cambridge, Massachusetts,** to vote at the regular 1945 municipal election on the question of abandoning Plan E—council-manager government with P. R.—was killed in the State Senate in April. The plan has been in effect in Cambridge since January 1, 1942. A referendum thereon is permitted after four years' trial under present law.

The manager plan is being investigated by the Chamber of Commerce of **Rome, New York,** a subcommittee of the Chamber having reported in favor of the plan for that city. Chamber directors accepted recommendations of the municipal affairs committee that speakers from manager cities be secured to address a meeting of that committee, the directors, and other interested persons. On May 14 the manager plan was discussed by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, National Municipal League consultant and former city manager, Conrad J. Heiselman, former mayor of Kingston, New York, who described the strong-mayor form, and B. E. Crihfield, managing director of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, who told of Schenectady's experience with the manager plan.

The council-manager plan for **Las Vegas, Nevada,** was approved at the city election on May 4, in a light vote —982 to 822. It is not known yet when the plan will go into effect.

The **Vermont** legislature has passed a bill enabling two or more towns to join together for the purpose of employing a manager.

The manager plan is under consideration in the borough of **Shippensburg, Pennsylvania,** and it has been proposed by the president of the council that an informal ballot of the voters be taken on the question, at the next election.

The territorial legislature of **Alaska,** at its last session, passed a bill permitting cities to adopt the council-manager form of government.

Marysville, Michigan, is showing interest in the manager plan.

Miamisburg, Ohio, is circulating petitions for a vote on the manager plan.

Merit System for Kenosha, Wisconsin

A charter ordinance adopted in Kenosha, Wisconsin, establishes a merit system for all city employees excepting division and department heads, who will be chosen and appointed by the city manager, and occupants of temporary positions at the time the ordinance was adopted, who will be continued in service without examination. The new law, according to the Civil Service Assembly, creates a three-member civil service commission to be appointed by the city manager who will also act as personnel director or else appoint one. Police and fire employees, who have been covered by a separate civil service commission since 1931, will continue in their present system.

Open House in Denver

The city and county of Denver, Colorado, recently held an "open house" for the purpose of making the citizens acquainted with their government. For four successive evenings the city and county building was open to the public, and corridors and offices were visited by throngs of interested citizens, who inspected carefully prepared exhibits and talked with public servants. Extensive advertising of the venture, as an opportunity to see "Denver in Action," was carried on and aided in attracting 50,000 visitors. The functions of each of the major divisions of the city and county service were set forth in displays including a full-length moving picture.

Cities Aid in Victory Gardens

To help citizens who want victory gardens, many cities are taking formal legislative action by ordinance, resolution, or appropriation, and several have made gardening a municipal service, according to the International City Managers' Association.

Practically every city reporting is making city-owned property available to victory gardeners, many of them without charge. Plots are assigned on a first come, first served basis. Rochester and several other New York municipalities require the signing of an agreement, drawn up by the corporation counsel, relieving the city from liability.

A few cities are making adjustments in water rates for the benefit of victory gardeners. Free seeds are provided by some cities.

In North Dakota the Governor has asked all local governments to participate in a state program, and the League of North Dakota Municipalities has been given the assignment of organizing community garden plots.

Municipal Public Works Lack Men and Materials

Difficulty of obtaining manpower, inability to obtain street repair materials, and scarcity of equipment repair parts head a list of problems of municipal public works, according to a survey of ninety cities of more than 10,000 population by the American Public Works Association.

It was found that: (1) approximately 47 per cent of the cities reporting indicated that loss of manpower was felt in such activities as refuse collection, street repair, street cleaning, snow removal, and in the operation of sewage and water supply facilities; (2) lack of asphalt and tar products for street maintenance and repair is becoming acute, with a third of the cities reporting a definite need for these materials; (3) urgent need for repair parts for automotive as well as stationary mechanical equipment was reported by nearly a third of the municipalities.

Combatting Juvenile Delinquency in Cities

The juvenile aid division of the Indianapolis Police Department, the Park Department's recreation division, and the Board of Public Safety have combined in a campaign against juvenile delinquency. Juvenile offenders in minor cases will be tried at recreation centers by their companions under a program of "boys' courts." The state curfew law has been invoked for the city and parents are made liable to fine and imprisonment for neglect of their children.

Providence, Rhode Island, is setting up a junior police force in an effort to curb vandalism. The junior police, according to the American Municipal Association, will study the operation of the police department, work with the school safety squad, and perform other tasks under police direction.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Syracuse and Baltimore Shape Postwar Plans

Citizen participation urged in both cities

SYRACUSE, New York, and Baltimore, Maryland, have joined the growing list of cities making headlines with their postwar plans. Substantial progress in Syracuse is reported in a special article in the May issue of *Fortune Magazine*—"Syracuse Tackles Its Future." *Fortune* is coöperating with the city in this postwar planning project and has furnished planning and economic consultants. But its editors emphasize that the real job is being done by the city and county governments, public and private organizations, and the general public in the area.

To quote the article: "The citizens of Syracuse have decided to meet the problem of the city head on and right now. Their postwar planning is the replanning of their city. They want to put their city's high economic potential to constructive postwar use. They are not thinking about a glorified 'beautification' problem, though they will inevitably get a better-looking city. They are aware that when war production has truly succeeded the war will end and with it war production. And then what—unemployment? There will be millions of men to re-employ: those in Syracuse can be kept at work only if there is full general employment. But there can be full general employment only if Syracuse—and all the other communities of the land—are busy and prosperous. Our economy must find a peace production program that approaches the war program. Syracuse thinks the place to begin is at home—and on a pay-as-you-go basis.

"Part of the program represents a wise outlet for public funds. The greater part offers investment opportunities for private capital. In the Syracuse project the problems of reemployment, full employment, and city planning blend together, and thereby promise a mutual solution.

"And the public *is* participating. Businessmen, civic leaders, industrialists, farmers from the surrounding county meet in smoke-filled rooms with city planners, economists, engineers, sociologists, and professors from the university. City planning is talked over in the restaurants, in the Chamber of Commerce lounge, the poster-covered office of the county agent, and the decrepit quarters of the City Planning Commission itself. The churches and the press support the project. Agencies of local government are active: the Housing Authority, Sergei Grimm's City Planning Commission, spearhead and prime mover of the entire project, the County Park and Planning Board, and the County Public Works Commission. Each of the agencies coöperates with the various citizen committees sponsored by private agencies like the Chamber of Commerce, the Council of Social Agencies, and the Safety Council. Organization is not rigid, and at times it is difficult to tell where a civilian committee ends and a government body begins. Indeed, Syracuse's future is being discussed in what might be described as a continual town meeting."

In Baltimore, a committee composed of business, financial, engineering, professional, and educational leaders has issued *Baltimore Plan*, "as a progress report to Mayor Howard W. Jackson." Other reports will follow.

Here, as the progress report puts it, are some of the aims behind the work of the Committee:

"Your committee was appointed with the aim of guiding Baltimore through the difficulties of a postwar period. This includes both the plans to avoid any dangers of that period and to put our city in the most advantageous position possible. We should try to avoid the dangers of large unemployment, dangers which may be particularly grave for us, not only because of an enormous influx of war workers but also because of the effects now in sight upon the peacetime employment in industries and commercial concerns resulting from the classification of Baltimore as a critical area. This diverts to other centers the goods and services these industries normally provide in order to release workers to war activities. It also results in contraction in employment forces of such concerns through the departure of employees for the armed forces and war industry employment. The real problem is how many of these establishments can survive these processes through the war period and be available as postwar sources of employment. These businesses include some highly important ones that have for generations in periods of prosperity and depression been a permanent and stabilizing section of the industrial backbone of our city. They have heretofore provided goods essential to both civilian and war needs, but are being excluded from war orders to ease the local labor shortage in war industries. This introduces a factor that may have grave long-time economic effects through the building up of competitive centers elsewhere. Further, we should try to make our city an even better living place."

The Committee is seeking present and future factors likely to affect Baltimore's economy and is basing its search for solutions to postwar problems on the premise that "the goal to be achieved and toward which all should work is *employment for everybody who wants it.*"

Headquarters Opened by New Phoenix Citizen Group

The **Citizens Good Government Council** . . . [has opened headquarters] at 418 Goodrich Building, it was announced . . . by C. E. Gollwitzer, president. The council was formed after the community was placed out of bounds to soldiers in December.

In the recent city election campaign the organization was instrumental in the election of J. R. (Bert) Fleming and Fred Wilson to posts as city commissioners.

Since the election the council has been successful in enlarging its organization by including various civic groups and individuals. Mr. Gollwitzer said the membership is continuing to increase daily.

W. J. B. Schimfessel will be the council's executive secretary while retaining his post as assistant manager of the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Golwitzer declared effective operation of the council is of major importance to Phoenix.

"We have no middle-of-the-road course to pursue in choosing good government," Mr. Gollwitzer said. "Either it is worth working and fighting for or we revert to the former state of complacency, disregarding civic duty by our failure to recognize responsibility in governmental affairs.

"The Citizens Good Government Council was organized to combat any future evils that may be encountered at the City Hall. Other communities have corrected such evils such as Phoenix has suffered, and we intend to fulfill every pledge made to the people during the recent city campaign."

The Citizens Good Government Council last week joined the National Municipal League, created a number of years ago to unite on a national basis civic groups having the same purposes for which the local organization was formed. . . .

The Phoenix organization already has received invaluable assistance from the national league in outlining a feasible and constructive program for the ensuing year.

From the PHOENIX, ARIZONA, REPUBLIC.

Democracy in Public Schools in New York and Cincinnati

New York City and Cincinnati each have recently made important contributions designed to strengthen the rôle of their public school systems in acquainting students with democratic processes.

New York City's Committee on Practical Democracy in Education has issued a 110-page report fulfilling its assignment "to explore and recommend democratic procedures in such fields as administration, student government, teacher and classroom attitudes, school and community interrelations."

The Committee of experienced educators asked pupils, teachers, school administrators, parents, and civic bodies of New York City to assist it "in reaching a conclusion as to what are the most important and fundamental characteristics of democracy as it pertains to education." Out of this joint effort came eighteen fundamental characteristics of democracy that provide a framework for an educational program.

The Committee concludes that "democracy is a quality of relation that obtains among people. In this relation are involved the attitudes of people toward one another, their ability to think honestly, fearlessly, and clearly, their quest for fact and truth, and their devotion to the ideals of the good life for all. These attitudes and convictions stem from daily habits of practical democracy. Education for this kind of democracy has its roots in our American history and tradition. Verbal repetition of these ideals will not nourish them. Something more than lip service is required. Daily and habitual application of the principles of moral and ethical consideration for people is the best assurance for establishing continuing patterns of democratic behavior and thought.

"Therefore, the committee does not offer . . . predigested, self-righteous conclusions. As concomitant of the preceding case studies, it offers a series of questions addressed to pupils, teachers, administrators, supervisors, and parents. These, it is hoped, will form the basis for self-question and self-analysis. It is hoped that analysis and evaluation of one's self in relation to the ideals and the best practices of democracy may lead to the formulation of clearly discerned and essential patterns which will be applied to conduct in school, home, and community."

The committee then offers 199 (literally) questions for self-analysis and self-evaluation to be used by pupils, teachers, supervisors, administrators and parents to guide their work and discussion toward constantly increasing emphasis on democracy in the schools.

Cincinnati's contribution is primarily the work of the **League of Women Voters'** Education Committee, which has just published in a new well illustrated, printed pamphlet their *Know Your City,* circulated in processed form earlier. This is a booklet for use by teachers in the classroom study of individual cities and is designed primarily, of course, for Cincinnati school children, particularly those studying ninth-grade civics.

In sixteen illustrated chapters, covering sixty-six pages, the booklet develops Cincinnati's growth, explains its charter, the work of the council, the city manager, the civil service system, department of public works, public utilities, department of public safety, city solicitor, city courts, public relations and welfare, public health, recreation, finances, schools, and the general activities of the city.

Georgia Movement Stimulates New Spirit in Deep South

Georgia decided in the summer of 1937 to have "an indigenous movement of its own, organized pursuant to the novel notion that the people of that state ought to know the facts concerning its affairs. . . . The search for truth went forward under the aegis of the **Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia,** as it is called, certainly one of the most notable movements of its kind in any American state." So wrote Virginius Dabney in his recent volume *Below the Potomac.*[1]

With the advent of its fifth anniversary some months ago, the Fact-Finding Movement turned its attention to fact-finding on itself.

During the five-year period three series of reports were issued, dealing with broad aspects of Georgia and designed to give a picture of the state as a whole—its historical background, its natural resources, agriculture, industry and commerce, health, education, public welfare, penal system, political system, tax system, and federal activity in the state. Published in small pamphlets these reports were brief and simple so that people might readily use them for talks, forums, and study groups, and as general source material. Each was prepared by a consultant—a specialist in the field.

The reports in each of the three series dealt with the same sequence of topics. The first series was in the nature of a state inventory and consisted of factual information only. About the time of its completion the *Report to the President on Economic Conditions of the South* was published. The Movement thereupon annotated it for Georgia, in an effort to gain a picture of the state in relation to the South as a whole, and thus issued its several sections in a second group of reports. The third series was published in response to public request and dealt with possible solutions to state problems. Reviewing again the subjects covered, the entire group of consultants collaborated in offering proposals for state action which were published under the caption "Let's Reason Together."

This five-year check-up disclosed that 317,000 of the Movement's publications had been distributed, not sent out broadcast but furnished upon request only. Records showed they had gone into every incorporated community in the state, to forty-two other states, to the District of Columbia, Canada, Alaska, England, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Argentina, and Brazil.

Records further revealed that the reports were being used in some of the classes of every institution of higher learning in the state except three specialized schools, were being used by 2,000 extension teachers, and were in all the state's libraries. They were being used in the instruction of NYA youths, in workers' education classes; used by forum leaders, by newspaper writers, by ministers, as well as by the coördinating organizations themselves in program-making. To a gratifying extent the reports had reached those at low as well as high economic levels, and black as well as white.

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[1] New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942.

The reports had been distributed without charge except for quantity orders. Still the work had been carried on during the five-year period on the nominal sum of $21,000. Financed through contributions, the Movement had received amounts ranging from a nickel and a penny wrapped in a piece of brown paper up to several $1,000 gifts, and two grants totalling $15,000. Only substantial assistance in the form of goods and services had made $21,000 stretch so far.

Mainsprings

What accounts for the progress of this work in the deep South? Dean Herbert Hunsaker of Cleveland College, formerly with the American Adult Education Association, has said of it: "In my judgment, after having obtained first hand information about such activities in all sections of the United States, the Georgia Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement is the most significant and basically sound adult education activity that is being carried on in this country." Why is it basically sound?

Foremost, it is indigenous. It was undertaken and has been carried on by seventeen state-wide organizations, the state's leading civic, educational, religious, and farm groups: men's service clubs—Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Civitan, Exchange; women's groups—Federation of Women's Clubs, PTA, University Women, League of Women Voters, Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Pilot, Council of Church Women; the state's two large educational groups—the Education Association and the Library Association; its two adult farm organizations—the Farm Bureau and the Home Demonstration Association; and the state's editors—the Press Association.

Since its inception the Movement has been carried on under the direction of a coördinating committee, composed of the elected state heads of these groups who serve on the committee by virtue of their office. The chairmanship of the committee rotates among its members. Further stability is provided through an administrative committee appointed annually and through a permanent administrative office and staff.

The Movement has had the generous coöperation of well known Georgians, specialists in their several fields, who have served as consultants and prepared the reports on which the work of the Movement is based.

Then, too, the Movement has had the assistance—essential to any organization so loosely formed as this—of a few people who have been willing through devotion and loyalty to the state to remain at work in the background.

Results and Potentialities

The question naturally arises, what has this work meant to Georgia? Its results have of course been intangible, as education is intangible. But today few can be found who will not agree that there is a new spirit abroad in Georgia, and many hold that a vital source of this spirit is the healthy self-analysis stimulated during the past few years by the Movement. The state has recently passed through a political upheaval unsurpassed since the days of the Populists. A session of the legislature has just adjourned having enacted into law more than a score of recommendations made in the reports of the Movement. Of course, one cannot prove that these happenings developed out of the work of the Movement; at the same time evidence points in that direction.

When the work was undertaken in 1937 it grew out of concern over the paradox of poverty in the face of natural wealth abundant in the state, a concomitant of the colonial status which has so long held back the development of Georgia and her sister states. Since the Movement began war has been declared. The work has therefore taken on new meaning. For perhaps no section of the nation faces more complex difficulties than does the South, where the world-wide turmoil of today makes both more acute and more significant the deep-rooted problems which have long handicapped the region.

Whatever changes the postwar period may bring will be governed necessarily by what there is to start from. Recognizing this fact, the Movement is now in process of revising its reports in accordance with the 1940 census and other recent data. And in an attempt to reach an even wider audience, the text is being rewritten as nearly as possible in Basic English and enlivened by the use of visual methods of presentation.

This citizens' movement in the deep South thus goes on, impelled and challenged by the realization that it, like other such democratic efforts, is a foot "stuck in tomorrow's doorway."

Josephine Wilkins, *Administrator*
Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia.

Roundup—

This country's wartime celebration of "I am an American Day"—May 16—will have come and gone by the time this issue reaches its readers. From looking through citizen organization publications we gained the impression that many groups were planning appropriate activities and ceremonies . . . The April *Civic Searchlight,* bulletin of the **Detroit Citizens League,** told of an elaborate evening program which was sponsored by a score of organizations, including the League . . . New York City, a number of counties in Wisconsin where the idea originated, and other communities have planned programs.

We have seen the first two issues of *Tomorrow's Town,* a new monthly publication of the **National Committee on the Housing Emergency.** It is a well written, attractively issued leaflet. Although dealing with subjects entirely in the housing field it should be of interest to anyone concerned about citizen activity in public affairs. The first number is devoted largely to a symposium on England's Uthwatt Report on land use, while the second contains a series of short articles on the implications for postwar housing of new materials and techniques in the field.

The **Section for Citizen Unity of the Office of Civilian Mobilization,** a part of the New York State War Council, has issued a report of its activities for 1942. It tells an impressive story of aid to local groups throughout the state in organizing meetings and providing speakers and materials—all with a view to promoting public understanding of the issues involved in the war and the goals for which we are fighting.

The **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** has published a very useful election calendar, which gives the facts in a form suitable for ready reference. Included are a list of offices to be voted on this year, present officers of the city and county, a list of the districts accompanied by a clear map, the names of the members of the Republican and Democratic City Committees, and the important dates.

"V Is for Vote Too!" was the slogan used by the **Citizens League of Port Huron** in its promotion activities prior to the spring city elections.

R.M.W.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Tax Exemption Test Cases Come to Trial

Federal government sues authority bond holders

HEARINGS have begun in the first of two test cases brought by the Treasury Department in its effort to achieve taxation of income derived from state and municipal bonds. Expert testimony in a case involving a holder of bonds of the Port of New York Authority is now in progress, and a similar case involving bonds of the Triborough Bridge Authority of New York will follow.

Testimony in the Port Authority case began in New York City, where witnesses were mostly those of the Authority and the evidence was predominantly that tending to support the contention that present immunity from federal income taxation resulted in a tangible and substantial benefit to the bond issuing agency in terms of lower interest costs than would otherwise prevail. The hearing was then removed to Washington, where Treasury witnesses attempted rebuttal and developed the thesis that even though the immunity conferred advantages to the debtor unit the advantages were chiefly to the recipient of the income.

There is considerable disposition, especially among the financial community, to regard the cases as decisive in determining whether the present tax-exempt status of state and local bonds will continue. It is expected, of course, that, regardless of the immediate decision, the result will be appealed to the Supreme Court. Furthermore, the Treasury is bringing its case against the same agencies which were initially involved in its successful effort to tax the incomes of state and local government employees.

There are suggestions, however, that the present bond cases are not necessarily such as to provide precedents binding in the case of the great majority of local governments or of the states. Both the Port Authority and the Triborough Bridge Authority are public service enterprises, and perform none of the so-called governmental functions. Furthermore, the bonds involved in both cases are revenue bonds, that is, limited obligations payable solely from certain stipulated revenues, rather than obligations for which the full faith and credit, i.e., taxing power, of a governmental agency is pledged.

These distinctions are important ones, and it is difficult in the face of them to see where a decision in the present cases upholding the Treasury's contention that bond interest should be taxable to the individual may be extended automatically to cover also income from bonds issued by the states and local governments for governmental purposes.

Cities Increasing Utility and Franchise Taxes

Taxation by cities of their local utilities is increasing, according to the International City Managers' Association. Kansas City, St. Louis, and numerous other cities are among those recently levying new taxes on utilities.

Kansas City, Missouri, estimates a return of approximately $1,130,000 during the 1943 fiscal year from newly adopted taxes on local utilities: $420,000 from a 5 per cent tax on gross income, except income from industrial use, of the local power and light company; $290,000 from a similar tax on its gas company; $256,000 from a 4 per cent tax on gross income of the local telephone company; $57,000 from a tax on the local street railway company of 1 mill per street-car passenger; and $106,000 from a 3 per cent tax on bus revenue of the street railway company.

Last December St. Louis adopted a 5 per cent tax on the gross receipts of every telephone company operating in the city, while Wenatchee, Washington, obtained nearly $12,000 during the first fiscal year from a 2 per cent tax on the telephone company and a 3 per cent tax on the local power company.

A 2 per cent franchise tax levied recently by El Paso, Texas, on the local telephone company will, city officials believe, increase by 100 per cent the revenue now obtained by an existing 2 per cent tax on gross sales.

Another Missouri community, Richmond Heights, expects to receive $10,000 this year from a 2 per cent tax levied on utility companies in December 1941. Hornell, New York, also anticipated $10,000 this year from a 1 per cent utility tax levied last July.

Results of taxes levied on utilities by several Texas cities, in addition to El Paso, within the last two years was reported by the Association. Waco, for example, obtains about $33,000 a year from a street rental charge against local power and light, telephone and gas companies; the charge was levied in August 1941.

Wichita Falls has, since October 1941, levied a 2 per cent gross revenue tax against the local electric service company which brings in around $17,000 a year and in August of last year enacted a 1½ per cent gross revenue tax expected to produce $11,500 annually from the local gas service company.

Among other Texas cities levying taxes on local utilities are Denison, Galveston, McAllen, and Sweetwater, with revenues ranging from $52,000 in Galveston from a gross receipts tax on utilities to about $6,000 in Denison from a 2 per cent gross income tax on power and light and telephone companies.

Cleveland Urged to Acquire Electric Utility

The city of Cleveland, which last year acquired the privately-owned transit system with proceeds of $17,500,000 of revenue bonds, is currently considering a proposal that it purchase the properties of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company, which is in competition with the municipally-owned light and power plant. At a meeting of the utilities committee of the City Council held early in May, proponents of the plan were heard. Earlier, the opponents had presented their arguments, led chiefly by officials of nearby communities serviced by the CEI who expressed their opposition to a prospective loss in taxes under Cleveland ownership.

According to the *Daily Bond Buyer*, Paul Walter, as spokesman for the Light Plant Association, stated that under municipal ownership the CEI properties would benefit both consumers and the governmental bodies. Had the city owned and operated the private system between 1937 and 1941, consumers could have enjoyed a rate reduction aggregating $11,013,168, profits to Cleveland would have been $30,015,968, and none of the communities served by the system would have suffered any loss in tax revenues.

Mr. Walter said that rate reductions to consumers within the city would have been to the level charged by the municipal plant and to outside consumers rates could have been reduced 10 per cent. From $2,300,000 to $2,750,000 a year of school, city, county, and state taxes to outside communities could have been paid under municipal ownership.

It was explained that the reason such very substantial savings could be achieved under municipal ownership arises from the fact that at present the private company's earnings support annual dividends equal to 22 to 24 per cent on the original par value of the stock. Mr. Walter said that, although recent newspaper advertisements of the company "set forth that the company's preparedness program caused it to invest $35,000,000 in a construction program started in 1939. . . . We have not been able to find any evidence to disclose that the stockholders who made the profits shown above invested one additional dollar toward making the $35,000,000 construction program possible."

State Income Tax Revenues Expected to Increase

Revenues from state income taxes undoubtedly will increase, according to a forecast by the Federation of Tax Administrators.

After reaching a high of nearly $400,000,000 in 1938, based on 1937 incomes, collections for 1939 fell to approximately $330,000,000. But in succeeding fiscal years income tax collections increased at an accelerated rate, passing the $400,000,000 mark in 1941 and the $500,000,000 mark in 1942.

It should be noted, however, the federation said, that individual state income tax collections made virtually no gains from 1941 to 1942, whereas corporation income taxes jumped from $153,000,000 to $269,000,000, an increase of 65 per cent.

Figures for the first three-quarters of the 1943 fiscal year continue the upward trend, though the rate of increase has fallen off considerably. Figures based on calendar years, which reflect more accurately changes in taxable income, reveal substantially the same trend.

Individual variations among states are great. In the 1942 calendar year, Mississippi collected more than twice as much—203.5 per cent—from income taxes as it did in 1941, while collections for South Dakota in contrast decreased 30.5 per cent. In most instances, variations can be accounted for to some degree by distribution of war activities or by legislation changes.

The 25 per cent cut in New York's individual income tax payments, by far the largest in the United States, offset increased collections in other states to hold down the 1942 total individual income tax collections. Iowa followed in 1943 with a 50 per cent cut, while South Dakota and West Virginia repealed their laws this year. South Dakota, however, will collect on 1942 income. Oregon has made several changes in its laws which, it is estimated, will reduce taxes on 1943 income in that state by as much as a third.

"The tendency for income tax collections to rise in the future will be offset by several factors," the federation said. "Legislatures of states with large cash balances may repeal taxes or slash rates. Deduction of federal taxes, permitted in most states levying the state income tax, will have an adverse effect on collections, although the full effect of recent increases will not be felt until 1944. More and more potential taxpayers are entering the armed forces, thereby reducing their taxable income almost to the vanishing point."

The federation said predictions of widespread adoption of state income taxes in those states which do not have them "seem thus far unfulfilled, although other states may follow the example of Delaware in levying flat rate income taxes similar to the federal Victory tax."

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Counties Interested in Postwar Plans

San Mateo prepares public works program

THE County Planning Commission of San Mateo County, California, aided by the Federal Works Agency and the National Resources Planning Board, has undertaken the preparation of a postwar public works program. The program is now awaiting approval of the Board of Supervisors. If approved as recommended by the Planning Commission, it would develop as a pay-as-you-go public works construction plan such as that on which the county has been operating for many years.

A complete analysis has been made of population trends, assessed valuations, tax rates, and past expenditures for public works, and on the basis of this fiscal data it was determined that San Mateo County had been expending approximately $400,000 a year on public works. A list of contemplated capital improvement projects for the next five years was then secured from each department head. A committee of the Planning Commission and the Board of Supervisors was appointed to act as a priority board to list the projects in order of their importance and to fit them into a six-year construction program.

A uniform tax rate maintained during the war years would permit creation of a reserve fund due to postponement of such public works. The reserve fund would be earmarked for projects specified in the postwar public works program and would become available at the close of the war.

Postwar Highway Construction by Counties

Better Roads, in a survey to discover what counties are doing in postwar planning in highway construction, concludes that while some have made definite and detailed plans to resume construction after the war, many are doing regrettably little in this field.

Reasons for this lack of planning include inertia, unwillingness to look ahead, inability to understand the need for planning, lack of money, lack of manpower, especially engineering help, uncertainties of future financing, and inability to foresee the nature of the postwar works program.

The plans of five of the more active counties are described in *Better Roads* to serve as a stimulus to others.

Milwaukee County Fire Chiefs Train Fire Brigades

Fifteen cities, towns, and villages in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, are participating in a fire-fighting training program designed for key men in industrial plants, department stores, etc., who, in turn, will organize fire brigades in their plants and train their crews. More than 2,500 industrial fire-fighters in 173 plants in the Milwaukee area have been trained through the courses conducted by the Milwaukee County Association of Fire Chiefs.

The items studied include fire signals, use of machinery and equipment, techniques of fire-fighting, salvage, and detection of causes of fires.

Since the industrial fire brigade program was established nearly a year ago, there have been fewer runs to factory fires despite increased hazards resulting from three-shift operation at plants. Of the 5 per cent decrease in fire loss in Milwaukee in 1942, the greater part of this decrease was noted in industrial plant fires.

County Priority Needs Discussed at Conference

The National Association of County Officials held a conference in Omaha, Nebraska, May 24, 25, and 26, which was designed to help the War Production Board create better understanding of wartime problems through coöperation with county officials. A similar meeting was held in Washington in March 1942.

In explaining the purposes of the conference, Mr. Maury Maverick, director of the Government Division of the War Production Board, stated: "The Government Division hopes to present a comprehensive program to enlighten public officials on current War Production Board rules and regulations, and at the same time, to obtain from public officials a clearer understanding of the problems faced in maintaining a minimum—but absolutely necessary—public service."

State-County Highway Cooperation in Illinois

Continuing its series on state-local highway relations begun last October,[1] *Better Roads* recently published an article explaining the coöperative program followed in the state of Illinois.

The article explains that relations between the State Highway Department and county highway departments have been close and cordial because of historical development, the nature of state laws, and the undeviating policy of the state department to remain on friendly terms, respect county rights and not encroach on county authority. The result has been that the counties operate with considerable autonomy but follow as a matter of course the practices recommended by the state. Their legislative programs are developed and presented to the General Assembly together differing only in that the State Highway Department presents the primary road program and the counties the secondary road program.

Counties, classified on the basis of population, are permitted to designate a certain percentage of their total mileage as "state-aid roads," although the term is now a misnomer. Such designation is subject to the approval of the state, and the roads must form a reasonably interconnected system in the county and with neighboring counties.

The sources of highway funds are three: (1) Refunds are made from the state treasury to amortize bonds on roads built before 1931. A law repealed that year promised a 50 per cent refund to counties building roads under state supervision. The state is now assisting in retiring bonds issued under this provision. (2) One-third of the motor fuel tax collected by the state is returned to the counties. (3) A county highway property tax may be levied. The expenditure of this revenue differs from both the preceding in that it need not be brought under state supervision.

The selection of a county superintendent of highways is subject to more state supervision than is found in most states. Not only does the state prescribe minimum educational and experience qualifications, but all candidates must be examined by the appropriate state board. It certifies all who pass without indicating relative rank, and the county board may select from the list so formulated. The superintendent serves for six years but is removable by the county board for incompetence, neglect, or malfeasance.

Township highway commissioners are independently elected and are not under supervision or control of the county superintendent. However, he is instructed to advise them, and he may veto township road expenditures of more than $200. Also he has certain appellate power over decisions of township commissioners. The state department has no jurisdiction.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1942, p. 638.

Under certain provisions hard-surfaced roads built by the county are taken over by the state for maintenance. Except for unimproved roads for which income from the property tax is usually sufficient, all county highway work, in both construction and maintenance, is now under state supervision. However, the state does not exercise control over equipment used in construction and maintenance.

And lastly, an *esprit de corps* is maintained by such means as highway conferences held annually at the University of Illinois and district associations of highway superintendents which hold meetings monthly or quarterly.

Propose Transfer of Authority for District of Columbia

The demands of war on the time of Congress, as well as increasing necessity for prompt action in matters of concern to the District of Columbia, has prompted introduction in the House of Representatives of a bill that would transfer authority regarding administrative details of the District's government from Congress to the District Commissioners. It is anticipated that this bill will be merely the first in a series designed to give more self-government to the District.

The present bill involves the granting of licenses under specified conditions, the bonding of businesses affecting public health and safety, rental of District property, granting of permits to lay conduits and pipes, suspension of officers and employees, naming of highways and similar public places and property, and fixing and collection of certain fees.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

A Democratic Election in Denmark

New plans for Long Beach
A Cincinnati vacancy

THE Danish people gave a heartening demonstration of their will to self-government on March 23, when the Danish Folketing (lower house of Parliament) was elected for the first time since the Nazi occupation of Denmark.

Apparently the election was not interfered with and the voters were not overawed by the presence of the army of occupation. Nearly 90 per cent of those qualified voted, 2,009,295 out of approximately 2,250,000, as contrasted with slightly less than 80 per cent at the last previous election on April 3, 1939, when the total vote was 1,699,889 out of a possible 2,146,324.[1] In the increased total poll the Nazi candidates lost not only in percentage but in actual numbers of votes.

The Folketing is elected by a party list system of proportional representation in districts choosing several members each. Under this plan the Nazis got almost exactly the same share of the members elected that they had of the votes cast, but this was only three out of 148, a loss of one. The Peasant party, which had been accused of too friendly an attitude toward the invaders, had its voting strength cut in two and elected two instead of four. On the other hand the independent "Danish Rally" party, led by the publisher Arne Soerensen and the clergyman-playwright Kaj Munk, increased its vote fivefold on an appeal for open defiance of the Germans and elected three members for the first time.

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[1] The figures in this account were supplied by the Information Service of the National America Denmark Association, 116 Broad Street, New York City, which collected the figures of this year's election from press cables.

The total distribution of votes and seats, compared with the previous election, was as follows:

Party	Votes Cast 1939	Votes Cast 1943	Members Elected[a] 1939	Members Elected[a] 1943
Labor (Socialdemokrater)	729,619 (42.9%)	894,636 (44.5%)	64 (43.2%)	66 (44.6%)
Conservative (Konservative)	301,625 (17.8%)	421,051 (21.0%)	26 (17.6%)	31 (20.9%)
Liberal (Venstre)	309,355 (18.2%)	376,463 (18.7%)	30 (20.3%)	28 (18.9%)
Left-wing Liberal (Radikale)	161,834 (9.5%)	175,025 (8.7%)	14 (9.5%)	13 (8.8%)
Nazi (Nazister)	46,048[b] (2.7%)	43,277 (2.2%)	4 (2.7%)	3 (2.0%)
Danish Rally (Dansk Samling)	8,553 (.5%)	43,257 (2.1%)	0 (.0%)	3 (2.0%)
Right Union (Retsforbundet)	33,783 (2.0%)	31,185 (1.6%)	3 (2.0%)	2 (1.3%)
Peasant (Bondepartiet)	50,829 (3.0%)	24,401 (1.2%)	4 (2.7%)	2 (1.3%)
Communist (Kommunister)	40,893 (2.4%)	———	3 (2.0%)	———
Totals	1,699,889	2,009,295	148	148

[a] The slight departures from exact proportionality are caused by the districting.

[b] The combined vote of the Nazis (31,032) and of the pro-Nazi Slesvig party (Slesvigsk parti) (15,016). The Slesvig party did not contest this year's election as a separate group.

Long Beach Proceeds in Spite of Veto

As announced in this department for April, the Long Beach (Long Island) Citizens Union had planned to submit to the city's voters this fall a new P. R.-city manager charter under a bill passed by the legislature to permit new charters to be put on the ballot by petition.[1]

The bill, however, was vetoed by Governor Dewey, as it had been vetoed by Governor Lehman the year before.[2] It had been passed again by both houses unanimously and received strong backing from many sources, including the Yonkers City Council, the city administration of Schenectady, and citizen groups in New York City, Schenectady, Long Beach, Johnstown, and New Rochelle. The New York Conference of Mayors, however, reversed its favorable stand of the year before and influential bar associations expressed the opinion that charter revisions should be undertaken only by official bodies. The veto message held some hope for the future, for it showed that the Governor did not understand the situation which the bill was designed to correct. In the meantime plans to make immediate use of it had to be abandoned.

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[1] Senate Introductory No. 252, by Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh, identical with Assembly Introductory No. 1107, by Assemblyman Harold Armstrong of Schenectady.

[2] See the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for June 1942, page 360.

Fortunately, the existing home rule machinery of New York State permits even a complete charter revision to be accomplished by unofficial groups with popular support by various indirect methods. The Long Beach Citizens Union has decided to use one of them and to proceed with its campaign.

It plans to put on the ballot by petition two separate questions. The first will be a short charter amendment prescribing P. R. and the manager plan as briefly as possible, corresponding to the P. R.-manager amendment adopted in Yonkers by petition and popular vote in 1938. The courts held in 1940, when a group of citizens in Johnstown tried to adopt the same combination with extensive auxiliary changes to put the new plan in the best possible form, that an extensive amendment constituted a new charter and could not be adopted by the amending procedure; but there is still nothing to prevent a short amendment from being submitted by the petition route.

The second question will be a proposal to authorize a charter commission, named in the petition, to finish the job. If approved by the voters, this commission will be empowered to prepare a new charter and submit it to the voters at a general or special election any time within two years.

Thus by the presentation and adoption of three propositions, two this fall and one after the charter commission has reported, the Long Beach Citizens Union hopes to accomplish the same final result that it might have accomplished by the adoption of a single proposition if the Governor had permitted the Desmond-Armstrong bill to become law. The first P. R. election under this program will be held in the fall of 1945, the first date possible under the constitution, but the badly needed financial safeguards which the Union had hoped to impose on the present city administration next January as part of the new charter, will have to be postponed a year.

The Mayor of the city has announced his support of the idea of charter revision and suggested a charter commission. Whether this development can be turned into the channels already planned by the friends of charter reform or is intended merely as a diversion to confuse the issue remains to be seen.

A Vacancy Filled in Cincinnati

Charles P. Taft, son of the former President and Chief Justice, resigned his place on the P. R. city council of Cincinnati last Thanksgiving Day because of his post as assistant director of Defense, Health and Welfare in the federal government. The Ohio Supreme Court had just held that a Canton councilman who went into military service could not remain on the Council and Mr. Taft decided that the significant circumstances of the case paralleled his own, even though he had been actually able to discharge the duties of both positions and had been advised at the time of his acceptance of the federal post that there was no conflict.

Under the Cincinnati charter, vacancies in the Council are filled by majority vote of the remaining members, but on previous occasions—in 1930, 1932, and 1936—the Council had properly permitted the group to which the vacating member belonged to name his successor. All three newspapers recommended editorially that this precedent be followed. Mr. Taft is an independent Republican who was elected on the ticket of the City Charter Committee. The other Charter councilmen appropriately nominated to succeed him Charles M. Merry, the Charter candidate last defeated in the 1941 P. R. election, many of whose votes had transferred to Mr. Taft as next choice when Mr. Merry was eliminated.

The Republican organization majority deferred action until February 3, when it acted on the principle of arbitrary power and elected a regular Republican, Charles F. Weber, who had just retired from the law faculty of the University of Cincinnati. This raised the organization's five-to-four majority to a two-thirds majority, six-to-three, enough to pass measures by emergency procedure, to override the advice of the city's unusually capable City Planning Commission, and to pass ordinary measures even if one of the organization councilmen sides with the City Charter Committee members in opposition.

This occurrence emphasizes the importance of having charter provisions which not only give fair representation at regular elections but protect the principle when vacancies occur.

The New York City charter requires any vacancy to be filled by appointment of a person of the same party if the vacating member was elected as the nominee of a party. This, of course, would not be a suitable safeguard when elections are nonpartisan, as they are in all the other P. R. cities.

The city of Yonkers and Massachusetts cities which adopt P. R., as Cambridge and Lowell have, fill vacancies by a recount of the ballots of the particular voters whom the vacancy leaves unrepresented. This automatically preserves the fairness of representation of different elements which P. R. secures at regular elections. The first actual use of this plan in the United States was to fill a military vacancy in the Yonkers City Council last summer.[1] Yonkers has been benefiting from the salutary result of this recount ever since.

Alice Henry

One of the best and most effective friends of true representative government, Alice Henry, died in Melbourne, Australia, on February 14. She would have been eighty-six on March 21.

Born and educated in Australia, Miss Henry spent a large part of her long and active life in the United States, where she is affectionately remembered by many thousands of working women as the first editor of *Life and Labor*, organ of the Women's Trade Union League, secretary of the League's educational department, and director of its Training School for Active Workers in the Labor Movement, which coöperated with the University of Chicago. Earlier she had conducted the women's department of the official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor. She was the author of two books, *The Trade Union Woman* and *Women in the Labor Movement.*

Miss Henry's interests were wide and she brought to them all ability and enthusiasm. She was one of the most active proponents of proportional representation in the ranks of organized labor.

The last few years of her life were spent in retirement in her native country, but to the last she kept in touch with the leaders of the P. R. movement in this country, who mourn her as a personal friend.

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[1] See the account in this department for September 1942, page 468.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Homes for Heroes. Fourth Annual Report of the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles. Los Angeles, 1943. 56 pp. Illus.

It is a baffling experience for a reviewer to be confronted with what seems to be perfection. Any sensible person knows that perfection just isn't on this earth. And besides, half the fun of reviewing is finding fault. *Homes for Heroes,* Fourth Annual Report of the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, is frustrating on both scores. Conservatively speaking, it is the best piece of local government reporting that I have ever seen.

The title gives the show away. It shares the cover with a photograph of a homely defense worker and his homely wife and son. That uncompromising showmanship sets the pace for so dramatic a production that the unrelieved black and white of the interior has a cromatic effect and the reader would probably swear, after reading the book, that it was done in reds, greens, and yellows. Movement as well as color is suggested. Not only because there is a generous use of stunning photography throughout, but also because of skillful makeup, the total effect is that of a well done documentary movie. Not for nothing, apparently, does the Los Angeles Housing Authority operate in Hollywood.

On the content side, as well as from the production angle, *Homes for Heroes* is impeccable. With model thoroughness and in dramatic yet muted style, the text explores housing history—national and local, housing aims in war and in peace, housing organization, housing accomplishment, housing background—well, everything anyone would think of wanting to know about public housing in Los Angeles. Tabular material is sparingly used, but when it is brought in the presentation is an honest page of numbers *without* pictorial devices.

This paean of praise becomes positively embarrassing. The critic's only escape is to point out that—the Los Angeles paragons failed to put in page numbers!

M. R.

Opportunities in the Armed Forces. A Handbook of Military Information for Civilians, Enlisted Men, and Officers. By Maxwell Lehman and Morton Yarmon. New York City, The Viking Press, 1943. 418 pp. $2.95.

This book is the product of two editors of a very reliable publication in the governmental field—the *Civil Service Leader* of New York City—which each week lists opportunities in governmental service at several levels. The reputations which its editors have established for accuracy and timeliness is such that this reviewer feels that all the data which should be included in such a book is here and was accurate at the time of publication.

The mechanical arrangement of the book is striking and praiseworthy. It is divided into six sub-books, each of which is intelligently subdivided. The index is in the *front* of the book. Explanatory notes are written in colloquial style—you're, don't, here's.

The Foreword tells how the book came to be and in it is a significant statement: "We discovered that the American fighting man wants to learn the know-how of his business, wants to go to school if it is open to him, to improve himself so that he can do the best job of which he is capable for the nation." It is splendid and heartening to find our gallant defenders so eager for education. Those of us who remain civilians must so order the affairs of local government and all fields of collective and coöperative endeavor, that when our men and women now in uniform again become civilians they will continue to have the same objective, and for the same reason—to do "the best job" and to do it "for the nation."

WALTER J. MILLARD

Municipal Fire Administration. Municipal Personnel Administration. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1942. x, 666 and xii, 429 pp. respectively. $7.50 each.

These volumes represent two of the "municipal management" series published for the Institute for Training in Municipal Administration by the International City Managers' Association. Both are based on actual experience and practice as observed in a large number of cities.

Municipal Fire Administration concentrates on the problems facing those at the head of the fire department—selecting and directing personnel, organization, improving the city's fire insurance grading, records and reporting, the measurement of results. The volume contains numerous tables, charts, diagrams, and illustrations which contribute to its usefulness.

Municipal Personnel Administration is now in its third and revised edition. It covers job classification, salary standardization, recruitment, training, service ratings, employee relationships, retirement systems, and other personnel problems—all discussed from the management point of view.

Municipalities and the Law in Action. A Record of City Legal Experience Covering the First Year of the War. Edited by Charles S. Rhyne. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1943. 611 pp. $7.50.

This volume covers the proceedings of the 1942 war conference of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers. It tells the story of the effects of the first year of the war upon U. S. cities. The authors—participants at the conference—are city attorneys from various parts of the country. Most of the major municipal legal problems have been covered in their discussions, making the volume an excellent reference work for city attorneys and other local officials.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Assessments

Papers Presented at the Ninth National Conference on Assessment Administration, held at Denver, Colorado, September 9-12, 1942. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1943. vi, 64 pp. $1.

Codification of Ordinances

Codification of Municipal Ordinances. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1943. 43 pp. $2.

Initiative and Referendum

State Proposals Voted Upon—1942. By Abe Blanar and the Elections Unit, Division of State and Local Government. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 19 pp.

Legal Decisions

Recent Leading Decisions in Various Fields. Edited by the Students of the New York University School of Law. New York City, New York University School of Law, 1943. 66 pp. $1.

Municipal Government

Civic Developments of Rochester's First Half Century 1817-1878. By Blake McKelvey. Rochester, New York, Public Library, 1943. 24 pp. 25 cents.

Planning

A List of References on Residential and Industrial Decentralization. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1943. 9 pp.

A Regional Planning Browsing List. Selected by John M. Gaus. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1943. 7 pp.

Postwar Planning

Business Reserves for Postwar Survival. Their Impact on Capital Adjustments. By Mark S. Massel. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1943. 132 pp. 50 cents.

National Resources Development Report for 1943. Message from the President of the United States. Part 1. Postwar Plan and Program[1]; Part 2. Wartime Planning for War and Postwar; Part 3. Security, Work, and Relief Policies.[1] Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943. 86, 121, and 652 pp. respectively. 25 cents, 30 cents, and $2.25.

Public Relations

A Study in Public Relations. Case History of the Relations Maintained Between a Department of Public Assistance and the People of a State. By Harold P. Levy. New York City, Russell Sage Foundation, 1943. 165 pp. $1.

Recreation

Teen Trouble—What Recreation Can Do About It. By Virginia Musselman. New York City, National Recreation Association, 1943. 24 pp. 10 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Cost Distribution for Payroll and Equipment in the Water Department of Kansas City, Missouri. By J. D. Senevey. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1943, 4 pp. 25 cents.

Gearing State Tax Systems to the War. By Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1943. 4 pp. 25 cents.

State and Local Financial Relations in Texas. By H. C. Bradshaw. College Station, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, 1942. 26 pp.

A Study of County Taxation and Government. How Local Groups May Improve Conditions. By L. P. Gabbard, E. D. Solberg, and H. C. Bradshow. College Station, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, 1943. 24 pp.

Tax Problems of the Future. By Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1943. 7 pp. 25 cents.

Transit

The Record of Transit Fares in Thirty-Nine American Cities. New York City, Citizens Budget Commission, 1943. 25 pp.

Voting

Should the Voting Age Be Lowered to Eighteen. Broadcast of America's Town Meeting of the Air. By Charles P. Taft, Mary Lou Barger, John E. Walker, Sidney Silvian, and James F. Concannon. Columbus, Ohio, American Education Press, 1943. 23 pp. 10 cents.

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[1] For a discussion of Parts 1 and 3 see "NRPB Proposes Security Program," by Eveline M. Burns, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1943, pp. 232-236.

War and Defense

Civilian Defense Manual on Legal Aspects of Civilian Protection. Prepared by the American Bar Association for the United States Office of Civilian Defense. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943. ix, 242 pp. 35 cents.

Handbook of Emergency War Agencies. By Office of War Information. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943. 143 pp. 20 cents.

Official War Publications—Guide to State, Federal, and Canadian Publications (Volume V). By Jerome K. Wilcox. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1943. 252 pp. $1.75.

Correction

In last month's "Books in Review" the price of "Cities Are for People," by Mel Scott, published by the Pacific Northwest Academy, Los Angeles, should have read $1.50. The price listed, $1.00, applies only to libraries, government agencies, dealers, etc.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 283)

good neighbor policy, to quit monopolizing the word American. For another, it seems something more than tragic to set aside as we do for mother, father, poppy, tag, Indian, bird, arbor, forefathers, Susan B. Anthony, etc., just one day to express our appreciative understanding of what it means to be what we are and to live where we do.

The simplifiers who sloganize everything and reduce all propositions to the lowest possible intelligence may have given the idea more superficial "oomph" but have they not damaged it with shallowness? It might help recapture an understanding of the original concept of this program to change the name back to National Citizenship Day.

PUBLIC SAFETY PROBLEMS

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and an eager desire to "try it out" dominated the department. Obviously there was nothing to lose; possibly there was much to gain.

Four really outstanding representatives were elected. The organization meeting began with a marked attitude of caution. It closed with enthusiasm. Innumerable topics for discussion have been suggested. The democratic process has had a new revival of interest, not only in the department but in the town's thinking as well.

Certainly the plan is in the modern industrial trend toward joint responsibility of public, management, and employee in furtherance of community interest. Time alone will determine its effectiveness in the municipal field.

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Kansas City, Mo.

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Oregon Educates Its Voters

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Treasury Committee on General Property Tax

Wheeling's Third P. R. Election

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

There Is No Escape

THOSE who wonder why the process of improving local government is as slow as it is might be edified—and perhaps a bit disturbed—by peeking over the shoulder of a member of the League's staff as he corresponds with a local leader of the League of Women Voters:

DEAR MR. ———:

I have been negligent in returning to you the report on the Des Moines survey entitled "About Gold Braid in the Fire and Police Departments" which you let me borrow. I was extremely interested in seeing these figures for they confirmed what I have been contending about our departments being overloaded with higher officers.

These facts and figures have been brought to the attention of our city fathers time and time again. Our local newspaper wrote an editorial on the subject. Yet at our recent commission election in May the director of public safety was re-elected. It was such a disappointment to me to note the apathy of the citizens of this town that I really feel my work has been for naught. Apparently this city is run by disinterested people who have no regard for the future of the town. Our faithful and outstandingly able Mr. ——— was actually defeated and in his place a young fellow just out of law school has taken over the finance department. You can't imagine how discouraged some of us are.

However, to know that there are men like yourself still living who are working for the good things of life is some comfort. It does not pay to get too disturbed over politics as there are other problems to worry about at present.

I want you to know that I have always deeply appreciated your kindness and coöperation in all my efforts. You must be as disappointed as I that nothing has come of your splendid survey of this city.

DEAR MRS. ———:

Tragic as the news in your recent letter is, I thank you for sending it. The most tragic news, however, is that you are turning your attention from local affairs, against which your spear has been momentarily blunted, to "other problems"—presumably national or world affairs.

Isn't this wholly escapist? What good is it going to do us to fight for freedom and self-determination in the world while at the same time we sacrifice it at home? Anyone who has been as active as you have been in the League of Women Voters knows that local affairs are the heart of our whole system. This country is made up of thousands of local units of government. What happens in them determines what happens also at the state and national levels and, hence, in the world. Do you think that the kind of political leadership you have in your community can send any high-minded and unselfish representative into the state or national councils of either political party?

It had seemed to me at the time we were conducting the survey that many people recognized the outstanding qualifications and ability of your commissioner of finance. He probably is the type of man who was above using his office to form a personal political machine. Therefore you and other intelligent citizens were duty bound to form a militant organization to see that he was retained. The "best people" of your city walked out on their responsibility and thereby have robbed themselves of the services of a fine man.

You must not give up. I am sure the majority of your people do not favor spoils politics, waste, and inefficiency. They need to have the facts. They need to have the issues made clear to them. They need unselfish, intelligent leadership.

You have the best possible issues on which to base a movement for thoroughgoing reform. The commission form of government which you have is the worst possible one for your city not only in the opinion of almost all authorities on local government but also on the basis of performance. You can see what kind of men it puts in office, what kind it rejects. The survey which your commissioners have permitted to gather dust gives you issues for years to come.

Why not study the successful local civic organizations of other cities such as the one in Cincinnati? Why not gather together in a common effort all of the good citizen organizations which now exist?

There really isn't very much you can do about Mr. Schickelgruber; he's too far away and won't even notice you. But there's a lot you can do about your little two-by-four dictators at home.

The Occupancy Tax Proposal

ONE of the most challenging suggestions by the Treasury's Committee on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations[1] is that cities make use of an occupancy tax "as either a replacement or a supplement to the general property tax."

This proposal, while not entirely new, is one which undoubtedly will be widely discussed, for it is clear that our cities, now depending so largely on the real property tax, are facing an increasingly uncertain fiscal future. Many may consider this a possible solution.

The Committee points out the need for "some new source of local revenue which will (1) not overlap existing federal and state taxes, (2) enable the localities to tap their own resources without running hat in hand to central governments, (3) cover all or a vast majority of the interested citizenry, and (4) not be regressive."

Without sources which either are new or from which higher levels of government might be persuaded to withdraw in favor of municipalities, the need for "grants in aid" from state and federal governments, with their accompanying controls, is bound to become even greater.

It would obviously make a considerable difference, however, whether the proposed occupancy tax replaces *or* supplements the property tax but, as the Committee suggests, the plan might be introduced step by step on a gradual experimental basis. What most cities are looking for is *additional* sources of revenue rather than *substitute* sources and it will take considerable forbearance to reverse the usual process of piling new taxes on the existing structure.

One argument the Committee advances in favor of the occupancy tax is that it would shift a large part of the tax burden from the shoulders of the owners. Will it, in fact? While it might be possible to set it up to achieve this, theoretically and in general the owner has already shifted to the occupant the property tax as well as cost of maintenance, interest on investment, etc. Who actually benefits if the rent bill is now to be merely divided up more visibly, so much for taxes and so much for the owner?

---

[1] See "Treasury Committee Analyzes General Property Tax," p. 380, this issue.

On the other hand, suppose, for the sake of producing the needed increased revenue, the occupancy tax is simply in addition to the property tax. Might this not, unless accompanied by compensating features, hasten the flight of people from central cities which has been one of the chief causes of urban blight? When the cost of his dwelling place becomes greater than he is willing to pay, the occupant seeks cheaper quarters. He moves to the outskirts or beyond.

This proposal has so many ifs, ands, and buts hanging to it that real discussion may have to await the preparation of a specific plan that gets down into the realm of dollars and cents. In any event, it has this outstanding element to recommend it: it will show the average man, even though he owns no real estate, that he nevertheless is a taxpayer. It should, therefore, make him a more intelligent and interested voter—a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Perhaps this apparent failure in coöperation in cities and in counties, under the "federal system of government," wherein many of the key officials are elected by the people, and such officials feel responsibility only to the voters, is the strongest argument for the "manager" form of government for such units. The word "manager", to say the least, implies power to compel obedience, and a good manager will do that.

Of course, the form of government in itself can neither make nor break you as no system is a substitute for honesty and integrity among human beings; nevertheless, I am inclined after years of experience to place my money on the "commission-manager plan of city government," as furnishing the best prospect of achieving coöperation among the city officers and employees.

From address entitled "Coöperation of County and Local Units of Government," by Frank B. Thomas, head of the Municipal Division of the Ohio State Bureau of Inspection and Supervision of Public Offices.

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Youth Builds Today for a Better Tomorrow

Philadelphia's high school students — public, Catholic, private—conduct Junior Town Meeting of the Air; discuss citizenship in a democracy.

By **HERBERT C. MORRIS**
Chairman of Committee on City Government and Education
Philadelphia Committee of Seventy

A GREAT many Philadelphia voters are blushing these days as they learn, some for the first time, from their children where they have been remiss in their citizenship.

Philadelphia's Junior Town Meeting of the Air was launched in March as a new educational project and has been carried on through the combined resources and coöperation of the secondary schools of Philadelphia—public, Catholic and private. The series of twelve weekly half-hour programs, broadcast by Station KYW from high school auditoriums with student bodies in the audience, is giving Philadelphia's youth an opportunity to express their opinions on topics of interest both to them and to their parents.

Behind the idea are two fundamental principles:

First, the problem of securing the interest of youth in local and state government. The originators of the plan, conscious of the low ebb of interest in civic affairs among a large number of adults who take their citizenship and its accompanying responsibilities for granted, believe that the answer lies in educating youth by practical methods to an awareness of the principles of self-government. A study of the Hitler Youth movement in Germany shows that the thinking of a majority can be changed within a period of ten years. Directed into the right channels, for the ultimate good of democracy, the possibilities of such a youth plan are limitless.

The second principle aims to accomplish two objectives: the training of youth for intelligent citizenship and participation in political and public affairs, and through them, reaching the present voters. As the young people discuss at home the problems presented by the Junior Town Meetings, the interest of the adults is whetted to find out more about the government we are fighting to preserve, and to take a more active part in its administration.

The creator and guiding spirit of the idea is the Committee of Seventy, a Philadelphia civic organization which launched the plan by turning over its thirty-ninth annual luncheon meeting to show the city's educators and civic leaders how it could be done. The first of the broadcast series was presented with six college and high school students discussing "Youth and the Ballot," assisted by George V. Denny, Jr., director of America's Town Meeting of the Air.

The program was highly successful and from then on the schools took over and adopted the plan as a means of improving and broadening their courses in civic education. If the now-famous *New York Times* history quiz, with its discouraging results, is any criterion, broadening and re-emphasis are sorely needed in every school system in the country. The Philadelphia schools and civic leaders are not only among the first to realize the lack, but the first to do something concrete and practical about it.

Schools Listen to Program

Every Thursday morning, from 9:30 to 10 o'clock, general assemblies, civics, English, political and social science classes are gathered in the schools throughout the city to hear the Philadelphia Junior Town Meeting of the Air. Back in many homes in this city of two million people thousands of amazed and proud adults are now tuning in the program to hear serious and intelligent discussions by seventeen-year-olds of such subjects as these: "Is our party system of government functioning properly?" "What can we do about absenteeism at the polls?" "What can young people do to improve race relations toward a more effective democracy?" (The participants on this broadcast were an American Indian, a Japanese American, a Negro, a Jew, and a Chinese American. It was interesting that these young people concluded that minority groups in a democracy are entitled to equal rights if and when, by example and illustration, they prove their worth and value to self-government.) "Should the voting age be lowered to 18?" "Should we restrict the right to vote?" "Are we getting the type of government we deserve?"

In all, sixteen public, eleven Catholic, and nine private schools have been represented on these broadcasts, with four students each week presenting three-minute talks on the selected subject and four alternates handling rebuttal and audience questions. Among the moderators have been the presidents of Bryn Mawr, Haverford, and Girard Colleges, Germantown Friends School, the superintendent and associate superintendent of the public schools of Philadelphia, the superintendent of the Catholic schools, and the president of a life insurance company.

As proof of the serious attitude of these Philadelphia young people and the intelligence of their expressed opinions, here are excerpts from several of the broadcasts:

"Youth thinks of both patriotism and citizenship, not as flag-waving or empty emotionalism, but as a virtue by which we pay back to our country our debt for civic benefits received."

"If we want to get and keep the rights of democratic citizenship, we must give unselfishly in the exercise of our duty."

"It remains for all Americans, irrespective of party, to think first, last, and always of the good of the country, rather than of the political party. Then we shall have the party system of government functioning properly."

"The first step toward corrupt government is taken when the individual feels his vote will make no difference in the result."

"What the American citizen needs

most today is not a greater opportunity to vote but a greater interest in voting."

"We must begin to understand the youth of all racial, political, and religious groups. To know them is to understand them. The youth of America can and will do something toward a more effective democracy. It is in our power and we will succeed."

Young people all over the country are today bearing the burden of their elders' indifference to their government and public affairs. They know this and are determined that the same shall not be true of their generation. Philadelphia's educators and civic leaders believe their plan of open discussion and practical education in government is a strong bulwark to the future of democracy in the United States.

That the plan has succeeded beyond a question is indicated by some of the results already achieved in the schools. Principals, teachers, and students who have been following the broadcasts have sent in their reactions and suggestions, all showing a tremendous enthusiasm and interest, and a strong desire to see the Junior Town Meetings made a permanent part of the school program. According to these reports, Town Meeting broadcasts are discussed at length in classrooms, recordings of the programs are listened to, papers written on the topics, questions are prepared for the forum part of the broadcasts, and current events classes have been stimulated. It has been found that these broadcasts are an incentive to students to discuss matters of public interest and to think seriously about vital topics. They are creating greater interest in civic affairs and a greater sense of responsibility toward government.

The schools and the backers of the plan are particularly encouraged by reports from students that the parents, convinced of their children's serious interest in government, are listening to the programs and carrying on the discussions in the homes, thus accomplishing a step toward the second objective of the idea.

Plans are now under way for the Committee of Seventy and other Philadelphia civic leaders to put to actual, practical use what has already been gained. Following up a project tried out last year to get out the vote at the November election by publicizing it through the school children[1]—64 per cent of Philadelphia's voters voted then compared with 52½ per cent for the state and 52 per cent for the country—this year intensive campaigns will be put on to bring the voters to the polls. It will again be done through the schools and school children, many of whom have now learned more definitely the value of exercising the democratic privilege of voting and are urging their parents to vote intelligently for the men and women who are to administer public affairs.

Now that Philadelphia has proved what can be done with a little effort and a lot of coöperation, all it wants is to see Junior Town Meetings spreading throughout the towns and cities in every state in the nation.

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[1] See "School Children Mobilized in 'Get Out the Vote' Drive," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1942, p. 633.

State Legislative Highlights—1943

War and postwar problems first on agendas of the 44 lawmaking bodies meeting this year; sessions tended to be shorter with legislative product restricted.

By **HERBERT WILTSEE**, Editor
State Government

THIS year, for the first time in our history, forty-four state legislatures—excluding only those of Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia—have met in regular session with the nation actively engaged in war. While 1917 was a "war" year, many sessions had adjourned when the United States joined the Allied Powers in April.

The perplexing problems of the war have determined the form which the greater part of the 1943 legislative product has taken. Defense and preparation for the postwar years have held the attention of legislators from Augusta and Tallahassee to Sacramento. Laws affecting labor, welfare, housing, finance and taxation, interstate relations, and other broad fields were shaped to a great extent by the exigencies of war and the needs of the peace to follow.

Owing, probably, to the same factors, the 1943 sessions have tended to be shorter than those of other years, while the total legislative product, at least in some cases, has been restricted by the determination of the lawmakers to confine themselves to matters of the greatest urgency.

It is estimated that over five hundred laws were passed by 1941 legislatures dealing with various aspects of defense and war. The final figures will show, in all probability, that 1943 sessions devoted as much attention to the subject.

Several legislatures have acted to clothe their governors or defense councils, or both, with extraordinary powers to dispose of emergency war situations. California, Connecticut, Delaware, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Washington are among these. The California law sets up a fourteen-man War Council to advise the governor. This trend toward a stronger wartime state executive was forecast by similar laws passed during 1942 in Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island.

Civilian defense has received considerable attention. Defense agencies in several states have been reconstituted. Defense of the home front was involved also in Nevada's creation of a state police force and in Colorado by the authorizing of a state guard to replace the national guard called into active service. Uniform blackout regulations for protection against enemy action resulted from a tri-state accord between California, Oregon, and Washington, with federal authorities participating. The California legislature pioneered in another direction by becoming the first to provide compensation for injured civilian defense volunteers.

Defense housing laws totaling almost one hundred were submitted in forty states. Many of them extended the authority to local housing bodies to develop and administer projects for war workers where housing shortages exist. In addition, Maine, Nevada, and South Dakota authorized local participation in war and low-cost housing programs, and Arizona, Georgia, Montana, and Vermont passed measures relaxing restrictions to permit occupancy of low-cost projects by war workers. A Rhode Island law allows local housing authorities to help neighboring communities with their housing problems.

Benefits for Servicemen

An entire category of laws benefits persons in the armed forces. The most common type is that which safeguards the equity of servicemen in unemployment compensation funds. With the passage of laws in 1943, almost all the states have perfected amendments to the unemployment compensation statutes eliminating penalties which would otherwise be charged against servicemen for time spent in the armed forces.

The jobs of servicemen are protected by laws of three states—Nevada, Rhode Island, and Utah. The Rhode Island law provides penalties for an employer who refuses to restore a job to a member of the armed services if the member applies within forty days of discharge and the employer is able to rehire him.

Over a dozen states have modified their income and other tax laws to benefit servicemen, while many others have taken steps to guarantee their voting rights, through modification or elimination of poll taxes, registration provisions, and other means. Absentee voting was made possible in Delaware when the 1943 legislature endorsed a measure passed by the preceding legislature thus amending the state constitution. Servicemen as well as others will benefit from the repeal of the poll tax by the Tennessee legislature. The widespread movement to lower the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen was, in part, espoused as an obligation owed to those in service. Only in Georgia did the effort meet with legislative approval. The measure, a proposed constitutional amendment, will be voted on by the people of Georgia later this year.

Other benefit measures adopted include veterans' rehabilitation funds in North Dakota, Oregon, and Wisconsin, educational provisions in Montana, Oregon, and South Dakota, a bonus law in Vermont, provision for free higher education of veterans' children in New Hampshire, North Carolina, and West Virginia, and acts granting servicemen the same rights enjoyed by veterans of World War I, in New York and many other states. The Oregon educational measure is especially worthy of attention. It proposes to grant Oregon veterans financial aid to attend any public or accredited private school in the state to the amount of $75 the first month of attendance, $50 a month for eight months, and $35 a month for nine months of each subsequent school or college year.

The need to develop plans and programs for postwar reconstruction and development led the legislatures to consider measures toward that end. Special state agencies to coördinate plans and activities have been created or authorized in at least ten states in 1943. In several cases—including California, Georgia, and Indiana—pre-existing planning boards were abolished and the new agencies substituted.

Fiscal preparation for the postwar years, involving the creation of reserve funds from surpluses or bond issues, was considered by the legislatures of many states, some of which earmarked funds for public works construction. Action of this kind was taken by Arkansas, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, and North Dakota. Bond issues for postwar public works were approved in Delaware, Montana, New York, and North Carolina.

Of equal importance have been measures to enable local jurisdictions to plan ahead for their postwar needs. Nine states had passed laws permitting local governments to build reserve funds for postwar purposes by the end of 1942. At least seven states—Arizona, Connecticut, Minnesota, North Carolina, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island—have taken similar action in 1943.

Underlining the postwar importance of aeronautics are laws in Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, and New Jersey giving permission to all or certain of their cities and counties to purchase land for the establishment of airports and to finance them. Arizona and Maine have given the subject of local planning consideration by enabling their cities, towns, and counties to create planning boards and, in the latter state, zoning systems.

Taxation and Finance

Despite unprecedented revenues, the desire to preserve funds not immediately needed for postwar purposes, coupled with the fear that revenues would go down as the sale of consumers' goods declined, prevented the repeal or decrease of tax rates except in a few instances. In some cases, the need for additional revenues led to the adoption of new taxes.

The major tax relief offered by the 1943 legislatures related to income taxes. South Dakota and West Virginia abolished their income levies outright, while Iowa, Maryland, New York, Oregon, and Wisconsin granted taxpayers substantial reductions. California, likewise, lowered rates not only on personal incomes but on corporation income and on bank corporation franchise taxes. West Virginia also exempted from the 2 per cent consumers' sales tax all food purchased up to fifty cents, and Nevada reduced the tax rate on property valuation. Various types of tax relief were granted to frozen merchandise dealers in Minnesota, New Hampshire, and North Carolina, while motor fuel tax exemptions were extended to airplane operators by laws of Arkansas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Washington.

Among the 1943 increases are a one per cent "pay-as-you-go" tax on gross incomes in Delaware, to expire at the end of 1944, and a tax of one cent per ten cigarettes in the same state. The Iowa income tax law was amended to apply to temporary war workers.

Indiana, North Dakota, and West Virginia have imposed or re-enacted motor fuel and gasoline taxes, while Idaho, Utah, and Washington have assessed new or increased existing taxes on liquors. Taxes on "juke boxes" were imposed in Oklahoma and Oregon, the latter also levying a 3 per cent sales tax which will be submitted to the voters in November. North Dakota re-enacted a 2 per cent retail sales tax and Nebraska increased its head tax for public assistance from two to three dollars a year. Washington became the seventh state to levy a special excise tax on motor vehicles in lieu of general property taxes.

Colorado's general statute requiring reimbursement for all out-of-state auditing brought to two—Mississippi is the other—the states making this provision. The law places the cost for out-of-state audits on the taxpayer. Also related to tax administration was North Carolina's adoption of the enabling act proposed by the Council of State Governments to give the commissioner of revenue power to enter into agreements with the federal government or with any state or political subdivision of a state for the purpose of coördinating tax administration and collection.

Labor Legislation

A great volume of labor laws has been considered in 1943. New notes in this field were struck as the result, first, of growing manpower shortages, and second, of strikes and disputes in defense and war industries.

Manpower laws have been especially numerous. Three states—Maryland, Delaware, and South Carolina—have adopted stringent "work-or-fight" measures providing penalties for unemployed males, not in school, who refuse to accept employment. More common have been laws adopted in over a quarter of the states altering statutory requirements to sanction wider use of women workers. Some, including Washington's law, assure women of equal pay for equal work.

Employment of boys, previously restricted, has been made possible, particularly in bowling alleys and in dairy and farm work, in several states. Still others have lowered the age limits to permit boys to obtain conditional chauffeur and driving licenses. Authorization of shorter school terms or unusual recesses to release students for farm work has been made in North Carolina, California, and Utah, while New York continued previous authority to release pupils for planting and harvesting, and added authorization for student work in canneries. An interesting sign of the times as it relates to students and the manpower situation is a Nebraska law permitting junior colleges to suspend until 1947 without loss of status.

Prisoners are made available for work in Maryland and North Carolina. Recipients of old-age assistance in California and Montana have been encouraged to leave assistance rolls to accept seasonal work. In this connection, several legislatures have memorialized Congress to amend federal regulations to permit older citizens to do odd jobs without forfeiting state aid.

Special measures have been taken to meet the shortage of professional workers and public servants. Indiana has prohibited the retirement of municipal police officers on pension for the duration, while Maine has done the same for state police. Retired school teachers are encouraged to return to work by Arkansas, California, and North Carolina laws, and many states have lowered teaching requirements in order to issue emergency teachers' certificates. Laws easing the requirements for practice by physicians, surgeons, dentists, or nurses have passed in Delaware, Kansas, Nevada, and Washington.

Measures requiring legal responsibility of labor unions and their representatives have drawn much attention. Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, and Texas adopted laws tightening control over labor organizations and requiring their licensing and periodic filing of financial and membership reports. The intent of these bills, expressed in the Texas law, is to establish regulation of unions, their officers, organizers, and other representatives, as a public policy. Antiviolence bills were placed on the statute books of Arkansas and Michigan, while identical laws requiring periodic statements and limiting certain union activities passed in Idaho and South Dakota.

Over half of the 1943 sessions studied laws to increase workmen's compensation. Minnesota and Michigan broadened their statutes to provide general coverage of occupational diseases, while Arizona and Oregon passed occupational disease laws for the first time. Compensation for injuries has been liberalized in Indiana and several other states. A Rhode Island proposal establishes a curative center for rehabilitating injured workmen.

In the field of unemployment compensation, much has been done. Over twenty states liberalized the provisions of their laws in this regard, raising maximum and minimum payments, the period during which payments are made, and the groups covered. To safeguard funds against heavy postwar demands by workers and demobilized servicemen, several states have assessed larger "war risk" payments against employers whose payrolls have expanded greatly within the last two or three years.

Social Legislation

Child welfare, public health, public assistance, and related subjects have not been ignored, although they have not held the spotlight as much as in other years. As funds for the support of these services have mounted, or as the cost of living has gone up, the movement to increase assistance to the unfortunate has gained strength.

Old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent and underprivileged children have been the subject of many laws. One of the most liberal amendments was passed in California where the maximum monthly allowance for the needy aged was raised to $50. In Maine and other states the ceiling was lifted to $40. A Colorado amendment, subsequently approved by the Social Security Board, increases the value of property which recipients of assistance may possess.

The provision of day nurseries to care for children of working mothers was also considered. At least eight legislatures authorized schools or other agencies to establish such nurseries, or provided funds for their establishment.

Two states—Idaho and Wyoming—adopted premarital examination laws. Twenty-eight states now require examination of both male and female before issuance of marriage licenses. The waiting period laws, designed to prevent "gin marriages" and "child marriages" are losing popularity, however. Illinois abolished its waiting period two years ago, California this year, and Maryland has eliminated its requirement when a person in the armed forces is concerned. In the field of divorce law, the resident requirement in North Carolina has been lowered from one year to six months.

Aroused by increasing venereal disease rates, several states adopted more stringent measures to combat prostitution. Most of these new laws carry particularly heavy penalties for the exploiters of prostitutes.

State Government and Employees

The usual number of administrative shifts and changes came before 1943 legislatures. One of the most important of these was the creation in Michigan of a new Department of Business Administration to effect economies and to suggest means of consolidating functions and activities. It resembles somewhat the Minnesota Commission of Administration.

Reapportionment was acted on in Pennsylvania and New York. In the latter, the 1943 action is the first since 1917. The legislature of the Empire State also changed the beginning of the fiscal year from July 1, used by almost two-thirds of the states, to April 1, also used by Washington and Wyoming.

Measures to grant retirement plan benefits to state employees and to raise their salaries were considered. In part these were adopted to offset the effect of more lucrative federal and industrial employment, as well as to compensate for increased costs of living. With the adoption by the Michigan legislature of a retirement plan for state employees, about half the states had taken such action. A similar proposal in Wisconsin was vetoed. Supreme court and circuit court jurists in Oregon are affected by a retirement plan adopted for them. Teachers benefit from pension systems adopted in Arizona, Oklahoma, and Nevada.

Some states permit employees of local governments to participate in their retirement systems. Colorado in 1943 became the tenth state to make such provision in a law covering certain city, county, and school employees.

A score of legislatures found it desirable to raise salary levels. At least ten states took this action for their own workers. Uniformly, these laws increase salaries below certain maximums. School teachers also benefit from increases in almost as many states. In this connection, Utah became the twenty-fifth state to pass a minimum salary law for teachers.

Highways and Motor Vehicles

The impact of war was reflected clearly in developments affecting highways and vehicles. Many legislatures empowered their executive departments to provide new types of vehicle license plates because of essential metal shortages. As a result, the combinations of new and old plates, tabs, and windshield stickers used for the current year will probably be retained for the duration. The matter of highway speeds likewise drew attention. Many of the laws granting extraordinary wartime powers to governors empowered them to set limits as conditions require. In several other states, special authorization was granted. The governor was thus empowered in Minnesota and the State Highway Department in Delaware.

Several states legislated to liberalize their regulations governing the maximum lengths, gross weights, and gross load limits of trucks and trailer combinations. Greater concern was not shown for this problem, however, because the states had agreed in 1942 to apply uniform regulations for the duration.

In the field of reciprocity laws, several agreements relating to trucks, commercial vehicles, and passenger automobiles were reached. In the southwest, an administrative accord affects Oklahoma on the one hand and Arkansas and Texas on the other. Legislative action led to the adoption of a reciprocal truck bill in New Hampshire, and to the negotiation of a pact ending a trucking war between Wisconsin and Michigan.

Indiana, Oregon, and Washington enacted new driver responsibility laws requiring financial ability to pay for accidents. In the field of motor vehicle inspection, several states have been forced by loss of personnel and other reasons to make readjustments. Laws in Connecticut, Delaware, South Carolina, Vermont, and Washington are designed to abandon or curtail the periodic inspections.

The 1943 legislatures, especially of western states, have shown interest in the construction of flight strips along highways. These laws, more or less uniform, authorize state highway departments to coöperate with the U. S. Public Roads Administration.

Interstate Legislation, Uniform Laws

Several examples of interstate accord have been mentioned in preceding connections. Important developments in the field of river and marine agreements deserve special mention, however. The Arizona legislature provided for the consummation of a contract between the state and the federal government looking toward that state's adherence to the Colorado River Compact. All the other states in the Colorado basin have signed the Compact, which was promulgated in 1925.

The Republican River Compact, signed December 31, 1942, came before the legislatures of Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska for review, and received legislative approval. Georgia ratified the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Compact and became a member of the Compact Commission, while Texas extended until 1947 her adherence to the interstate compact to conserve oil and gas.

Uniform laws were also considered in 1943. A total of more than sixty adoptions of the sixty-five recommended uniform laws brought to about eight hundred the uniform laws on the statute books of the states. South Dakota adopted seven

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Philadelphia Streamlines Personnel Plan

Civic groups and public employees combine to secure job reclassification and salary standardization in the city's civil service.

By **EDWARD B. SHILS**
Philadelphia Civil Service Commission

WORLD War II has had a bombshell effect on personnel policies in the city of Philadelphia. Municipal employees reacted similarly to those in private industry. Demands for higher wages to meet increased living costs were made by the city employee organizations. The month of September 1942 will be remembered by the rank and file of the 15,000 civil service employees as a period of turbulent employee unrest.

In answer to employee and public pressure the administration raised once more the oft-debated subject of job classification and salary standardization. A special councilmanic committee, appointed September 15, 1942, by the president of City Council, decided to undertake a modern survey forthwith.

Back in 1920 a classification study was made for City Council by Griffenhagen and Associates at a cost of $30,000. The findings of this group were published but never put into effect. In 1930 a survey was made by J. L. Jacobs and Company at a cost of approximately $20,000. This report was published by the Civil Service Commission but never adopted by City Council. As a result the average employee was not too hopeful of the usual classification approach, visualizing a costly and voluminous report without subsequent action.

When the decision to reclassify was made in September 1942, the Pennsylvania Economy League offered to do the work necessary for an over-all classification of the city personnel without cost to the city. This offer was accepted speedily by Council's special subcommittee.

The League was prompted to make its offer to the city because it felt it afforded a ready-made opportunity for a worthwhile contribution in line with the League's fixed policy of "Better Government at Less Cost." It was in a position to begin the survey without delay. It had available for immediate use its entire state staff; in addition, many private industries associated with the League, who employed technicians skilled in job classification, were eager to lend these experts for the undertaking.

Among those who helped in preparing the general scope of the classification study and the methods to be followed were Dr. William C. Beyer, Director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, who not only took part in discussions on the original proposition but also has been extremely active since in supplying the Civil Service Commission with material and advice; Dr. C. Canby Balderston, Dean of the Wharton

School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania, and classification consultant to the War Department, who gave generously of his time and experience in the formulation of a proper plan; and Dr. Stephen S. Sweeney, Director of the Institute of Local and State Government of the University, who participated in the initial discussions and has since given helpful counsel.

With this able assistance the entire undertaking assumed the aspect of a community effort.

Immediately, the Pennsylvania Economy League was confronted with the necessity of doing as much of the job classification as it could before December 15, 1942, the deadline for the adoption of the 1943 budget under the city charter. To meet this demand, it was decided to make the fullest use of data gathered in the former classification studies.

With the help of the private personnel experts, who contributed nearly 1800 manhours, recommendations changing the titles of more than 15,000 civil service employees were given to City Council prior to December 15.

Employee Pressure

City Council's decision to classify and standardize was greatly influenced by employee groups which rapidly assumed a more important role in city affairs.

Foremost in size of membership was Local 222, the Municipal Workers Union, a member of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Workers, A.F. of L. This group consisted of 3,500 per diem workers employed in the Department of Public Works. In September 1942 this union threatened to strike if two conditions were not met: first, a classification survey; second, a cost-of-living increase pending a final determination of standard salaries.

The Union pointed out that reclassification was badly needed in the Department of Public Works since over eight hundred employees with the title "laborer" were driving trucks and performing a variety of mechanical and clerical duties of a competitive nature at the labor rate of compensation.

Local 222 has had a stormy career. In March 1937 the ash and garbage wagon drivers struck. In October 1938 this union participated in an eight-day strike of street cleaners and rubbish collectors, who demanded reinstatement of 264 discharged employees and a guarantee of full wages. The city government granted the Union's requests after trash piled up all over the city, and in return received a pledge of no future strikes.

A contract with Local 222 was signed in 1939 and in 1940 a new contract, covering the period to May 1944 and also containing a no-strike clause, was executed. In September of 1941 the Union again threatened to strike because of increased living costs. A 10 per cent increase was won, averting the strike.

This group was also partially responsible for the granting of a $200 bonus in 1942 to all city employees whose salaries did not exceed $2,500 per annum, and a $400 bonus in 1943 to employees whose salaries did not exceed $3,500 per annum. It is apparent from the history of this employee group that it possessed great influence as a bargaining factor in employee affairs.

Other employee associations in Philadelphia city government comprise: Philadelphia Civil Service Employees Association, Police and Fire Fraternals, and the Municipal War Veterans Association. All of these organizations vigorously backed the classification study.

The Philadelphia Civil Service Employees Association increased its membership from 500 to 3,000 persons in the course of a year. Its members represent the rank and file of clerical, stenographic, and professional workers in the city employ. It has come out strongly for the elimination of long standing salary and title inequities, the strengthening of civil service tenure, development of a proper pension system, protection of seniority and other civil service rights, and the determination of a proper and orderly system of promotions. Although not normally a vociferous organization, it has watched the growing success of the per-diem workers organization and urged equal recognition for the "white collar" employees of the city.

Civil Service Strengthened

All the city employee groups deserve credit for the work they have done in Philadelphia. Their progressiveness has tended to break down the inertia in the employer-employee relationship in Philadelphia city government. It is heartening to see in Philadelphia today a marked trend in civil service progress and personnel techniques despite the reverse trend in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania and in the federal program. There also has been much pressure exerted in Philadelphia to let down the bars of competitive examinations because of war employment conditions, but fortunately employee association groups have come out strongly and successfully against these proposals.

Value of Classification

On June 23, 1942, six months prior to the completion of the classification study, another civic organization, the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, described municipal payrolls as "being in a chaotic condition."

This organization reported that a brief analysis of the city and county budget for 1942 disclosed:

"That city departments employed 291 'clerks' under eighty-one different titles and forty-two different rates of pay ranging from $480 to $4,000 per annum;

"That county departments employed 807 'clerks' under 142 different titles and twenty-nine rates of pay ranging from $1,200 to $5,000 per annum;

"That 109 'watchmen' were employed on the city payrolls at wages ranging from $720 to $1,500 annually, and that seventeen 'watchmen' were employed by county departments under four different titles and rates of pay ranging from $1,300 to $1,800 per year;

"That the city employed thirty-eight 'messengers' under three titles and eleven rates of pay ranging from $450 to $1,500, while the county employed twenty 'messengers' with nine different titles and six rates of pay ranging from $500 to $1,800;

"That inequalities in titles and rates of pay stifled initiative and discouraged trained persons from entering the city service."

Fifteen thousand questionnaires were distributed to all employees working under the civil service provisions of the city charter. These included employees in the Departments of Public Safety, Public Works, Public Health, and Public Welfare.

Each questionnaire was carefully filled out by the employee. On the face of this brief but informative card were spaces reserved for: payroll title, salary, department, bureau, division, name of employee, length of tenure, regularly scheduled hours, amount of usual overtime, description of daily duties showing distribution of working hours devoted to each task, and space for employee signature.

The reverse side of the card was filled in by the supervisor. Spaces on this side covered truth of employee statement, additions to or deletions from the employee's description of duties, the nature of supervision, civil service status of the employee, budget item from which employee was paid, and a space for signature of the supervisor.

Close coöperation by department heads, employees, and employee associations made the weighty procedure a quick success. Provision was set up for discussion of the new titles with supervisors, employees, and employee group. Both the Economy League and later the classification consultant employed by the Civil Service Commission made a number of adjustments and refinements in the original classifications.

During the entire classification process constant use was made of the Jacob's classification report of 1930. It was discovered that with the exception of certain technological changes occurring during the twelve-year period, the majority of the 1930 titles and specifications could still be used. This ready asset cut the work by at least 50 per cent. The recommendations for standardized salaries made by the 1930 Jacobs report were used only for reference, inasmuch as the price paid labor, as compared to that paid the "white collar" worker, made a phenomenal gain in the twelve-year period.

Results of Classification

There was little relationship between the 1942 budget titles and salaries paid for apparently equal positions. Until City Council adopted the 1943 title changes, it was virtually impossible to compare salaries in the budget on the basis of titles, duties, and responsibilities. An example of this is afforded in the 1943 reclassified title "junior clerk." Gathered under this heading were twenty-three 1942 budget titles:

Clerk
Laborer
Typist clerk
X-Ray record clerk
Hospital attendant
Assistant supervisor
Record clerk
Junior clerk
Assistant house agent
Instrument Repairman
Messenger
Patrolman
Fire clerk
Junior inspector
Dump helper
Truck driver
Registry helper
Assistant foreman
Stenographer
Requisition clerk

Gardener
Exterminator
Notice server and clerk

Included in the budget for 1942 were thirty-four salary rates ranging from $560 to $2,590 for these titles.

The 1943 standard title "clerk" covers sixty-five 1942 budget titles and thirty varying rates of compensation from $1,010 to $3,315 per year. Some idea of the confusion which prevailed is gathered from the following partial list of 1942 titles of positions whose incumbents performed work of the "clerk" grade.

Laboratory assistant
Investigator
Stenographer
Patrolman
Captain
Lieutenant
Hoseman
Traffic laborer
Electrical helper
Laborer
Maintenance patrolman
Wagon driver
Dump helper
Inspector
Cleaner
Head nurse
Guard
Messenger

Status of Individuals

As a result of the drastic changes in titles, legal questions were raised as to what civil service status each employee possessed after reclassification.

An illustration of the complexity of the problem is evident when a "laborer" is reclassified as a "clerk." Under the enabling provisions of the city charter, unskilled labor had been employed in the "labor class." To enter this class under the present rules of the Commission a person files an application and is given only a physical examination.

On the other hand, applicants for the position of "clerk" normally must take a competitive examination, secure civil service tenure, and possess certain rights relative to promotion, reinstatement, and discharge.

The complexity of the problem of reclassification is evidenced by the fact that over eight hundred persons in the labor class were given competitive titles as a result of the survey. The matter was ironed out legally and equitably, however, with the advice of the city attorneys.

Once the survey was complete the Civil Service Commission went to work settling individual problems. In connection with employee status, the Commission was advised that it had the necessary legal authority to change titles in the interest of classification and promotion. Article XIX, Section 17, of the Philadelphia City Charter, which relates to the duties of the Philadelphia Civil Service Commission, provides as follows:

> The Commission shall classify and grade all positions in the classified service. The Commission shall ascertain and record the duties of each position in the service, and wherever it appears that two or more positions in the service have duties which are substantially similar in respect to the authority, responsibility, and character of work required in the performance thereof, they shall be placed in the same grade which the Commission shall designate by a title indicative of such duties. Grades having duties of the same general nature and in the same line of promotion shall be placed in the same class and the lines of promotion definitely specified. For each grade the Commission shall determine a standard maximum and minimum salary or rate of pay, and shall report the same to the Mayor and Council, together with other information pertaining to a proper rate of pay for personal services of incumbents of positions in the civil service.

With the power to classify made clear, titles were changed in accordance with proper duties. In addition City Council passed an ordinance on May 1, 1943, which provided that:

> No employee of the city of Philadelphia employed in any department or bureau under civil service shall, by virtue of any title change in the 1943 budget to conform with duties being performed, be required to take an examination to hold such position, nor shall he be deemed to have received any civil service status other than that for which he shall have qualified either by examination or by some official action of the Commission.

In other words, the "laborer" made "clerk" shall not during incumbency receive full "competitive" rights, but his successor shall be appointed from an appropriate eligible list. This does not bar the present incumbent from receiving the new standardized salary for his grade of position, regardless of his original civil service status.

The present efforts of the Civil Service Commission are directed to the goal of "equal pay for equal work." Coöperation among all the civic agencies is the keynote of this admirable effort. The Commission has "borrowed" as its consultant on classification a member of the Pennsylvania Economy League's research staff. A classification unit has been set up in the Commission which is now undertaking a final evaluation of salaries and wages in line with equity and standardization.

The chief examiner of the Civil Service Commission is advertising examinations based upon the specifications set up in the new classification report. Emphasis is now being placed on promotional examinations.

All of this teamwork gains impetus from time to time by the renewed stimulation of employee groups in the city service. Personnel policies are much improved and city employment has become more attractive.

LEGISLATIVE HIGHLIGHTS

(Continued from Page 366)

uniform acts and North Dakota, eight. The Simultaneous Death Act alone was adopted by thirteen legislatures in 1943.

In recent "legislative years"—the odd-numbered years—the lawmakers have considered an average of about 60,000 laws and have adopted about 20,000 of them. Nineteen forty-three may prove to be an exception when all the information is available. The Colorado legislature, for example, enacted 201 laws as compared with 303 in 1941, while in Michigan the bills submitted totaled 726 in 1943 as against 1,058 in 1941. In other cases, however, the totals for the two years appear to be about the same. Bills enacted in Maryland were 948 in 1943 and 951 in 1941, while Maine enactments amounted to 520 in 1943 and 544 in 1941.

In so far as length of sessions has been concerned, there has been a decided effort on the part of the lawmakers to dispose of their business as expeditiously as possible. The Michigan session was the shortest since the turn of the century, while in twelve other states the 1943 sessions were at least a calendar week shorter than the comparable meetings in 1941. Though faced with many new situations—particularly in connection with postwar problems—the state legislators, on the whole, have set a high standard in handling their business with intelligence and dispatch.

Oregon Educates Its Voters

Official publicity pamphlet, reaching all voters prior to primary and general elections, has performed real public service in providing information on candidates and issues.

By **WILLIAM L. JOSSLIN**
Portland, Oregon

TO EDUCATE the voter—to supply him with a knowledge of the facts and issues at stake in any election—is a vital function of democratic government.

One of the means which has developed to fill this urgent need is the voters' pamphlet. Such pamphlets have come from two sources: voters' leagues and other private organizations and the government. The first source is a limited one, depending on private subscriptions and donations and reaching only a small fraction of the electorate.

The publication of official voters' bulletins, to be sent by the government to each voter, is the next and logical step. These publicity pamphlets, as they are sometimes called, usually cover two important matters: (1) the measures pamphlet presents the text of initiative and referendum measures and constitutional amendments with arguments pro and con; (2) the candidates' pamphlet contains portraits, platforms, and information concerning candidates in primary and general elections. Both were first adopted by the state of Oregon, the pioneer in this as in many other political fields.

The Measures Pamphlet

Oregon, in 1907, first enacted laws providing for measures pamphlets. Today seven other states also publish and distribute such pamphlets to their voters: Arizona, California, Massachusetts, North Dakota, Ohio, Utah, and Washington. Nebraska publishes the text of measures and arguments thereon in newspapers.[1]

The Oregon provisions are especially worthy of note. At least thirty-five days before a regular general election or thirty days before any special election at which any measure or constitutional amendment is to be submitted to popular vote, the Secretary of State must cause to be printed a true copy of each measure to be voted on, with the number and form of its ballot title.

When the initiative is used those responsible for the measure, but no others, may file with the Secretary of State, for publication, a written argument advocating the measure. This must be done at least ninety days before the regular election at which the measure is to be voted upon. Anyone wishing to oppose the measure may file a written argument for publication at least seventy-five days before such election.

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[1] Arizona Code, 1939, s. 60-107; California, Statutes, 1939, c. 26, ss. 1500-1516; Massachusetts, Const., Amend. 48, Ann. Laws, 1933, vol. X, s. 174, vol. II, c. 54, ss. 53 and 54; North Dakota, Amendments to Constitution, s. 26; Comp. Laws, 1913, ss. 924-927; Ohio, Page's General Code, 1938, s. 4785-180 a-c; Oregon Comp. Laws Anno., ss. 81-2109, 81-2111; Utah Rev. Stats., 1933, s. 25-10-18; Washington, Remington's Rev. Stats., ss. 5422-25; Nebraska, Comp. Stats., 1929, s. 32-1910.

For measures submitted by the legislature, or by referendum petition, arguments for publication may be filed by anyone within the time period designated for initiative measures; or in case of a special election, sixty days before. The Secretary of State then collects and compiles all measures with the arguments pro and con, prints them in a pamphlet six by nine inches, and, at least fifteen days before the regular general election or ten days before a special election, mails a copy to every registered voter.

The cost of printing, binding and distributing the measures, and of binding and distributing the arguments, is borne by the state. But those offering such arguments are required to pay to the Secretary of State sufficient money to cover expenses for paper and printing them.

The California Pamphlet

A second type of measures pamphlet is that published by California since 1909. The California law attempts to insure that arguments on each side of every referred measure will be published, together with the text of the measures; provision is made for preparation of arguments, pro and con, by members of the legislature or other responsible persons. The entire cost of the pamphlet is borne by the state. Massachusetts, Ohio, and Washington likewise make no charge.

At the November 5, 1940, general election, California voted on seventeen measures. Nine of them had arguments on both sides presented in the measures pamphlet, the other eight recommendations favoring enactment only.

The Oregon measures pamphlet had arguments on both sides for only one of the nine measures submitted at the same election; two measures had no arguments at all, five had only arguments favoring enactment, and one had only arguments opposing enactment. In 1942 only two of seven measures had arguments on both sides; four had only affirmative arguments, and one had none.

Authorities seem to be agreed that the California system is the better. As stated by Professor A. N. Holcombe of Harvard University: "A comparison of the California and Oregon pamphlets shows that the arguments and information laid before the voters in the former state are more complete and more adequate than in the latter, and the California pamphlet is presumably a more effective aid to the voter."[2]

If, however, the feeling is so unanimous, or the indifference so great, that only one side is presented, why should one artificially attempt to work up the opposite side solely for the purpose of having one, and with the danger of confusing the voter as to the real situation? In the case of more or less routine measures, the people are inclined to accept the action of the legislature, and there is no reason why they should not do so. But, in any matters vitally affecting the state or certain powerful groups in it, we may be sure that, under the Oregon plan, those most interested may be relied upon to ably present both sides of the issue.

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[2] *State Government in the United States*, 1919, page 422.

Payments by citizens for space for arguments in the Oregon measures pamphlet amounted in 1936 to $2300; in 1938 to $1820; in 1940 to $900; and in 1942 to $1400. Admittedly, these payments represent only a small fraction of the total cost.

Both the Oregon and Washington laws authorize the Secretary of State to refuse any arguments which, in his opinion, contain "any obscene, vulgar, profane, scandalous, libelous or defamatory matter, or . . . any language which in any way incites, counsels, promotes or advocates hatred, abuse, violence or hostility toward, or which tends to cast ridicule or shame upon any person or group or groups of persons by reason of race, color, religion or manner of worship, or any language or matter, the circulation of which through the mails is prohibited by Congress."

An appeal to a board of review, consisting of the Governor, Attorney-General, and State Superintendent of Public Instruction, is authorized, and it is provided that the decision of a majority of such board shall be final.[3] To date, no case of such exclusion has arisen under either law. Apparently, the mere existence of the law is sufficient to discourage the presentation of improper arguments.

In 1941 the Ohio legislature enacted a law requiring the Secretary of State, upon receipt of a verified copy of a proposed state law or constitutional amendment proposing the levy of any tax or necessitating the expenditure of public funds, to secure from the tax commissioner an estimate of any proposed annual expenditure of funds and the annual yield of any proposed taxes, and to distribute copies thereof with the prescribed publicity pamphlets.[4]

The Oregon law authorizes measures pamphlets in cities and towns. This provision has rarely, if ever, been used.

The authorities seem to be agreed that measures pamphlets are of great value. A letter from the Secretary of State of California advises: "While it is impossible to ascertain how extensively they [measures pamphlets] are read, we do know they are in great demand by clubs and various organizations for analyzing and discussion of the proposed measures. . . . Perhaps our proposition pamphlet would prove of little value to the average voter if it were not for the fact that the pamphlets contain arguments for and against the proposed measures. We believe the arguments are read to a greater extent than the text of the proposals for arriving at a conclusion."

Effectiveness of Pamphlet

The effectiveness of the measures pamphlet is in inverse ratio to the burden placed upon it. The more measures the voters are required to study, the less wise and accurate are their decisions. In commenting on the vote on twenty measures in the California general election of November 1920, Professor Thomas H. Reed concludes: "On the whole, the task required of the people was an impossible one. The pamphlet sent to the voters to acquaint them with the texts of the measures and the arguments pro and con was a slight thing of 80,000 words. There was a good deal of agitation on some questions. The newspapers published strange and conflicting suggestions for voters. When all is said and done most electors voted blindly on all but two or three questions. They doubtless acted on advice, but advice so conflicting as to largely neutralize itself. The long ballot of propositions is no less fatal than the long ballot of officers."[5] When such a burden as this is placed upon the measures pamphlet, it becomes practically useless.

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[3] Oregon Laws, 1941, Chapter 409; Remington's Revised Statutes of Washington, Section 5422.

[4] Ohio Statutes of 1941, Section 216.

The Candidates' Pamphlet

Oregon and North Dakota are the only states now publishing candidates' pamphlets. This pamphlet, growing out of the measures pamphlet, was first adopted by Oregon in 1908. It spread to other states, but in none of them except North Dakota has it taken root as a permanent institution. The North Dakota pamphlet is limited to primary elections in which a measure is submitted to the people.

Montana adopted the candidates' pamphlet in 1909, but repealed the law in 1919. Wyoming enacted it into law in 1911 but in 1919 repealed the provision. A Colorado act of 1913, subject to the repeal of a constitutional provision in conflict with it, provided for official candidates' pamphlets, but the state constitution was never amended and no pamphlets were ever issued. The primary law of 1918 in South Dakota also made provision for candidates' pamphlets, but the law was repealed in 1921. Florida and North Dakota enacted similar laws in 1913, but the Florida law was repealed in 1935.

The Oregon law provides for candidates' pamphlets for both primary and general elections. Before every primary the Secretary of State prepares a candidates' pamphlet for each party in which candidates, or friends of candidates, for nomination to state or district offices, when the district is composed of one or more counties, may publish a statement of principles, reasons for election, and portrait cuts. Each candidate buying space is required to pay for at least one page, but may not purchase more than four. All data must be filed with the Secretary of State at least forty-five days before the primary election. Within the same time limit anyone may file with the Secretary of State a signed statement opposing a candidate's election. This must be accompanied by proof —affidavit or sheriff's return—that an exact copy of the statement has been served upon the candidate in person. The opposing statement immediately follows that advocating the candidacy. But it is carefully provided: "Nothing in this law shall be deemed to make any such statement or the authors thereof free or exempt from any civil or criminal action or penalty because of any false, slanderous or libelous statements offered for printing or contained in said pamphlet. The person or persons procuring, making, composing or offering such statement for filing shall be deemed the authors and publishers thereof." The Secretary of State, at least ten days before the primary, mails a copy of the pamphlet to each registered voter according to his party designation.

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[5] "Popular Legislation in California," *American Political Science Review*, August 1921, page 390.

Not later than the thirty-seventh day before a regular general election, the state executive committee or officers of a party having nominated candidates (but no others except independent candidates), may file with the Secretary of State portrait cuts and statements favoring the election of its candidates and attacking the principles and candidates of any other party. In practice statements are usually prepared by the candidates themselves.

No party may have more than twenty-four pages, nor an independent candidate more than two pages in the pamphlet, which is mailed to all registered voters at least nine days before the general election.

The following is a table of charges to candidates for nomination, for one page of space in the party primary bulletin:

> $100 for president or vice-president of the United States, United States senator or representative, governor, secretary of state, state treasurer;
>
> $75 for justices of the supreme court, attorney-general, state superintendent of public instruction;
>
> $50 for delegate to a party convention, presidential elector, inspector of factories and workshops, commissioner of labor statistics, circuit judge, district attorney.
>
> $25 for candidates for any other office in the state or in any district of one or more counties;
>
> $10 for senator or representative in the legislative assembly.

Additional space is charged for at the rate of $100 per page, but no single candidate may have more than three additional pages. Anyone opposing the nomination of a candidate may have space on the same terms as that candidate.

In the candidates' pamphlet for the general election parties and independent candidates are allowed space at the rate of $50 per page, with a maximum of twenty-four pages for any party and of two pages for any independent candidate. In 1939 it was provided that space for legislative candidates selected by the parties at the preceding primary shall be $10 per page, which space is in addition to the twenty-four pages allotted to the parties.[6]

In 1941 this space was limited to one page for each legislative candidate. A maximum of four pages is allotted to each party nominee for president and vice-president, for which no charge is made.

It is customary to combine the measures pamphlet and the general election candidates' pamphlet in one bulletin.

In the Republican candidates' pamphlet for May 1940, a certain candidate, seeking the nomination for Congress in the first district, bitterly denounced the Jewish people. His statement was accompanied by a picture of the candidate wearing what appeared to be a silver shirt uniform. The Secretary of State was powerless to exclude this and it was reprinted and sent all over the country as an extract from the official voters' pamphlet published by the state of Oregon.

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[6] This reduction in cost resulted in 108 candidates out of a total of 213 taking space in the pamphlet issued prior to the November 1940 election, an increase over former years.

No Intolerance Permitted

The 1941 Oregon legislature met the situation by enacting laws requiring the Secretary of State to refuse publication in either the primary or general election pamphlets of "any statement or other matter favoring or opposing any candidate . . . which, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, contains any obscene, vulgar, profane, scandalous, libelous or defamatory matter, or contains any language which in any way incites, counsels, promotes or advocates hatred, abuse, violence or hostility toward, or which tends to cast ridicule or shame upon any person or group or groups of persons by reason of race, color, religion or manner of worship, or any language or matter, the circulation of which through the mails is prohibited by Congress." No candidate shall "be entitled to display in such pamphlet any cut showing the uniform or insignia of any organization which advocates or teaches racial or religious intolerance."[7]

In cities of more than ten thousand population, the Oregon law permits both primary and general election publicity pamphlets for candidates to be prepared and issued by the municipality, but the provision has apparently fallen into disuse.

Printing and distributing the candidates' pamphlet to 276,367 registered Republicans and 254,814 registered Democrats in the primary election of May 17, 1940, cost $19,873.99, less $5,265.00 paid by candidates for space, or $14,518.99—2¾ cents per voter. Total cost of the combined measures and candidates' pamphlets sent to 613,428 voters in the general election of November 5, 1940, was $38,793.57, less $900 paid for arguments on measures and $2,320 paid for space for candidates, or a net total of $35,573.57. Cost of the candidates' portion of the pamphlet was 1¼ cents per voter.

In 1925 the writer of this article made a study of Oregon voters' pamphlets. In commenting upon their value the report states: "The human animal is peculiarly susceptible to things coming through the mail and with an official stamp upon them. Although there are no statistics . . . we might be justified in presuming that maybe 50 per cent of the registered voters receiving these pamphlets peruse them. They may be presumed to attract more attention and to exert a greater influence than probably any other single source of electoral publicity. . . .

"The candidates' pamphlets for both primary and general elections also give independent groups or candidates a fair chance to present their case, a chance which is not offered by most newspapers. There is, too, an opportunity to attack and unmask dishonest candidates or parties; to expose inefficiency in public officers coming up for re-election. . . . It thus enables the voter to compare the merits and qualifications of individual candidates and of the candidates of different parties. It stimulates the voter to investigate and to vote, not according to mere party designation, but according to merit.

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[7] Oregon Laws, 1941, Chapters 245 and 306.

Suggested Improvements

"A truly effective candidates' pamphlet would eventually force parties to put up only the best men. Even as it now is, the candidates' pamphlet acts as a public searchlight on primary and general elections. . . . The principle—of the state itself furnishing information to the voters—is, we believe, essentially sound; the application of this principle is the problem. . . .

"The fatal weakness of the pamphlets, as at present constituted, is the fact that candidates, or their friends, are able to fill the pamphlets with meaningless oratory, bunkum, and outworn palaver." (It is only fair to state, however, that the use of such "meaningless oratory, bunkum, and outworn palaver" will disclose to discerning voters the lack of qualifications of a candidate using such material.)

On February 14, 1941, a report on the Oregon voters' pamphlets was submitted to the Portland City Club, a leading civic organization, by a committee of which the writer was chairman. This committee was largely responsible for the changes made in the pamphlet laws by the 1941 legislature.

It was the feeling of two members of the committee that either the candidates should be required to pay the entire cost of the candidates' pamphlet or that it should be abolished. It was the conclusion of the four remaining members, however, that the candidates' pamphlet should be retained and that no change should be made in the rates for space.

This difference of opinion was due to disagreement among the members of the committee as to the real purpose of the candidates' pamphlets. One member regarded them as merely another form of publicity to be used by candidates to advance their own political fortunes. But a substantial majority believed that the candidates' pamphlet is an instrument designed to inform the voters and to enable them to make a better selection of public officers. If this last view is correct, then it would seem that the state is justified in making up the deficit in the cost of its publication and distribution and correspondingly should have a right to exercise legitimate control over the material printed.

It would also seem that if a state makes its election machinery available to a candidate for public office, it is justified in requiring every candidate to coöperate by furnishing a portrait cut, simple biography, platform, and other information needed to give the voters an understanding of his qualifications. To require every candidate, except those whose nomination or election is not opposed, to take at least one page in the candidates' pamphlet, would be reasonable.

The voters' pamphlets, particularly the measures pamphlets, have performed a valuable public service in providing information to the voters helpful to them in the performance of their duties.

Treasury Committee Analyzes General Property Tax

Essential to the reorganization of local revenue sources are some fundamental changes in a time honored institution

THIS is the second of a series of three digests containing excerpts from the recent report of the United States Treasury's Committee on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations, composed of Luther Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration, Harold M. Groves, of the University of Wisconsin, and Mabel Newcomer, of Vassar College.

The first digest, in the June issue of the REVIEW, included excerpts from Parts I and II of Volume I, the summary edition of the full report which ultimately will be printed in six volumes with supporting data and special studies. Covered in the June issue were the Committee's general position on intergovernmental fiscal relations and its basic recommendation for a Federal-State Fiscal Authority.

This digest reproduces most of Part III of Volume I suggesting "some fundamental changes" in the general property tax, the fiscal foundation of local government.

The third and last of the digests, scheduled for the September issue of the REVIEW, will carry in full the Committee's "Summary of Recommendations in Terms of an Action Program for Each Level of Government."—EDITOR.

III. Independent Sources of Local Revenue

[*General Property Tax*]

It is recommended that major attention be given to a reorganization of the sources of local revenue, particularly city revenue, in such manner as to preserve and restore local autonomy, and to enable local governments to tax their own resources, according to their own discretion, without the development of more overlapping in taxation. This, in our opinion, calls for a bold attack and some fundamental changes in a time-honored institution—the general property tax.

There can be little doubt that local governments, particularly city governments, are "in a bad way" from the fiscal standpoint. The recent depression caught them ill-prepared; many were obligated to borrow heavily to meet current expenses, and the refunding of maturing obligations was common.

Most cities have been living from hand to mouth in the hope that something would turn up. And the attitude of municipal officials has grown increasingly pessimistic.

No doubt much of the blame for these predicaments can be placed at the door of the states in whose legislative councils cities have for years been under-represented. Cities have often shared very inadequately in newly developed state revenues, particularly in motor-vehicle tax revenues. More important, the states have undermined and strait-jacketed general property tax expansion, both with exemptions and with ceiling limitations.

The cities in some instances have their own mismanagement to blame for part of their financial troubles. But the generally rising competence of officials in posts of municipal responsibility has been one of the bright spots in the recent evolution of American government. It may well be that "the best managed of our cities are ahead of the federal government in the quality of their administration."

Other Revenues Collected

The cities have claimed the privilege, and some have found it possible, to develop some diversification of revenues. And so we find, for example, municipal sales taxes in New York and New Orleans; a flat earned income tax in Philadelphia; a license tax based on volume of business in Louisville and Richmond; a one-cent gasoline, one-cent bottle beer, and two-cent cigarette tax in Birmingham; and gasoline, automobile-license, and cigarette taxes in Kansas City. But these developments involve piling taxes three deep in a number of cases, and they represent at best additional complications in a revenue system already highly complicated.

A major cause of the failure of municipal revenues on the score of inadequacy is the unpopular general property tax. Although this tax proved the mainstay of local support for many years, it broke down badly during the recent depression and is under incessant political attack by state and local leaders. Beside many traditional faults, which need not be recapitulated here, the property tax, like the income tax, is attacked because its base is too narrow. The property-owning lower middle class resent what they regard as the tax-free status of the "proletariat." This attack gains strength because of the traditional interest in widespread home ownership. Finally, the property tax is resented because of its regressivity, the fact that it falls with greatest weight on relatively poor taxpayers.

The narrow jurisdiction of the municipality makes it essential to depend on a relatively immobile tax base for the major part of local revenues, and this points to the continuance of the largest part of the local tax burden on real estate. But there are important possibilities of redistributing this burden among individual owners of real estate and their tenants.

What is needed, apparently, is some new source of local revenue which will (1) not overlap existing federal and state taxes, (2) enable the localities to tap their own resources without running hat in hand to central governments, (3) cover all or a vast majority of the interested citizenry, and (4) not be regressive. This is no easy assignment but the following suggestions are recommended for consideration.

The property tax might well be broken down into its elements and its uniform application to all owners on the basis of holdings be abandoned. One way of recasting the fragments would contemplate a collection from landlords in the nature of a service charge for local benefits to property, and a further collection, more personal in character, from occupants on their rental value of occupancy. The occupancy tax could be added as either a replacement or a supplement to the general property tax; and it might be introduced step by step on a gradual and experimental basis.

The property tax has suffered from notoriously weak administration. But the best possible assessment would fail to reach the shortcoming of market value as a measure of taxpaying ability. It may be conceded that the owner of real estate producing no current income has some taxpaying ability. But it may still prove awkward to obtain the necessary cash for tax payments; and more important, the expected future income on which the market value is based may never be realized.

Rental Tax

In view of these limitations a good case can be made for shifting a part of the burden from real estate to current income, that is, the gross rental value of occupied premises. It may not be desirable to reduce current levies, in view of the fact that these may be partly capitalized, and that there is no certainty that the owner would reduce rentals to his tenants if such a change were made. But where there is need for more municipal revenue, a city might well give consideration to a tax on rentals, collected from the occupier.

One advantage of such a tax is that, being in proportion to current income rather than expected future income, it will spread the burden over the various parcels of real estate in a different manner from the tax on capital values. Unused properties would be exempt. Also, the distribution between tenants and landlords would vary, since there is always some friction in the process of shifting.

Finally, a rental tax could make some allowances for individual ability to pay. The tax on home rentals might be adjusted to take account of size of family, and a progressive rate might be imposed. This would tend to offset the regressive tax on capital values. A business rental tax would be levied, of course, at a flat rate.

Among the objections to a supplementary rental value tax would be the necessity for two valuations—rental value as well as capital value. This is not a simple problem, since many properties are occupied by their owners, and in other cases the actual rent paid must be adjusted to allow for special circumstances.

There are other objections to a rental tax. For instance it would offer no answer—except in its possible feature of graduation—to the criticism that much of the weight of the local tax system falls on housing, an area of expenditure in which the nation is trying to improve standards. Some concessions to housing, probably confined to the philanthropic element in housing, may be necessary. It is quite possible, too, that an occupancy tax might increase the cyclical fluctuations in city revenues. Nevertheless, the frequency with which such taxes have been used by other countries suggests that they have possibilities that may well be explored.

Other ways of reaching the property base are the use of unearned increment taxes and the further development of special assessments. The latter have sometimes been used to excess, and the record of administration is not encouraging, but many cities have failed to develop their possibilities adequately. Many municipal services yield special benefits, and the cost might reasonably be covered in this way. Some municipalities could revise their public utility charges, also, to cover costs, or even to contribute to the general treasury.

While the retail sales tax as a local revenue source is quite objectionable because of its overlapping of central sources, its regressivity and its jurisdictional complications, nevertheless it may be worth considering as a last resort. Exemption of food might reduce regressivity and some city might test the practicability of a personal exemption under this form of tax. As against the steady and extensive surrender of local fiscal independence, the city sales tax might merit further consideration.

Cities Need Freedom to Tax

In any event, the municipality should be given greater freedom in the application of the general property tax. Rate limitations offer no constructive solution to the problem of financing local government or improving the property tax. Their proponents are indifferent to fiscal crises and counsel a resort to any action other than an immediate increase in real estate taxes. The right of the cities to tax their own citizens as they please within the property tax area, primarily suited for local exploitation, should be generally restored, subject only to rules supplied by the state as to the general framework. Administrative assistance from the central units need not be precluded by such a development.

Property tax exemptions have been too freely granted and too generously interpreted. Effective state supervision of property tax administration, or state assessment if such central assistance cannot be developed, is needed to offset the pressure of special local interests.

The widely prevailing notion that the general property tax, except for new exemptions and rate limitations, is a crystallized institution and fixed for all time should be exploded. Whether or not these specific proposals are received with favor the whole subject of independent local revenues should be given fresh and bold reconsideration.

The federal government is in the best strategic position to cope with cyclical emergencies and should, even with a strengthening of local financial independence, continue to finance employment-creating improvements during such periods. Moreover, as subsequently elaborated, the federal government should enlarge the number of functions in which, because of a national interest, federal support is given through grants-in-aid. Federal payments in lieu of property taxes on federally-owned property, such as housing, should be more generous and dependable. A federal market for municipal bonds might be helpful in time of depression, but the major need is for a source of revenue which will enable the localities to tax their own resources independently. Much of the vitality of local government in the United States depends upon the development (discovery and utilization) of such a source.

(Continued on Page 389)

Letter to the Editor

A Few Warnings on Private Enterprise Housing Plan

To the Editor of the
National Municipal Review:

All who are concerned with ridding our cities of blight and slums must join with Paul Windels in acclaiming, as he does in your June issue, the entry of quasi-public reservoirs of capital into this neglected area of service. But many will question seriously the kind of project into which the greatest of these reservoirs—the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company—wants to pipe some $50,000,000 of its funds for its first urban redevelopment venture.

The success of such a project in Mr. Windels' opinion—and in mine—will depend, in part, on how three requirements are met. But how far these criteria are from being met in "Stuyvesant Town" is not made clear in your June article. Let us consider them briefly:

"(1) Community facilities to provide a genuine, well rounded, wholesome community life."

Although Stuyvesant Town is to provide apartments for 8,842 families, there is no provision for even a single school, church, or community meeting place in the entire project.

"(2) A basic plan with provision for limited land coverage, which will be protected against the possibility of future fundamental change without the consent of the City Planning Commission."

The proposed contract between the Metropolitan Life and the City of New York embodies this protection—but for only twenty-five years.

"(3) Protection against undue concentration of population in the area by the use of high buildings even though the land coverage is kept small."

This protection is wholly lacking in the Stuyvesant Town project. A population of more than 24,000 persons is to be crowded onto sixty-one acres of land, in thirty-five apartment houses—all of them thirteen stories in height, except for a few ten-story wings. Excluding street, driveway, and non-residential areas, these buildings will occupy 37.7 per cent of the total project area and the population density will be 594 per net acre as thus figured.[1] Surely this is "undue concentration of population."

Reports on the Stuyvesant Town proposals by the Citizens' Housing Council of New York and other civic organizations have emphasized the foregoing and other reasons for urging reconsideration before the final freezing of the plans and contract. It has been pointed out, for example, that this project would be literally a company-owned walled town without a single square foot of public property within its boundaries. The entire periphery of the area, except for two entrances on each of the four sides, would be occupied by tall buildings interspersed with one-story garages; each of the eight entrances would carry a sign "giving notice to the public that such streets, within the area are private streets." This means that the Stuyvesant Town Corporation could not only discriminate because of race, creed, or color in selecting its tenants, but could actually refuse entrance into the project area, should it so desire, for similar reasons.

Another serious objection to building Stuyvesant Town as planned is that even the youngest school children would have to cross the peripheral traffic streets to get to school—this notwithstanding the policy of the state, as set forth in the law under which this project would be built, "that modern standards of urban life require that housing be related to adequate and convenient public facilities."

These do not exhaust the list of criticisms that have been voiced of the Stuyvesant Town plans, some of which might not arise in the case of a project receiving no substantial public aid.

But here we have a project which the City of New York proposes to endow with eminent domain, twenty-five-year tax limitation, and gift of city-owned street areas. "To none of these benefits"—to quote a statement submitted to the Board of Estimate on June 3—"would the Citizens' Housing Council object if balanced by adequate public benefits. We believe that such balance can be achieved, and that it would be a serious mistake, at this early stage of a postwar project, to assume inflexibility of financial arrangements, site plans, population densities, and exclusion of a school site from the project area."

A point should be mentioned that needs safeguarding in other states which may consider using New York's Redevelopment Companies Law as a model—which it surely is not—for similar legislation. Mr. Windels' article in the June NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW states that: "During the twenty-five-year period of partial tax exemption the company may not take out of the project any more than operating costs and 6 per cent a year to cover interest and amortization." And he adds: "All other income goes to the city."

That seems to have been the intent of the legislature, but neither in the law itself nor in the proposed contract with the city is this last-quoted provision embodied. The company cannot *pay out* during the tax-exemption period more than 6 per cent on the cost of the project, but there is no prohibition against accumulating a substantial reserve which would not be paid to the city but which the company could ultimately add to future profits and distribute in unlimited earnings on its tiny equity. Doubtless the Metropolitan Life would not profiteer in this way; but a precedent would be established that might lead to serious abuses in less scrupulous hands.

Redevelopment projects ought, of course, to earn an adequate return on the investment of private or quasi-public funds. But the laws controlling such investment ought not to be so obscurely worded as to confuse.

Whether Stuyvesant Town will be built exactly as approved by an 11-5 vote of the Board of Estimate at its June 3 meeting, will depend in part on the result of court action now pending. It will depend, too, on the wisdom of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in so modifying its plans and policies as to make Stuyvesant Town what it might become—a fine precedent for future emulation by quasi-public reservoirs of capital in helping our cities to solve one of their greatest problems—the rational rebuilding of slums and blighted areas.

HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM, Editor
The American City
New York

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Contributors in Review

LONG intrigued by governmental affairs **William L. Josslin** (*Oregon Educates Its Voters*) has taken a special interest in his state's "publicity pamphlet." He prepared a six-thousand-word report on the subject during his student days at Stanford University which served as the basis for a 1941 study on the subject by a committee of the Portland City Club, of which he was chairman. Mr. Josslin, a Portland attorney, has served as deputy district attorney of Multnomah County, assistant state counsel of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and for four years was private secretary and legal advisor to Oregon's Governor Charles H. Martin. Last year he was elected secretary of the Oregon Democratic State Central Committee.

ANOTHER citizen who has devoted much time to the improvement of his government is **Herbert C. Morris** (*Youth Builds Today for a Better Tomorrow*). Mr. Morris is vice-chairman of the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, an organization long actively working for civic betterment in the "City of Brotherly Love." In that capacity he has charge of civic education for adults and students.

ON LEAVE from the Pennsylvania Economy League to act as consultant on job classification for the Philadelphia Civil Service Commission, **Edward B. Shils** (*Philadelphia Streamlines Personnel Plan*) is well qualified to write on his city's recent accomplishments in reorganizing its civil service. Mr. Shils, who received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania, has done research work for the Institute of Local and State Government of that University, the Mayor's Advisory Finance Commission of Philadelphia, as well as the Economy League. He has published several articles on his studies and is author of *Finances and Financial Administration of the School District of Philadelphia.*

WITH the Council of State Governments as his vantage point, **Herbert Wiltsee** (*State Legislative Highlights—1943*), director of research and publications of that organization and editor of its *State Government,* is well qualified to report on what the legislatures have done during their recent sessions. Mr. Wiltsee was formerly research assistant for the University of Chicago Social Science Research Council and instructor in political science and history at Alma College. He has been with the Council of State Governments since 1942.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Researcher's Digest: July

Fire protection in the Los Angeles area; Berkeley considers war nurseries, a state surplus, and postwar planning; paying for New York City public works; what the research bureaus are thinking about.

A FAMILIAR public administration horror story, usually trotted forth for the benefit of young and shockable students, deals with the hospital, church, or other institution which, situated close to the legal limits of some municipality or other, burned to the ground (and maybe a couple of hundred orphans with it) while firemen from the next jurisdiction, their feet firmly planted on their own side of the boundary, stood around and watched.

It is with this situation that James R. Donoghue deals, realistically, seriously and exhaustively, in his *Intergovernmental Coöperation in Fire Protection in the Los Angeles Area,* a product of the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles.**

The Los Angeles area has many times in the past yielded the Bureau unusually fine research data because of the multiplicity of its governmental units, the variety of its population, terrain and economic characteristics, and, above all, because of its sheer size (prewar travelers used to tell of finding Los Angeles city limits signs in Alaska).

Mr. Donoghue dipped once again into this fine laboratory situation and came out with some cheering reports of the increase of coöperation, both formal and informal, among the fire departments of this vast and varied area. These reports are cheering not only because of the aforesaid imaginary institutions but also because of the desperate war-borne need for intergovernmental coöperation, particularly interfire department coöperation. This war, he points out, has been called a fireman's war. Fortunately, in the Los Angeles area, the firemen seem to have the situation well in hand.

Mr. Donoghue has done an admirable job, both from the research and literary standpoints. He has every reason to be proud of his terminal civilian production.

To the Ladies

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (Berkeley) has, as it were, one foot in wartime problems, another foot in postwar problems, and both arms around governmental problems of purely non-military significance. The three latest of its attractive publications deal with *Wartime Nurseries, The General Fund Surplus Problem in California,* and *State Organization for Postwar Planning,* respectively, thus illustrating the lead thesis of this marginal comment. All are of a series intended for the further information of California's legislators and, after the manner of legislative councils, there are no recommendations to cloud the lawmakers' judgment. Incidentally, the authorship of these items is all-female—Winifred Cobbledick did the first mentioned, and Dorothy C. Tompkins did the latter two. The ladies have acquitted themselves brilliantly.

The *Nurseries* production is a summary of the measures other states have taken to care for those wartime waifs, the children of working mothers—California is sore beset by this question at the moment. The *Surplus* study deals with the serious problem of what to do with all the extra money piled up at present in the state treasury, a condition more or less epidemic in other states now that so much loose cash is floating around in citizens' pockets. The *Planning* work describes what organizations other states have set up for postwar planning. As ever, all these studies have a distinct general value not at all limited to the state of California.

Money for a Master Plan

There might be said to be two kinds of civic minds: the kind that thinks only about what the city ought to buy for its citizens, and the kind that worries all the time about how the city is going to pay for what it buys. Rare indeed is that civic sophisticate who considers both questions and is able to arrive at a comfortable reconciliation. *New York City's Debt and Future Capital Outlays* represents just such a reconciliation.

Aided and abetted by Richard S. Childs, who prepared the volume's foreword, Herbert S. Swan has written, and the **Institute of Public Administration** has published, an exhaustive, informed, and broadminded treatise on whether, and how, the City of New York is to pay for the public improvements represented by the Master Plan which the city has laid away in its portfolio against the day when the population shall have reached its estimated maximum of eight and a half millions. Carefully calculated in much detail is the tax and credit structure of the metropolis, and against it are laid the transit facilities, parks, schools, thoroughfares, docks, water supply, hospitals, sewage disposal plants, incinerators, and miscellaneous buildings which the city planners deem necessary for the Little Old New York of 1960. The conclusion is that these things can be paid for—if the Master Plan is followed. The important moral of the work, however, is that public works can and should be planned, and that paying for them is likewise a matter of planning.

This and That

The governmental research potpourri for this month includes more grist for the proportional representation mill—*The Congressional District System in Indiana,* by Louis E. Lambert, published by the **Institute of Politics of Indiana University**; an invaluable book of charts, maps, and tables representing *Statistical Data Regarding the Population, Area and Finances of the City of Rochester,* compiled by the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research**; a detailed study of the *Salary Rates of Officials in 177 Oregon Cities* compiled by the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon** for the purpose of throwing light on the current municipal problem of whether or not to grant salary increases; and three descriptive monographs by C. A. Bratton of the **Department of Agricultural Economics of the New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University,** on *Governmental Purchasing, Elections in New York State,* and *Public Health Administration* (with F. A. Coffey).

Be it not forgotten, of course, that in addition to the physically more substantial works discussed here from month to month, the regular periodic bulletins, leaflets, and pamphlets of the research bureaus continue their course, dispensing governmental intelligence to the subscribers.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Bar Associations

A Study of Bar Organization in South Dakota. By Allen G. Wilson. Vermillion, Governmental Research Bureau, University of South Dakota, April 1943. 57 pp.

Elections

The Congressional District System in Indiana. By Louis E. Lambert. Bloomington, Institute of Politics, Indiana University, April 1943. 9 pp.

Elections in New York State. By C. A. Bratton. Ithaca, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, April 1943. 22 pp.

Finance

The General Fund Surplus Problem in California. By Dorothy C. Tomkins. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, March 1943. 21 pp.

New York City's Debt and Future Capital Outlays. By Herbert S. Swan. New York City, Institute of Public Administration, 1943. 51 pp.

Fire

Intergovernmental Coöperation in Fire Protection in the Los Angeles Area. By James R. Donoghue. Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, May 1943. 126 pp.

Municipal Statistics

Statistical Data Regarding the Population, Area, and Finances of the City of Rochester. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, March 1943. 24 pp.

Planning

State Organization for Postwar Planning. By Dorothy C. Tomkins. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, April 1943. 16 pp.

Public Health

Public Health Administration in New York. By F. A. Coffey and C. A. Bratton. Ithaca, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, April 1943. 25 pp.

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Purchasing

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Salaries

Salary Rates of Officials in 177 Oregon Cities. Eugene, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, May 1943. 27 pp.

GENERAL PROPERY TAX

(Continued from Page 383)

[Volume I also analyzes in some detail the following problems:]

IV. Coördination of Specific Taxes
Income taxes, death taxes, tobacco taxes, liquor taxes, gasoline and motor vehicle use taxes, retail sales taxes, business taxes, stock transfer taxes, payroll taxes.

V. Tax Immunities
Payments in lieu of taxes, state and local taxation of government contracts, tax-exempt securities.

VI. Expenditures, Functions, and Aids
Reallocation of functions and powers, federal grants-in-aid and national minima, expenditures for education.

VII. Fiscal Policy
Fiscal policy and public investment, fiscal policy and the tax system.

VIII. Cost of Administration and Compliance
Administration and cost of compliance.

IX. Problems of Interstate Relations
Multiple taxation, other problems of interstate relations.

X. Miscellaneous Problems
Community property, impact of the war, governmental reporting.

On the Local Front

Prepared by Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Charles P. Taft, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Public Health and the War

AN all-time low national death rate of 10.3 per 1,000 population in 1942 was reported by Surgeon General Thomas Parran, U. S. Public Health Service, in a recent statement before a Congressional committee.

The Surgeon General's report covered the health of the nation in the first year of war as well as the far-flung activities of the PHS on the global health front.

"The health of the nation remained good during 1942," Dr. Parran said, citing the thirteenth consecutive annual decline in maternal mortality and a reduction in infant deaths.

The nation was spared major epidemics in 1942, although meningococcus meningitis (cerebrospinal fever) and typhus increased, and a new contagious eye infection occurred among industrial war workers. The epidemic of meningococcus meningitis continued into 1943, nearly 10,000 cases having been reported by May 22 of this year. Recalling the post-World War epidemics of typhus in Europe, Dr. Parran said that the PHS has acted to prevent such an occurrence in this country.

Although reports from enemy-occupied countries have been incomplete since 1939, typhus fever is known to have been epidemic in North Africa, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Spain, and Turkey.

To protect the nation from the importation of plague by rat colonies from war areas, all ships touching our ports are thoroughly inspected. A similar inspection is made before new merchant ships constructed under the war program are launched to determine whether PHS rat-proofing specifications have been met.

The National Institute of Health, research arm of the Service, has developed a vaccine for the prevention of typhus fever which is believed the most effective of any so far discovered. Experiments in the production of lice repellents are also encouraging.

In May 1942 an Office of Typhus Fever Control was established with headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia, to assist threatened communities in fighting the disease. Rat harborages are surveyed, buildings rat-proofed, and rats destroyed. The Public Health Service also assists the Army in rodent control of military establishments.

"There is a very real possibility," the Surgeon General warned, "that exotic diseases unknown in this country may be introduced by returning troops." The increased speed of travel, it was revealed, makes it possible for a person to contract any of the quarantinable or tropical diseases and reach the United States before the condition would have become manifest. For this reason airplane passengers from distant points are examined by Public Health Service officers. Those arriving from areas where yellow fever may be present are kept under surveillance until the incubation period has expired. All planes are insecticized before and after arrival in this country.

PHS also has been supplying all the needs of the Army for yellow fever vaccine to immunize the troops. At the request of the Navy, the Service controls the breeding of the mosquito which transmits dengue and yellow fever at Key West, Florida, in Texas, and South Carolina.

Despite the threat of epidemic diseases to the war effort, their prompt control constitutes but a small part of the wartime tasks of the Public Health Service. According to the Surgeon General, 90 per cent of PHS resources, in manpower, material, and money, have been channeled into direct war work. Among the important wartime programs are those concerned with the control of malaria, venereal disease, and tuberculosis.

Malaria Control

Primary responsibility for the control of malaria in all areas adjacent to naval and military establishments, noted Dr. Parran, rests with the Public Health Service. In malarious areas, a zone essentially free of malaria mosquitoes is established around every military camp and every war industry. "It is gratifying to report that, as a result of these control activities, the Army last year experienced the lowest malaria rate in its history."

In the first World War there was a great increase in the venereal diseases, not only among the warring nations but among neutrals as well. In this war, both the United States and Great Britain have already experienced a rising rate. The PHS has coöperated very closely with the military authorities and state and local communities in "v.d." control.

The Surgeon General stated that the number of venereal disease clinics in the country has increased over 300 per cent in the last four years. With funds allotted by the Federal Works Agency, state health departments and the PHS have established twenty-three rapid treatment centers for the cure and rehabilitation of women spreading venereal disease. Sixty more have been proposed for 1943.

Red light districts in more than 300 communities have been closed and the May Act invoked in two areas. An agreement has also been reached with the Mexican authorities for the suppression of prostitution along the International Border.

In anticipation of a wartime rise in tuberculosis, the Public Health Service established an Office of Tuberculosis Control shortly after war began and has already given X-ray examinations to more than a quarter of a million people, including Coast Guard recruits, laborers from Mexico, and more than 160,000 war workers in shipyards, ordnance plants, and other essential establishments. It is planned to extend the program to include the families of war workers and rejectees from the armed forces.

Health of Industrial Workers

The Surgeon General's report calls attention to the tremendous growth in wartime industry and the correspondingly increased need for the expansion of health and sanitation activities in boom areas. Through forty-four state and local industrial hygiene units and PHS staff, direct inspections of war plants are made to insure the health of industrial workers. Important research is constantly going on as to industrial poisons and the potential dangers of new substances prior to their introduction into industry.

Formerly, the Surgeon General also pointed out, our merchant ships had no first aid or sanitation service of any kind. In a joint program with the War Shipping Administration, the PHS has trained hundreds of pharmacists' mates for duty on sea-going merchant vessels.

Another job of the Service has been the psychiatric treatment and rehabilitation for active duty of seamen mentally affected by the strain of enemy attack on their ships.

(Continued on Page 410)

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

States Authorize Reserves to Aid Postwar Plans

Cities Save to Meet Postwar Problems

SEVEN state legislatures this year gave cities and towns legal authority to build up cash reserve funds for public works construction after the war. This action brings to sixteen the number of states where local government units now have authority to lay money aside for the future, the American Municipal Association reports.

States taking action in 1943 were Arizona, Connecticut, Minnesota, North Carolina, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. States enacting such legislation previously were California, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, and Washington. Three of the latter—Michigan, New Jersey, and Oregon—broadened their previously-enacted statutes this year.

It is also reported that cities of several states, including Wisconsin, have been setting up reserve funds by charter amendment, an action authorized by home rule provisions of the states.

Oregon was the first state to authorize municipalities to build up reserve funds, taking the action in 1931. Reason for the move at the time, a reason which the Association says holds good today, was to help cities out of situations where they would be paying off long-term loans long after the projects for which the money was borrowed had worn out.

Of the sixteen states, California, Connecticut, Minnesota, New York, and Washington have the broadest laws. California cities are authorized by a 1937 law to set up cash reserve funds by ordinance which specifies their use, with no limit on the amount of tax levied for the purpose or the time levies may be imposed.

Connecticut cities and towns, under the new state law, may use surplus money to build up a reserve fund, or they can make special levies up to 2 mills on the dollar. Such funds may be spent only for postwar construction. Under the Minnesota law local governments may levy taxes to support postwar funds, which may not be spent until one year after the end of the war.

The New York act authorizes the local governing body to make levies without limit on time or amount and without election; Washington's law is similar, but requires that the purpose of any proposed levy must be specified in the ordinance making the levy and may be changed only by a majority vote at a general or special election.

In addition to postwar reserve fund measures enacted by the various states this year, two Canadian provinces—Ontario and Quebec—adopted legislation allowing their municipalities to set up cash reserves for the postwar period. Laws of the two provinces, broad in scope, are similar to those of several of the states.

Many states have also established or authorized postwar reserve funds for use by the state governments. Among those setting up such funds this year are Arkansas, Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina and North Dakota.

A recent survey of ninety-two cities by the International City Managers' Association indicated widespread activity in forecasting postwar needs and in providing reserve funds.

All but ten of the ninety-two are

attempting through postwar planning agencies of one type or another to estimate or predict probable postwar conditions with respect to population, employment, public works, and conversion of war industries; most of them have also established or are in the process of setting up postwar reserves to finance reconstruction and development activities when the war is over. Methods of providing reserves include setting aside of surplus cash, investment of surplus funds in war bonds, setting up depreciation accounts to replace equipment, and paying off debt.

Eleven cities over 75,000 reporting to the association have taken definite steps to estimate postwar conditions, with non-governmental groups coöperating in eight of the cities. All eleven have official planning agencies, and two have special postwar committees.

Of the nineteen cities of 25,000 to 75,000 reporting, ten have official planning agencies, while one has an "advisory committee"; four have neither a planning agency nor an individual assigned to the work. Fifteen of the cities have postwar reserve funds.

Of the sixty-two cities of less than 25,000 population surveyed, all but six are making plans for the postwar era. Most of the planning work of these cities relates to public works and expansion of local utilities. Only five of these cities have not taken steps to set up some kind of reserve fund.

Some cities still do not have legal authority to establish such reserves, or, because of tax limits, find it financially impossible to do so.

Congress Votes to Kill Resources Planning Board

The House of Representatives has refused funds for the National Resources Planning Board, beyond $50,000 for dissolution, and seeks to prevent the executive department from carrying on similar broad-gauge planning activities.

Planning State Efforts for Postwar Employment

Discussions by representatives of all forty-eight states attending four recent regional conferences on postwar problems indicate a feeling of obligation to facilitate employment after the war and the need to set up new machinery or adapt existing machinery to assure work for the returning soldiers, the war workers, and young people fresh from school, according to the Council of State Governments.

More than seven hundred delegates, including twenty-three governors, attended the regional conferences in April in Chicago, New York, Atlanta, and San Francisco. Besides their chief executives the states were represented by legislative leaders, members of state war agencies, and commissions on interstate coöperation. Reports by the four conferences form the foundation for a program presented to the Governors' Conference in Columbus, Ohio, June 20-23.

Analysis by the Council of the discussions of the state representatives points to the belief that government has a three-fold duty with respect to the postwar period. First, government must assist efforts of private industry to supply employment for all; second, government must supplement the job-creating efforts of private enterprise through worthwhile public works programs; third, government must develop public facilities and services as needed for improved living standards.

Since state postwar reconstruction and development programs will involve so many different fields of activity, delegates to the four conferences urged coördination of the machinery the states must use in developing and carrying out their programs, each state to have a central postwar agency concerned only with postwar problems, as is already the case in most states.

Such agencies, according to conference recommendations, should:

(1) Conduct studies and investigations relative to social and economic reconstruction and development of the states;

(2) Encourage, guide, and assist postwar preparation within operating departments and agencies of state government;

(3) Facilitate exchange of information among planning agencies of the various levels of government, industry, labor, agriculture, and education to assure exchange of assistance, harmonizing of proposed plans, policies and programs, and to secure proper timing of their execution;

(4) Encourage community self-appraisal programs so problems peculiar to each community may be recognized and met;

(5) Collaborate with business and labor groups in devising ways and means of assisting business concerns in the conversion of war plants, developing new industries, utilizing state resources, readjusting war boom towns to maximum use of their new facilities, and guiding the migration of stranded workers.

Civilian War Training in New York State

New York State, a pioneer in meeting the universal need for organized civilian war training, has undertaken the greatest program of mass education in its history.

The State War Council, recognizing that swift and efficient mass education requires that public employee and civilian war training activities in the state and its subdivisions be placed under central guidance, provides this at the state level through its Office of War Training. At the local level guidance is given through a new mechanism which was born of the present conflict. This is known as the Local War Training Committee.

The State Office of War Training is charged with the following broad functions: To study and report, with recommendations for action, on all training proposals made to the State War Council from any source; to plan and assist in the administration, coördination and supervision of public employee and civilian war training at the state level, and to render instructional assistance at the local level; to act as a clearing house on administration and information for all such activities throughout the state; to determine priorities of training programs; to assist in the development of uniform instructional materials; to assist in the further development and utilization of instructor training methods and materials, and of instructional aids, such as films, slides, charts, and other demonstration materials; and to prepare State War Council and Regents Public Service Training Certificates for issuance to civilians and public employees who successfully complete approved war training programs.

Specific functions suggested for Local War Training Committees include the following, with priority and emphasis in the order of listing:

(1) Serve as a training adviser to the Local War Council,

(2) Study local war training courses offered or proposed,

(3) Develop a library of training materials and aids,

(4) Develop a register of civilian war training classroom facilities,

(5) Establish a panel of local civilian war instructors,

(6) Serve as local representative for the services of the State Office of War Training,

(7) Serve as a local clearing house for training facilities and services of

the Office of Civilian Defense,

(8) Coöperate with local volunteer offices in arranging for New York State War Council Civilian War Training Certificates,

(9) Aid local War Council agencies in developing and maintaining training records,

(10) Assist all local War Council agencies in the continuous in-service training necessary to preserve the skills and morale of volunteer forces engaged in the war effort,

(11) Act as a service unit to all local War Council agencies.

In establishing Local War Training Committees, the New York State War Plans Coördinator suggested that each City and County War Council create a committee composed of at least seven members. The Chairman of the Local War Training Committee is appointed by the Chairman of the Local War Council, and should be, so far as practicable, an individual who has an interest in and knowledge of personnel training problems. It is suggested that the chairman of the Local War Council should appoint at least three other interested and competent persons to membership on the Local War Training Committee. Other suggested members are the local Director of Civilian Protection, local Chairman of Civilian Mobilization, local Chairman of Civilian War Services, and the local Chairman of the Division of Industry, Agriculture and Labor.

The New York State Office of War Training has issued a *Local War Training Committee Handbook,* containing a comprehensive outline of the organization and functions of Local War Training Committees. A limited number of copies are available for distribution among Defense Council officials of other states. Requests should be addressed to the director, New York State Office of War Training, 353 Broadway, Albany, New York.

Albert H. Hall, *Director*
New York State Office
of War Training

Minnesota Court Plan Criticized

The plan for unification and modernization of the courts of Minnesota, proposed by a committee of the Judicial Council of that state[1] includes two aspects of such far-reaching implications as to arouse vigorous criticism. Professor William Anderson, of the Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, although approving the unification idea, points out that the committee's proposed constitutional amendment would transfer to the courts practically complete power for making rules of judicial procedure. He says: "To turn over to the judiciary of the state as sweeping a power of rule-making as is proposed in the Minnesota amendment, and to have the rules so made go into effect without the legislature having any power to modify them, is to make the Supreme Court of the state a legislative body equal to the state legislature with respect to some very important matters. The conflicts, frictions, and difficulties that will arise from such a situation are to me entirely obvious.

"The second principal objection that I find to the proposed amendment is the fact that it practically turns the selection of judges over to the organized bar of the state. The amount of control that the voters, the governor, or the legislature will have in the selection of judges is so small that in fact the organized bar will tell the people who are to be the judges in the state courts, including the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court, in turn, will decide who can be members of the bar. The potentialities in this arrangement for a tight bar association monopoly over an entire branch of the government are again to me very clear, although some lawyers do not see it as I do. The chance for any popular control over the judiciary is practically eliminated by the plan that has been proposed."[1]

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[1] See National Municipal Review for April 1943, p. 198.

New York Reapportionment Act Strikes Snag

The recently enacted reapportionment law[2] under which the State of New York would be redistricted for legislative elections for the first time in nearly twenty-five years, was declared unconstitutional on June 3 by Justice Pierce H. Russell of the Albany County Supreme Court. He held that the act erroneously provided for a Senate of fifty-six members, instead of fifty-three according to his interpretation of the constitutional provision that if a county has three or more senators "at the time of any apportionment" and is entitled to an additional senator because of the apportionment ratio based on a fifty-member Senate, such additional senator shall be in addition to the fifty. The legislature applied the quoted phrase as meaning after the apportionment, while the judge ruled that it referred to the number before the apportionment. The decision will be appealed.

Council-Manager Plan News

The thirtieth annual conference of the International City Managers' Association will be held at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago, Illinois, September 10 to 14, inclusive. Wartime and postwar problems will be emphasized.

Thomasville, Georgia, adopted the council-manager plan, effective January 1, 1944, by a vote of 530 to 470.

Norway, Maine, has adopted the provisions of the 1939 state enabling act under which it became a manager city May 10.

In **Worcester, Massachusetts,** the League of Women Voters at its annual meeting went on record in favor of adoption of Plan E—the council-manager plan with proportional representation—and pledged itself to join with all other civic-minded citizens in starting a movement for a more effective system of government.

A bill for election at large of all members of the **Hartford, Connecticut,** council has been introduced in the state legislature. Hartford now has fifteen aldermen elected by wards and five elected at large. The bill would assure the minority party of eight aldermen. The *Hartford Courant* editorially commented that partisan politics is out of place in municipal government, suggested letting the governmental structure stand until such time as a competent commission has studied the problem of the city's government and formulated a modern charter, and emphasized that well over five hundred American municipalities have adopted the council-manager plan.

The bill to permit third-class cities of **Pennsylvania** to adopt the manager plan or otherwise change their charters died in committee.

Lehighton, Pennsylvania, on May 3 adopted an ordinance creating borough manager government.

New Bern, North Carolina, recently defeated a proposal to adopt the manager plan, 1,130 to 520.

The **Texas** legislature early in May adopted unanimously a measure (H. B.

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[1] These ideas are more fully stated in the *Minnesota Law Review* for March 1943, pp. 383-398.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for April, p. 198, and May, p. 257.

728, effective August 10, 1943) to enable municipalities of less than 5,000 population to adopt by referendum the manager plan as set forth in the act.

Garfield, New Jersey, is showing interest in the manager plan.

Municipal Cooperation in Fighting Fire

City fire departments can go to the aid of neighboring cities in emergencies under legislation adopted by Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Washington, and several other states this year, the American Municipal Association reports.

Practically all state laws authorizing municipal fire departments to give outside aid in emergencies are patterned after a California statute adopted in 1941 which removed barriers to the exchange of such governmental services as police, fire, health and welfare protection between cities, and removed the danger of liability for accidents and damages occurring during performance of such services. Heretofore these barriers discouraged even extension of fire protection to suburban and rural areas.

California revised this arrangement somewhat this year by giving the State War Council authority to order mandatory mutual aid by fire departments.

Minnesota Fosters Inter-Governmental Cooperation

At the recently concluded session of the Minnesota legislature there was enacted a law authorizing any two or more governmental units (including counties, cities, villages, towns, and school districts) to make agreements for the joint exercise of any power common to the contracting parties. The units involved may provide for disbursements from public funds to carry out the purposes agreed upon. Agreements may be continued for a definite term or until rescinded or terminated, and must provide for the disposition of any property acquired as a result of such joint exercise of power. The legislation was sponsored by the League of Minnesota Municipalities.

New York Redevelopment Project Meets Opposition

The New York City Board of Estimate on June 3 approved the form of contract and plans for the $50,000,000 "Stuyvesant Town" postwar housing project of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in a seventy-five-acre area of the lower east side of Manhattan borough, under the recently amended redevelopment companies law.[1] The vote was eleven to five, after a heated public hearing, with opposition largely directed to the fact that although the insurance company was granted the benefit of condemnation, tax exemption on improvements, and the use of a large area of city streets, provisions for public schools and against racial discrimination as to tenants were omitted. Lawsuits opposing the action of the Board have already been started.

Senate Seeks to Control 30,000 More Jobs

On June 14 the United States Senate passed by a vote of forty-two to twenty-nine the McKellar bill which would require Senate confirmation of additional federal officials and employees to an estimated total of 30,000. The number includes all those receiving $4,500 or more yearly, except persons with specified civil service standing, those on leave for active military service, or returned therefrom, and members of the FBI and the President's office staff.

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[1] See "Private Enterprise Plan in Housing Faces First Test" (p. 284) and "New State Legislation on Urban Redevelopment" (p. 330), NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for June.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Postwar Planning Starts at the Grass Roots

Brings Government Home to the People, Says Kizer

Today local, state, and federal governments, as well as our business, financial, labor, farm, and civic groups, are discussing their postwar roles or are actually engaged in postwar planning.

Yet, despite the acceptance of the principle of planning by such diverse groups, the argument over who should do it, and how, goes on.

As a contribution to this discussion we here reproduce the planning philosophy of Benjamin H. Kizer[1] because of his emphasis on "citizen action" in planning. He views the problem from a diverse experience as member of a west coast law firm, chairman of the Spokane City Plan Commission, the Washington State Planning Council, Regional Chairman No. 9 for the National Resources Planning Board, and civic leader in his community and his state.—EDITOR.

THOSE who oppose planning often speak of it as a proposal offered by long-haired theorists to make overall or master plans for the control of our government and its economy. This is exactly the opposite of what we who engage in planning are doing. It is non-planning that produces the huge congestion of power and authority at the nation's capital. It is non-planning that produces bureaucracy in our government, and periods of chaos and black night in our economy.

Planning starts at the grass roots. In resource management, planning starts with the farm, the forest, the river, the mine, the production unit. It is only when you plan that you start with the unit of government or of production.

Planning Brings Government Home to the People: Planning is essentially democratic. Instead of centralizing the nation's government in Washington, planning would distribute these forces into regions and localities. National policies would still be adopted at the nation's capital, but these policies would be the result of planned gathering of information in each county and state of the nation. The enforcement of these policies would be distributed to regional and local offices as far as possible. The men carrying out policies should confront, from day to day, the citizens affected by these policies. It is this confronting in person the people who are affected by what this government official does that is the basic requirement of sound planning. Thus, and only thus, can the administrator learn what should be done.

A bureaucrat is a man with authority who is a long way off. His information comes to him from remote sources. It may be wrong, or lop-sided, or sent with big gaps, to influence him to a certain decision. He must guess, or delay. Often he does both. Or, he avoids deciding it by merely talking as if he were deciding it, while leaving the heart of his difficulty unsolved. This, because he knows he is moving in the dark, too far off from the scene where the problem is.

Local acquaintance with the factors of any problem makes simple that which is complex seen at a distance. Planning would abolish the bureaucrat, because it would marry power to the locality where it is exerted.

Planning's Basis Is Research: Planning is more than distributing governmental administration. Planning sees that government has run too long on opinions and guesses. When opinions control, those who shout loudest, who see their own interests most clearly, will prevail. This leads to minority government, to government by what we call "special interests." Planning proposes that governmental action be based on information, thoroughly, impartially collected by a staff trained for the purpose. No government can be wiser than its information. . . . Government in our country has gone as long as it can by guessing, by listening to the loudest shouters. It must serve all the people, not just the noisiest, the most influential. More and more, city councils, legislatures, and Congress itself must set up inquiry groups, research and planning agencies.

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[1] From "Planning Starts at the Grass Roots," by Benjamin H. Kizer, *Independent Woman,* publication of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, May 1943.

More Citizen Action

Wider Citizen Participation in Government: Further, it is true, planning creates greater citizen participation in government. If we are to make democracy work, we must find means to bring our citizens into closer relationships with their government. We must so carefully plan that relationship that the citizen will no longer look at government as some alien power, whose rules are to be evaded where safe, to be feared and disliked when unsafe.

Though men will die for those principles of freedom and democracy of which our government is the custodian, a great number of our people do not like their government. They too often experience it as something apart, that is run by someone else, in which they have no part. This feeling is a grave threat to popular government. We must plan techniques of participation in our government that will break down this hostility. We, the people, must actually work at governing ourselves. That's starting at the grass roots.

"People's Opinion Poll" Tested in Experiment

Use of public opinion polls has long been made by Dr. George Gallup, by *Fortune Magazine,* and others to test public thinking on national issues. More recently the Kansas City Civic Research Institute and the Bureau of Urban Research at Princeton University have shown how opinion research can be useful in cities.

There also has been some experimentation in the use of polls not only to discover opinion trends but also as a bridge between government and the citizen to increase the democratic sense of participation. Here is a report from the *Christian Science Monitor* by Selden Menefee on one of these experiments.—EDITOR.

In the little town of Valparaiso, Indiana, is a committee of some forty people who believe they have found a formula for making democracy work. For the past year they have been trying out their theories on the citizens of Porter County, in a little poll of their own which they call the People's Opinion Poll—"POP" for short.

The philosophy behind this movement is very simple. It comes of a conviction that as our towns and cities have grown, something vital has gone out of the democratic process. That something is best symbolized by the old New England custom of holding town meetings. Entering a voting booth every two or four years is a far cry from publicly debating issues of immediate interest and voting on them then and there.

Bridging the Gap

To some extent the commercial public opinion poll has helped to bridge the gap between the people and their representatives between elections. They have made known to Congress public sentiment on major national issues. This has been useful at times. But there is something undemocratic, too, about existing polls. Working with a sample as small as 3,000 for the nation, they reach only about one voter in 20,000. The one thing lacking is a sense of democratic participation on the part of the 19,999 voters not interviewed.

The People's Opinion Poll of Porter County has as its aim the correction of these unfavorable features. Its sparkplug is Dr. W. L. Cortelyou, professor of biology at Valparaiso University. *He conceives of the ideal poll as a device for educating the people and helping to integrate the community, rather than as simply a problem in statistics.*

All to Be Reached

To these ends, Dr. Cortelyou's group proposes to divide each county or group of counties in the nation into fifty groups of similar size and composition, on a neighborhood or precinct basis, and to poll one of these groups each week, taking them in rotation until every voter in every area has been reached. The President, Congress, and the people themselves would propose the questions, and district, state, and federal boards would then select the question of the week. The neighborhoods to be polled would hold meetings during the week preceding the vote to discuss the question. Radio and newspapers would carry arguments, thus minimizing the snap judgments which sometimes predominate in present polls.

Ballots would be distributed by mail and return postage prepaid; then classified by age, sex, race, occupation, etc., and the results sent to government and press.

On a nation-wide basis, presumably more than a million voters would be polled each week. The project would be financed by federal funds; such a poll could be conducted for three or four years, Dr. Cortelyou believes, for the cost of one battleship.

The work of the Porter County POP so far has consisted only of polling 200 persons selected at random from the voters, using return postcards, and publishing the results in the local paper. During the last half of 1942, for example, the POP learned that 85 per cent of its respondents opposed gasoline rationing for Indiana before it was put into effect; that an even greater majority favored continuing our biennial national elections in wartime (there were only two dissenters on this); that the median number of working hours favored was forty-four; and that a majority of the people in the locality backed the President when he threatened Congress if it did not act immediately to prevent inflation.

Fair Returns

The proportion of postcard recipients who bothered to reply in these experimental polls ranged from 40 per cent on the gas rationing question down to almost zero on a question concerning the county health services. This meant the respondents were a selected group, as people of higher education and economic status always tend to answer mail communications most frequently.

Dr. Cortelyou answers this criticism by saying he is trying to measure informed opinion, of an intensity great enough to lead people to return a penny postcard. Certainly a constant check would have to be made by means of personal interviews to determine whether persons of low income and educational status are represented in proportion to the intensity of their feelings on various questions.

The POP committee is now attempting to cover all of Porter County as an experimental area. One state senator has promised to sponsor a bill extending the poll to all of Indiana, to cover statewide issues. On the national scene, the only progress made so far was the insertion of a summary of the plan in the *Congressional Record* last June by

Representative Charles Halleck of Indiana.

Roundup—

Belleville (N. J.) citizens are publishing a newsletter primarily to keep the men away in service in touch with what the community is doing. Printing costs are paid by local business concerns; the editorial work is done by a group of volunteer citizens. . . . The first issue, called *Belleville Today,* is being circulated now and it is an extremely worth-while activity which might well be undertaken by any citizen organization; we shouldn't be surprised if it would serve to strengthen morale on the home front as well as among the men for whom it is prepared, since the home folk are reading it too.

The **National League of Women Voters** has changed the name of its monthly publication from *Member's Magazine* to *Citizens All* and says, significantly: "Every member of the League of Women Voters is a citizen first. She has joined the League of Women Voters in order to help make better citizens. If she had become a member only for her own benefit, she would now resign. Organizations today are essential only if they can help win the war and the peace. That is why *Member's Magazine* has changed its name." *Citizens All* will be published monthly, except July and August.

Recent conference programs have increasingly emphasized the especial importance of the citizen in public affairs today. . . . The subject for the annual convention of the **New York City League of Women Voters** held in May was "The City and the Citizen in Wartime". . . . Last month the **American Planning and Civic Association** sponsored "The Citizens Conference on Planning" in Omaha, which stressed citizen participation in local, regional, and national postwar planning.

Philadelphia's Committee of Seventy has published its "Election Calendar," giving full election facts in preparation for July registration, the September primary, and the November general election. From it the voter learns, among other points, the offices to be filled, salaries, incumbents, legislative and councilmanic districts, wards, voting qualifications, and the membership of the City Committees of both major parties. Supplementary is the May-June issue of the Committee's news letter *Civic Affairs* urging citizens to keep an eye on the City Committees who select candidates prior to the primaries; the way in which such committees usually work is contrasted with the way they should work if guided by an alert citizenry.

The **Minneapolis Research Bureau,** an affiliate of the **Minneapolis Civic Council,** circulated its *Voters' Directory* ahead of the June 14 election, with the slogan: "Vote—That's the Home Job." Conveniently arranged, and easy to use, the directory listed all candidates on whom citizens were to vote. The directory presented facts only, no recommendations, consistent with the Bureau's policy as a nonpartisan, fact-finding organization.

The **Citizens League of Baltimore** has put out another of its useful *Citizens Bulletins*—this one, published in April, was a voters' guide for the municipal election. In addition to information about candidates, it included material on propositions to be voted on.

At the annual meeting of the **New York City League of Women Voters,** a very complete little political calendar was distributed. It contained all the necessary details about petitions, conventions, independent nominations, registration and election, as well as information about voting by members of the armed forces.

R. M. W.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Proposed Charter Provides Manager for Montgomery County, Md.

Voters Will Ballot on New Law in November 1944

THE movement toward home rule for Montgomery County, Maryland, which two years ago resulted in a Brookings Institution survey and report, now has entered its crucial phase.[1] The Montgomery County Charter Board, which was elected last November, has drafted and submitted its charter to the Board of County Commissioners. There remains only submission of the home rule proposal to the voters. This will take place at the regular election in November 1944, and if accepted the charter will become effective thirty days thereafter.

Legislative Power to County

One of the outstanding features of the proposal lies in the completeness of departure from the existing status of Maryland counties. Where at present they are mere administrative districts possessing the minimum functions usually assigned to counties, the new charter would give Montgomery County the maximum of powers usually granted "home rule" counties.

This broad grant of authority to the county is implied in the opening premises of the preamble which declare: "We the people of Montgomery County in the state of Maryland, recognizing that the people of Maryland have in their constitution reserved to us the right of home rule through the adoption for our county of a charter or form of government of our choice and have transferred to us certain sovereign powers of the people and General Assembly of Maryland. . . ."

A bill of rights in the charter is introduced with the statement, "The government of this county originates from the people who maintain their right at all times to alter or reorganize their form of government pursuant to law."

The transference of "certain sovereign powers" becomes more fully revealed in the provisions regarding the County Council. This body is identified as the "legislative branch" of the county government. It is empowered to "enact public local laws for the county" and even to "repeal or amend local laws heretofore enacted by the General Assembly."

Although the charter marks no unique departure from trends in county government, its adoption would place Montgomery County in the vanguard of the county home rule movement. It would be an additional demonstration of how in metropolitan areas the granting of "police power" to urban and suburban counties is invalidating the distinction between counties as administrative units on the one hand and municipalities as public corporations on the other. As a practical means of circumventing artificial barriers preventing normal development of a metropolitan area the trend is probably inevitable. In this instance the complexities of the solution are increased by the fact that the area contains our nation's capital.

The proposed County Council would meet as a "legislative" body only during the month of May. During the remainder of the year it could meet in "executive" session performing functions such as those delegated at present to the Board of Supervisors. In addition, six of the nine members, when sitting in executive session, could veto any law passed by the legislative session. Any person could make formal request of the Council to take such action any time prior to June 15 following enactment, the effective date of all laws except those subject to referenda.

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[1] See "Montgomery County, Maryland, Works Toward New Charter," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1943, pp. 207-210.

Laws subject to referenda would be those granting franchises or special privileges, incurring indebtedness with minor exceptions, and granting use of county real or leasehold property. Such laws would become effective the August 15 after enactment unless in the interim there is filed a valid petition requesting a referendum and signed by 5 per cent of the voters of the county. The referendum would be held at the next general or special election, and if the law is then approved it would become effective the fifteenth day after election.

The County Council would be composed of nine members, an increase of four over the present Board of Supervisors. Five would be elected from present districts and the remaining four at large. All would be elected for four-year terms on nonpartisan ballots at each quadrennial election. The Council would select its president and a secretary except that when it is sitting in legislative session the county attorney would be secretary as well as legislative draftsman and legal counsel to the body. Standing committees woud be prohibited.

Manager to Be Appointed

In addition to the veto function, duties of the Council in executive session would include appointment of a county manager, a county attorney, and a personnel board, consultation with the manager concerning other major appointments, adoption of current and five-year capital budgets, preparation of the legislative program, and execution of other powers granted it by the constitution and general laws of Maryland.

The manager would be the chief administrative officer of the county, holding his office at pleasure of the Council but entitled to a public hearing if the latter should institute removal proceedings. In accordance with law and instructions of the County Council, he would supervise the departments of finance, public works, and safety. This would include appointment and removal of department heads in consultation with the Council and subject to budget limitations and the regulations of the County Personnel Board. Furthermore he would draft budgets, supervise records and accounts, prepare reports for the Council, and perform similar tasks required of him.

The County Personnel Board, which would be appointed by the Council, would sit for three-year overlapping terms. The county manager would serve as executive secretary. It would issue, subject to approval of the County Council, regulations on personnel matters and act as an appellate body to hear appeals on actions involving removal of appointed personnel except removal of the county manager.

The charter also provides for centralized purchasing, debt limitation of 7 per cent of assessed value, and an annual independent audit. Bonds are made callable five years after issue, they must be of serial type, and final maturity must not be more than thirty years after issue.

Local Defense Councils

Nearly 13,000 local civilian defense councils have been organized throughout the country, says the Office of Civilian Defense. These include both county and municipal councils. Serving approximately 81 per cent of the civilian population, the councils are manned by over ten million civilian volunteer workers.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

U. S. Supreme Court Furthers Sound Local Finance

Renders Decision in Florida Everglades District Case

WHEN local government finances become involved in litigation, the final result is often similar to the horse and rabbit meat stew of the old quip. The financial factors tend to become hopelessly lost in a welter of legal technicalities. There has been a natural tendency to such an extreme in cases under the so-called Municipal Bankruptcy Act, the federal measure providing for judicial composition of the debts of local government debtors, where bondholders have shown an understandable tendency to seek to enforce the letter of their instruments and the governmental units have sought to retain the full protection available to them under the law.

Fortunately for the outlook of sound local finance, the highest courts have shown an increasing disposition to insist that the financial realities of each situation be given due weight.

Within the past year two decisions have been handed down by the United States Supreme Court which greatly further the cause of sound solutions to local financial problems which result in litigation. In the case of *Faitout Iron & Steel Company, et al.*, vs. *City of Asbury Park*,[1] decided in June 1942, the court in upholding a debt composition effected under New Jersey's excellent system of state control of local financial programs gave the widest possible scope to consideration of the financial factors.

Now, in a case just handed down involving the Everglades Drainage District, Florida, the Court has further emphasized that the courts in approving debt composition plans must be guided by fiscal information which is the best available.

Said the Court[2]: "Where future tax revenues are the only source to which creditors can look for payment of their claims, considered estimates of those revenues constitute the only available basis for appraising the respective interests of different classes of creditors.

"In order that a court may determine the fairness of the total amount of cash or securities offered to creditors by the plan, the court must have before it data which will permit a reasonable, and hence an informed, estimate of the probable future revenues available for the satisfaction of creditors. . . . To support such determination, there must be findings, in such detail and exactness as the nature of the case permits, of subsidiary facts on which the ultimate conclusion of fairness can rationally be predicated."

1943 Louisville Award Announced

James H. Lowther, assistant chief of the finance statistics branch of the Dominion (Canadian) Bureau of Statistics, has received the annual Louisville Award for 1943. The award, given annually to the person who made the outstanding contribution in the field of governmental finance to his government during the last year, was announced at the opening session of the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada at Pittsburgh, June 15.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942, p. 412.

[2] As reported by the *Daily Bond Buyer*, June 3, 1943, p. 894.

Winner of the Silver Medal, second of two awards made annually for outstanding service by a public finance officer, was N. J. Sindelar, director of finance for the city of Superior, Wisconsin.

Named also were winners of the Achievement Awards, given in connection with the Louisville award, to governmental units which with the combined work of several persons make substantial improvements in financial plans or procedures. Kansas City, Missouri, won the award for large United States cities; Barrington, Rhode Island, for small United States cities; and Quebec, Canada, for large Canadian cities.

The Louisville awards are financed by a unique contribution by the city of Louisville, Kentucky, to provide a perpetual incentive to more effective work in the field of public finance. Joseph M. Cunningham, deputy city comptroller of New York City, won the 1942 award.

Judges selected Mr. Lowther to receive the gold medallion for his work in writing a manual of instructions for dominion-wide use of municipal officials in preparing financial statements. "The energy, enthusiasm, tact, and ability of Mr. Lowther produced a finished document, in both English and French, that will serve as a guide for the improvement of municipal accounting and reporting throughout the entire country," the citation said.

Copies of the manual have been distributed to every municipality in Canada, where it will serve as a guide for municipal financial reports and will tend to standardize and improve municipal accounting throughout the country. Samuel Gascon of Quebec, provincial statistician, translated the manual from English into French.

In winning the Silver Medal, Mr. Sindelar was cited for designing and installing a complete accounting system for the city of Superior. Previous to installation of the new system there was much duplication of work among the departments dealing with financial matters.

Kansas City received the Achievement Award for large American cities for complete modernization and revision of its financial practices and procedure under direction of City Manager L. P. Cookingham. A budget now is carefully prepared and controlled; accounting has been centralized and mechanized, cost accounts have been installed, uniform classifications adopted, water works accounting improved with an annual saving of $30,000; purchasing is done well with consequent savings; and assessment and collection procedures have been completely overhauled.

The citation accompanying the Achievement Award for small United States municipalities, which went to Barrington, Rhode Island (6,231), said, "the accomplishments of this town show that a small community with capable leadership can be well managed and progressive." Howard E. Munroe is the town treasurer.

The Achievement Award for larger Canadian municipalities was given to Quebec for work done by the Department of Finance, headed by C. R. Fontaine, city treasurer, resulting in a modern and effective system of financial control and general administration.

The board of judges for the 1943 Louisville Awards consisted of George P. Ellis, certified public accountant, Chicago, former president of the American Society of Certified Public Accountants, now vice-president of the American Institute of Accountants; Welles A. Gray, finance department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States; and Henry L. Shattuck, well known attorney and legislator of Boston.

"Bronxville Plan" Placed in Operation

The "Bronxville Plan," a unique refunding proposal, has been approved by the New York State Comptroller's Office and has been placed in operation with the sale of a $130,000 refunding issue.

As explained by Bronxville's Mayor Ralph B. Maltby: "It has been the general practice of municipalities to refund specific maturities when and as a burdensome debt retirement situation has arisen, instead of giving careful consideration to a long range plan of orderly and proportionate retirement of debt. By prudently planning the retirement over a period of years, it is possible for a municipality to discharge its public obligations within the limits of reasonable tax assessment and ability to pay.

"The 'Bronxville Plan,' which has been approved by the State Comptroller, is a comprehensive rearrangement of maturities of the village's debt. It provides for the issuance of $130,000 of refunding bonds dated July 1, 1943, for the refunding of $27,000 of bonds maturing during the fiscal year 1943-44, $43,000 of bonds maturing during the fiscal year 1944-45, $30,000 of bonds maturing during the fiscal year 1945-46, and $30,000 of bonds maturing during the fiscal year 1946-47.

"The proceeds of the sale, under the State Comptroller's order, may be invested in securities which constitute direct obligations of the United States Government or obligations the principal and interest of which are unconditionally guaranteed by the United States Government, maturing at such times and in such amounts as may be necessary to pay the bonds being refunded as they respectively mature. All securities so purchased will be protected against loss by registration in the name of the village or by insurance.

"It is expected that the interest collected on U. S. Government obligations, if so purchased, will nearly equal the interest payable on refunding bonds during the interim period until the proceeds of the sale of refunding bonds are required to retire the bonds which are being refunded."

Bronxville's most recent peak debt service was $120,517 in fiscal 1940-41. Prior to the new refunding operation it faced a debt service charge in fiscal 1943-44 of $126,293 and $135,255 in fiscal 1944-45. The refunding plan scales the 1943-44 requirements down to $101,568 and the maturity schedule from that point slopes gradually and consistently downward.

This marks the first use of the plan in New York State. Although its application to other communities will depend upon the facts in each instance, the plan undoubtedly will be considered by many municipalities both in New York and elsewhere, particularly in view of its possibilities of providing an inexpensive method of refunding, at the same time making additional funds available to the federal government in time of need.

Federal Withholding Tax Adopted by Congress

The final adoption by Congress and signing by the President of a withholding tax law embracing some of the "forgiveness" features of the original Ruml plan need only be recorded here. In so far as the state and local government units are concerned, they will share with private employers the need for making hurried plans to revise payroll preparation methods to take care of the deductions which must be made. Experience acquired in handling the "Victory Tax" will enable most units to make the change with a minimum of confusion.

In this connection, it is of interest to note that Canada has, since September

1, 1942, been operating a withholding tax system, adopted without the fuss and prolonged wrangling which marked the course of the corresponding legislation here.[3]

Local Borrowing Costs Approach Pre-War Low

In the months since Pearl Harbor, the municipal bond market has almost regained its pre-war status, according to *The Bond Buyer's* index of municipal bond yields. The index for twenty representative bonds for June 1, 1943, was 1.93 per cent and for eleven high grade bonds 1.60 per cent, figures identical with those for December 1, 1941, six days before the Japanese attack. The all-time low interest yields for both groups had been on November 1, 1941, when the twenty representative issue index was 1.90 per cent and the high-grade index was 1.57 per cent. The high-water mark in each case had been May 1, 1933, when the twenty-bond group hit 5.69 per cent and the smaller group reached 4.90 per cent.

In the month following our entrance into the war the index mounted to 2.24 per cent for the twenty issues and 1.91 per cent for the eleven issues. By March 1, 1942, the war-time peak (to date) was reached, at 2.51 per cent for the broader group and at 2.19 per cent for the more select issues. Since that time, the yield had trended downward, with occasional interruptions.

A factor in the preservation of low borrowing costs for local units has been, of course, the general stability of the nation's banking and investment system and the increasing scarcity of state and municipal bond offerings.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Wheeling's Third P. R. Election

New York Council Cuts the Budget

WHEELING, West Virginia, held its third quadrennial P. R. election of its nine-man city council on May 27.

The election appears to have been conducted against a background of general satisfaction with the city's government under the P. R. council that has served for the last four years and the city manager, Robert L. Plummer, chosen by it. In an editorial the day before election the *Wheeling News-Register* said:

> Under the proportional representation plan of voting, the election is non-partisan and non-sectional. Since the adoption of this system, Wheeling has been blessed with splendid government. The city is living within its income. Though its activities have been restricted by wartime exigencies, the administration has been businesslike, progressive, and always with an eye to economy.

A Top Record of Efficiency

Instead of endorsing a list of candidates as in previous elections the Wheeling Association, original sponsor of the present charter, ran advertisements giving instructions on the method of voting, reminding the citizens of the high quality of their government, and urging them to turn out and vote to keep it so. One advertisement quoted an editorial of December 27, 1942, in the *Dallas News* run under the ingenious caption "Free Wheeling":

> The distinction falls to Wheeling, West Virginia, among all American cities. At the end of this fiscal year,

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[3] For an interesting discussion of the Canadian setup, see Popular Release No. 80-81, May 5, 1943, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Wheeling was reducing indebtedness, with a cash balance of $166,000 in the bank. That is being free, indeed, as any large municipality and its taxpaying citizens will attest. And only seven years ago Wheeling faced a deficit of $400,000.

How was this record of governmental operation scored? The so-called Cincinnati plan of proportional representation was introduced, producing city councils who were tied to no political organization. This made it possible for representative government to function efficiently in the public interest under the city manager plan. A pay-as-you-go policy was instituted. A sound financial administration was established.

Well ordered operation under this improved system has pulled Wheeling out of the red in these seven years. That doesn't sum all that the city has accomplished. The National Municipal League, only last week, announced that Wheeling's [adjusted] tax rate was the lowest in the nation—$10.50 on the $1,000. And there was not, as some might suppose, any letdown in progress, or any impairment of the efficiency of service. Nor was there any niggardly cheese-paring. The salaries of municipal employees were increased 10 to 20 per cent, even while the tax rate declined, and in the past year public projects to the value of $1,200,000 were planned and their financing authorized.

Most Councilmen Re-elected

The citizens of Wheeling themselves expressed their satisfaction with this record by re-electing seven of the nine councilmen. One of the two defeated was runner-up and the other was not far behind in twelfth place.

This selection was made from thirty-nine candidates. This number may also have been partly a reflection of satisfaction with the record of the incumbents, for there were seventy-three candidates under Wheeling's unusually easy nomination provisions four years ago, and at the initial P. R. election eight years ago, when all of the previous ward councilmen were displaced, Wheeling set a world's record for P. R. elections with 122 candidates.

There were no slates in evidence. Most of the campaigning was done by newspaper advertising for individual candidates.

With no concerted challenge to continued good government presented and with many of the younger voters away in the armed forces, the vote was comparatively light—14,768 valid ballots as compared with approximately 19,000 in 1939.

None of the candidates polled a full quota (1,477) of first choices, but six of the nine completed full quotas by transfer. The last three elected ended with totals not far short of the quota—1,406, 1,365 and 1,260. Thus 87 per cent of those who cast valid ballots helped elect candidates for whom they voted.

There was a wide scattering of first choices. If the first-choice totals had been accepted as final, as is sometimes suggested, slightly more than half the valid ballots would have had no effect on the result (the total of first choices for the eventual winners was 6,824 or 46 per cent). As the ballots were transferred successively from the lowest candidates to the next available choices marked on them there were a number of changes in the order of the contestants. The sixth and ninth candidates in first-choice standing were eventually defeated, while the tenth first-choice candidate moved up to ninth, and the thirteenth first-choice candidate, a new man, was elected in eighth place.

Frank Camilletti, the experienced count director, made further improvements on previous counting arrangements. With the aid of several assistants and about a hundred counters, he started the count shortly after the polls closed at 8.30 Thursday evening and finished it Saturday. The day before election he broadcast instructions in the P. R. method of voting to the citizens of Wheeling.

A Satisfactory Result

Summing up the election of "Wheeling's War Council" editorially on May 30 the *News-Register* commented:

> That the voters approved of the present regime was amply demonstrated when they installed seven of nine incumbents. The two councilmen who failed to make the grade were just outside the qualifying list. . . .
>
> During the coming years, the incoming council will be confronted by many problems that have been induced by a nation at war. This newspaper has fullest confidence the representatives who make up the body will carry on their functions and administer the needs of their city capably and courageously.
>
> It is not amiss to state that possibly the last vestige of complaint that has been lodged against the proportional representation system of electing a council was eliminated when official announcement of the result was made forty-eight hours after the polls closed.

The New York Council Asserts Itself

The New York City Council has just exercised one of its most important powers for the first time; and, thanks to two minority members who owe their places to P. R., it has done so with considerable discrimination.

The city charter gives the Council power to reduce the expense budget after it is presented by the Mayor and approved or modified by the Board of Estimate, but it also permits the Mayor to veto any reduction and requires a three-quarters vote of the Council to override his veto. The Council on June 10 overrode Mayor LaGuardia's veto of budget cuts totaling some three million dollars and upheld his veto on some seven million more

Thanks to the minority representation assured by P. R. the Democratic majority does not have a three-fourths majority in the Council or even the two-thirds majority needed to override a veto of an ordinary local law. It can therefore override the Mayor only when it gets the support of some of the Fusion members.

It received the necessary extra votes on some items of the 1943-1944 budget from former Manhattan Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs, who was elected to the Council in 1941 as the nominee of the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee and the City Fusion Party, without the nomination of any of the three legally recognized parties; Dr. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., nominee of the Manhattan American Labor and City Fusion parties and the Council's only Negro member; and John Christensen, Republican from Queens. These items removed appropriations for the salaries of numerous absentees in the armed forces whose places will not actually be filled and for fuel to replenish large reserves as they are used. Even with these reductions there will be an increase in the tax rate, but it will be less serious than under the Mayor's original budget.

The Council majority and Mr. Christensen also wanted to eliminate the appropriations for the city radio station, the health research institute, and various sums in the Education Department which were not needed for the purposes specified but were available for transfer by the Board of Education to important purposes not otherwise provided for. On these items, which would also have been eliminated except for the minority representation secured by P. R., Mr. Isaacs and Dr. Powell voted with the rest of the Fusion opposition, to the great satisfaction of many civic groups and independent voters.

The *New York World-Telegram* of

June 12 commended the Council editorially:

> The action of the City Council in overriding some of the Mayor's vetoes of its budget cuts is, we think, a particularly sound and healthy precedent.
>
> It was certainly not the intent of the framers of the city charter, in giving the Council power (Section 125) to restore by a three-fourths vote of its members cuts vetoed by the Mayor, that the Council should never exercise this power.
>
> Nor can we think of a better time to begin exercising it than now when war-burdened taxpayers are entitled to have the cost of municipal government kept down. . . .
>
> The Council has done a timely and courageous thing, as we see it, in asserting itself, as the local legislative body of the city, against a Mayor more and more inclined to regard his executive function as all-embracing and final, particularly in the matter of city finance and taxes.
>
> It will be extra good news to New York City taxpayers in wartime that they have not only a city legislature but one spunky enough to use its pruning knife on mayoral budgets and see the job through.

ON THE LOCAL FRONT

(Continued from Page 391)

In the field of research, studies have been conducted for the military authorities on possible malaria preventives, combat flying problems, vaccines, and other work of a secret military nature. Other advances in research include the development of continuous caudal analgesia, and experimental work on the growth of cancer cells which may lead ultimately to the discovery of the cause of cancer.

The Surgeon General stressed the need for a more comprehensive nurse-training program in order to meet military and civilian needs. Though Congress appropriated $1,800,000 for the fiscal year 1942 and $3,500,000 for 1943, he stated, the goals which were possible within the limits of these appropriations have already been reached. To date, some eight thousand nurses have been retrained and admissions to under-graduate or basic schools of nursing increased last year by almost 12,000 over 1940-41. Yet the wartime needs are far from being met.

With approximately one-third of the doctors in active full-time practice now in the armed services, the Surgeon General reported an urgent shortage of doctors and dentists in many war-industry areas and anticipated a need in certain rural areas. On the basis of studies already made, it is estimated that five hundred physicians and dentists will be needed in 332 boom areas in the next fourteen months. It is not possible to predict how many will be supplied by voluntary relocation through efforts of Procurement and Assignment Service. When the need cannot be met in this way, the Public Health Service will be requested to assign doctors for the areas in greatest need.

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

Books in Review

Edited by **ELSIE S. PARKER**

Thirty Schools Tell Their Story. Adventure in American Education Volume V.[1] Prepared under the direction of the Commission on the Relation of School and College of the Progressive Education Association. New York City, Harper and Brothers, 1943. xxiii, 802 pp. $4.

"Institutions are living things and they do not easily yield their secrets to the printed word." This quotation from Harold Laski opens the account of the educational process in one of the schools which became part of an eight-year experiment.

In 1933 several hundred colleges and universities decided to waive prescribed entrance requirements and leave to secondary schools full freedom in the preparation of pupils for higher education. As these 800 pages are read we realize that though the secret of the success of these schools is perhaps not yielded easily, nevertheless it is yielded.

We get fascinating glimpses of the personalities and their capacities resulting from the educational process which goes on in these schools. We get a far better clue as to what sort of American will run this country two decades from now than can be secured from the answers to the recent much discussed history questionnaire of *The New York Times.* That dealt with what after all is "book knowledge"; such knowledge is good in its way but of far less value than "how to" knowledge based upon experience.

The main secret revealed by these stories is that when democratic methods are used in teaching, in school government, in teacher-student and student-student relations, the intelligence of the individual student rises, the ability to deal successfully with personal and group problems grows. The value of democracy as a method of education is reflected on almost every page, but actually it is more than a method with value only within the school. The students who use this method of education realize that they will live happily in the larger world only if it too uses the method they have learned, not as words but as skill. This fact is succinctly stated in the words of the junior students of one of the experimental schools: "Since we have learned of what value freedom is, we will fight for its continuance all through our lives much more fervently than we would if we had never experienced it." We know without asking that this implies not only a readiness to fight on battlefields to keep what freedom we have, but also a readiness to fight to extend democracy to the areas of our total life in which it is not yet the prevailing pattern.

Those active in citizen organizations interested in good local government will be amazed at the amount of teaching in these schools based on material from or contact with local government. Hence the book can be put to several good uses—as a means of comparison with one's own community, as a means of educating local educators if that be necessary, as a means of educating the members of the local school board which is more often necessary, and as a means of self-education.

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[1] Previous volumes in this series include *The Story of the Eight-Year Study,* by Wilford M. Aikin; *Exploring the Curriculum,* the Work of the Thirty Schools from the Viewpoint of Curriculum Consultants, by H. H. Giles, S. P. McCutchen, and A. N. Zechiel; *Appraising and Recording Student Progress,* Evaluation, Records and Reports in the Thirty Schools, by Eugene R. Smith, Ralph W. Tyler, and the Evaluation Staff; *Did They Succeed in College?* The Follow-Up Study of the Graduates of the Thirty Schools, by Dean Chamberlin, Enid Straw Chamberlin, Neal E. Drought, and William E. Scott.

The book is put aside with a glow of thankfulness that the "Adventure in Education" which called it forth has been so successful. But this glow is followed by a question: What means are our adult citizen organizations using to see to it that, after these students leave such schools so well equipped with ideas, ideals, and experience, they can at once get "into the harness" of community and citizenship activity, for many of our cities are in sore need of the full flowering of such superb citizenship.

Walter J. Millard

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Civil Service

Documents and Reports to Accompany Report on Civil Service Improvement (three volumes). By The President's Committee on Civil Service Improvement. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. Vol. 1, 72 pp., 20 cents; Vol. 2, 117 pp., 30 cents; Vol. 3 (Part 1) 196 pp., 40 cents; Vol. 3 (Part 2), 205 pp., 40 cents.

Recruiting Applicants for the Public Service. Report of the Committee on Recruiting Applicants for the Public Service. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1942. xvi, 200 pp. $3.

Democracy

Democratic Leadership in Total War. Address before Cleveland College of Western Reserve University. By Edward L. Bernays. Cleveland, Western Reserve University, 1943. 8 pp. (Apply to E. D. Whittlesey, Director of Public Information, Western Reserve University.)

Postwar Problems and Peace

Fundamentals for Lasting Peace. Report by The International Relations Section, Raymond G. McKelvey, chairman. Los Angeles, Town Hall, 1943. 7 pp.

Parallel Passages on Postwar Problems: Winston Churchill's Speech of March 21, 1943, and National Resources Planning Board, Report for 1943, Part I—Postwar Plan and Program. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1943. 12 pp.

Public Works

Public Works Engineers' Yearbook 1943, Including the Proceedings of the 1942 Public Works Congress, Cleveland, Ohio, October 18-21, 1942. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1943. viii, 333 pp. Ill. $3.75.

Taxation and Finance

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The Training Ground Is "All Wet"

Editorial

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Treasury Committee Summarizes Recommendations

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

League Secretary Enters Army

Howard P. Jones, secretary of the League, has been called to active duty as a major in the Military Government Division of the Army of the United States. He reported August 7 at Fort Custer, Michigan, for training prior to assignment.

The League's Executive Committee adopted the following resolution:

> WHEREAS Howard P. Jones, secretary of the National Municipal League, has been called to active duty in the Military Government Division of the Army, and
>
> WHEREAS the League through the Executive Committee of its Council wishes to acknowledge and express its great appreciation of his years of useful service, now therefore
>
> BE IT RESOLVED that Mr. Jones be and is hereby granted a leave of absence as secretary for the duration of the war, and
>
> BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, be authorized to act in his stead during such absence.

Mr. Jones has been a member of the League's staff since 1929, when he became public relations secretary. He has been secretary and editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW since 1933, and during part of this period also lectured at the American Institute of Banking and at Columbia University.

In addition to his duties with the League, Mr. Jones served from 1939 through 1942 as a member of the New York State Civil Service Commission and in January of this year was appointed Deputy Comptroller for the State of New York in charge of the Division of Municipal Affairs.

Mr. Willoughby, who will serve during Mr. Jones's absence, joined the League staff in 1937 and was appointed executive secretary in February 1940.

League Leaders in the News

The following members of the League's Council have appeared in the news recently: Lieutenant Commander Harold E. Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota, was chosen as flag secretary and personal aide to Admiral William F. Halsey, United States Navy commander in the Pacific; Robert W. Johnson has resigned his commission as brigadier general but is continuing in a civilian capacity as chief of the Smaller War Plants Division; Lieutenant Colonel Karl Detzer, chief of the Technical Division, Army Supply Forces, left Washington in July for a tour of foreign duty; Mark Matthews, assistant head of the Federal-State Relations Section of the Department of Justice, has been commissioned a captain in the Military Government Division of the Army; Richard Weil, Jr., of Newark, N. J., has been commissioned a captain in the Army Office of Strategic Services.

Robert C. Hendrickson, a League vice president and State Treasurer of New Jersey, has been commissioned a major in the Army Military Government Division.

Charles J. Rohr, of Massachusetts State College and REVIEW correspondent for Massachusetts, has been commissioned a first lieutenant in the Army Military Government Division. Carl R. Dortch, director of governmental research for the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce and REVIEW correspondent for Indiana, has entered the Army.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The Training Ground Is "All Wet"

THERE is a natural impulse, upon reading the description on page 458 of this issue of future citizens gathered with kindly Mayor Round in his parlor to learn about Camberwell's government, to send the story to every mayor and every teacher.

If someone did, the copies which reached a mayor's desk would be apt to get reactions such as "I'm too busy to spend time doing the school teacher's job" or "Very nice; too bad our town's too big."

But no town is too big to devote all possible attention to citizen training, and the teachers do not have the sole responsibility.

The teaching of our youth to meet their lifelong responsibilities as citizens in a self-governing nation is badly done for the most part. Teachers are assigned to the teaching of civics or the fancier "social sciences" because they have light schedules rather than because they have any special background or interest on which to assume this serious assignment. Obviously this *laissez faire* attitude needs to be changed up and down the line. The first step is to recognize that training for citizenship is as important as any subject and that the idea that everyone is automatically equipped to teach it is as dead as the old dodo bird who thought every citizen equally capable of running any of the highly specialized services which constitute local government.

Here and there a few pioneering spirits have blazed the way and tried to take the children out of the classroom into the exciting laboratory of men and things. When the students of the University of Toledo finish the required "Effective Citizenship" course originated by O. Garfield Jones, for example, they have a thorough understanding of Toledo's government; more important, most of them know how to participate in its activities at the citizen level and have a *desire to do it.*

But, as has been frequently pointed out, it is not enough to have a few good examples of citizen training at the college level. The education of too many of our people ends with high school or before. The early need is further emphasized by the growing interest in the reduction of the voting age to eighteen, already approved by the people of Georgia.[1]

It would be none too easy to achieve agreement, even among educators who are deeply concerned over this problem, on the best way to teach the young citizen. But if half the earnest attention were given to this matter that is devoted to football, orchestra, or cooking, vast improvement would seem inevitable. How, for instance, would we teach our youth to overcome the unwillingness of the "best people" to participate in local elections as candidates, campaigners, and even voters? Knowledge, familiarity, and experience should be capable of solving that; but, as Dr. Jones, Richard Welling, and others have so well said, the average junior and senior high school are despotisms in which the young people have little or no opportunity to share responsibility. As it is now, this experience seems almost ideally designed to accustom people to take orders from political "leaders" for the rest of their lives or to develop a conviction that it doesn't matter much what they feel or think about what goes on around them.

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[1] See p. 447 this issue.

The school and the community should be the elemental training ground for citizenship. It has been demonstrated that they can be. The fact that, for the most part, they are not, constitutes one of the major challenges not only to educators but to all others who understand what the fighting is about.

"For THIS We Fight"

IN Kansas City, Missouri, where the people are on the march toward civic betterment, the Civic Research Institute has been doing an inspired job of educating and needling the voters into preserving the gains which have been made since the breaking of Boss Pendergast's power.

In addition to issuing attractive, understandable reports designed to help the people know how their city is being operated, the Institute has pioneered the local use of public opinion polls[1] on questions which serve the double purpose of fact-gathering and shocking the voters into the realization of how little most of them know about their municipal and county governments.

One of the Institute's most recent shockers is a pamphlet ten inches by eight, profusely and cleverly illustrated with sketches and pictographs of high professional competence. Hand-lettered throughout and primer-like in appearance and text, it is entitled "For THIS We Fight," with the secondary title on the cover, "A story about democracy—for children of all ages."

A word description is scarcely adequate to reproduce the effect gained by the paging and the placing of illustrations in relation to and within the text, usually one paragraph with illustration to a page, which deplores popular indifference to elections:

> This is a story about an election in a GREAT democracy.
>
> On a Tuesday, in November 1942, the people living in a city sometimes called the Heart of America were going to hold an election. Of course, they weren't going to elect a PRESIDENT at this election, but it still was a VERY important election.
>
> CONGRESSMEN were to be elected who would make the laws that run the nation; who would decide how the war should be run and who might help make the peace. (Many people said, "a WISE peace is just as important as winning the war".)

---

[1] See "Kansas City Goes A-Polling," by Loren B. Miller, National Municipal Review, January 1943.

People who make the laws and run the STATE . . . one of the 48 states in this great country . . . were to be elected.

Other people to run the COUNTY . . . the second largest county in this state . . . were to be selected.

Important amendments to the State CONSTITUTION . . . the basic law of the State . . . were to be approved or turned down (certainly ALL the people deciding on what laws should govern them is democracy at work).

It was also to be decided whether the WHOLE State Constitution (which was 75 years old) should be done over to fit modern times.

Finally, amendments to the city CHARTER (the basic law in this city) were to be decided upon.

IN ADDITION—At that time, the country in which the people of this city lived was at WAR, a war to decide whether DEMOCRACY should be preserved.

Now democracy was something these people deeply CHERISHED. As a matter of fact to protect it they were eating less, they were playing less, they were working harder, they were paying more taxes, they were buying VICTORY bonds, they were seeing their sons and husbands and brothers go away to fight for that democracy . . . In the midst of all this any democratic election would be VERY important.

As a matter of fact, when asked the *day before election* whether they thought people SHOULD be MORE or LESS interested in elections during wartime, 64 out of every 100 thought everyone SHOULD BE more interested; only 9 thought war was an excuse for less interest.

And, to prove they thought this was an important election, out of every 100 who *could* vote (some didn't have their names in the book), 82 were quite SURE they would vote *the next day*. 15 were uncertain. Out of the entire 100, only 3 said they were quite sure they would NOT vote.

So all in all, while not *perfect*, it still wasn't too bad, and the end to this story should be that the next day they all went to vote.

BUT DID THEY? [2-page spread in 4-inch letters—Editor.] Well, to begin with, as we've already said, out of our 100 people some COULDN'T vote for some reason or another. To be exact, 10 couldn't vote because they weren't citizens or hadn't lived there long enough.

So they didn't vote and that left 90—

Then 10 more were sick (or said they were) or out of town (or said they were, as some said they didn't register because they were out of town but that isn't much of an excuse).

So that made 20 who didn't vote and left only 80.

6 others said they had moved and that they just didn't get around to tell the voting officials about it (which isn't much of an excuse either). So they didn't vote, making 26 and leaving 74.

Well, then there were some others who decided they were too "pre-occupied", "busy", "tied-down"—without explaining what was more important *all through* the day than VOTING.

So 15 more didn't get around to vote, making 41 and leaving only 59.

This certainly was getting BAD! But it wasn't the WORST! When noses were counted there were 30 *more* who said they didn't vote for one reason or another—all of which were very POOR reasons! 9 didn't know, just forgot, or had NO particular reason; 12 admitted LACK of interest or claimed to be UNINFORMED (which is lack of interest because it wasn't very hard to become informed if anyone wanted to). 4 said *"politics is crooked"* or that their vote wouldn't accomplish anything anyhow.

Which made it very, very SERIOUS, for when the

10 *who weren't eligible,* were added to the
10 *who were sick or out of town,* plus the
6 *who had moved and hadn't done anything about it,* and the
15 *who were too busy, tied down, etc.,* were all added to the
30 *who just didn't seem to care,* that made
71 good, loyal (?), grown-ups living in this GREAT democracy who COULDN'T, WOULDN'T OR DIDN'T VOTE—

and left only 29 out of the entire 100 who did feel that the RIGHTS for which THEIR country was FIGHTING were worth *USING.*

For this we fight!

The final page is a drawing, in the style of the old mottoes and uplifting exhortations which hung in so many homes two generations ago. Neatly framed and in old English lettering it reads:

Moral

Patriotism, or even just plain everyday Good Citizenship, comes easy as long as we don't have to do much except talk about it.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

New Jersey Reaps Fruits of Good Municipal Finance Laws

The most important task ahead is to hold the fort against efforts which may be made in the future to subject its new laws to weakening amendments.

By **ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON**
State Treasurer of New Jersey
and
ALVIN A. BURGER, *Director of Research*
New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce

THE head of a prominent midwestern investment house recently visited New Jersey to make a personal investigation of certain statements he had read or heard which he considered too good to be true. These statements depicted a rather remarkable picture of municipal financial improvement in a state whose government was associated in the popular mind with many a story of public mismanagement and political corruption.

The investor's tour of inquiry, when completed, satisfied him that the encouraging statements he had heard concerning New Jersey's financial progress were substantially true, and upon his departure homeward he said to a state official: "You ought to take steps to give the rest of the country—and particularly those who deal in municipal securities—the true facts about what has been done to put New Jersey's public finances on a sound basis. The governmental ills of your state have been widely publicized, but your good works are little known by the country at large."

This seemed to be sound advice, and the article which follows is intended as a well aimed first step in that direction.

The over-all New Jersey picture shows that within the period of the last ten years, as a result largely of the enactment of a series of important local finance laws and of the continuous statewide activity of well organized taxpayers', business, and civic groups, the financial standing and the general administration of New Jersey's 566 municipalities and twenty-one county governments have undergone a process of improvement perhaps unmatched by any other state in the Union.

This improvement has been achieved without the enactment of replacement taxes and without benefit of any undue amount of federal aid or subsidies. No magic or hocus-pocus is to be found in New Jersey's formula. Progress has come the hard way—through steady, persistent work, carefully planned legislation and a constant public vigil and resistance against all efforts to tear down that which has been so painstakingly built up.

New Jersey has long since begun to reap the fruits of its decade of good work, and each passing year reveals a steady increase in the harvest. Statistics cannot chart the increased efficiency and adequacy in the administration of the various public services in most of the municipalities and counties. However, figures can be used to indicate some important changes in the financial picture.

Last year, 1942, marked the third successive year that the majority of the state's 566 municipalities showed a reduction in their all-purpose property tax levies and tax rates. (In New Jersey the municipalities collect school, county, and state-school property levies, as well as those imposed for the support of municipal government.) Figures for 1943 reveal that a majority have again reduced tax rates, with the number of levy reductions about even.

The aggregate statewide property tax levy for all purposes has begun a downward trend. It dropped from $262,383,802 in 1941 to $250,548,264 in 1942—a reduction of $11,835,538.[1] The total levy for 1943 shows a further reduction of $190,891 despite local salary adjustments and defense expenditures incident to the war situation.

The gross debt burden of New Jersey's municipalities, counties, and school districts declined from $1,212,000,000 in 1932 to $856,000,000 at the end of 1941—a debt reduction of 29.4 per cent as compared with a nation-wide local government gross debt reduction of 8.5 per cent during the same ten-year period.[2] Last year—1942—New Jersey's aggregate gross local debt was further reduced by $46,000,000.

The decrease in the local gross debt is paced by a sharp decline in New Jersey's state government debt, which has been cut almost in half since 1935.

The current or floating debt of New Jersey local governments has fallen from a peak of $183,254,615 in 1933 to less than $10,000,000 in 1942.

All twenty-one counties, and 556 of the 566 municipalities, are now operating on a cash or "pay-as-you-go" basis. Laws enacted in 1936 and 1938 require that sufficient cash must be collected by local units during the year to meet in full all budget requirements for that year. Eventually every local government must operate on this basis.

Property tax collection records show that the rate of current tax collections rose to an all-time high of 87.3 per cent last year.

A more conservative general practice now followed in assessing taxable property has led to a gradual reduction of 17½ per cent in total assessed valuations since the peak year of 1930.

Defaults Decline

In 1934 there were ninety-four local government units in New Jersey in widely varying degrees of debt default. The number of these defaulting municipalities rapidly declined, however, when the new cash basis, debt, and budget legislation went into effect, and today there are only four local units (all small) in default of debt payments.

The sharp upward trend of the twenties and early thirties in municipal operating expenditures has been generally curbed. A very moderate rise is currently indicated, due largely to wartime salary and wage adjustments and defense expenditures.

Local budgeting, borrowing, and financing procedure are now strictly regulated by a strong and well administered state supervisory agency—the Local Government Board—under the new state laws. Budget-making and financial reporting by municipalities, counties, and school districts follow a pattern of uniformity which is painstakingly enforced.

Uniform provisions for the bonding of local finance and tax-collecting officials and employees have been set up by the Local Government Board.

Let it be emphasized again that these fiscal improvements did not burst upon New Jersey overnight.

---

[1] These and other figures used here were secured from the State Tax Commissioner, the Department of Local Government, and the State Treasurer.

[2] See "Indebtedness in the United States: 1929-1941," p. 26, U. S. Department of Commerce (Economic Series No. 21).

The measures which brought them to eventual fruition embraced a long and varied series of steps taken over a ten-year period, each step a battleground on which the forces of progress were required to contend against some very stubborn political opposition. There were occasional defeats along the way for the proponents of sound improvement, but the final victory was quite complete, and many of those who first opposed reform have since come to recognize the hard, common sense of the new fiscal controls.

The financial debacle that confronted New Jersey's local government back in 1932 and 1933 came as a result of a widespread administrative and legislative let-down which occurred during the "booming twenties," when New Jersey's rapid industrial expansion and population growth necessitated capital improvements on a huge scale—paved streets, sewers, schools, parks, municipal buildings, fire houses—and the public debt rose along with assessments and tax rates. This period of "high finance" seemed to produce administrative laxity all along the line—from tax collections to the arrangement of bond maturity schedules. State supervision and control of local finance were weakened and overridden. Each legislature turned out reams of mandatory local spending laws. The taxpaying public didn't seem to mind or even to bother to keep abreast of what was happening at the time. Everyone was too busy making money in those days.

Then came the depression, and the piper had to be paid.

When municipalities began to find themselves in straitened circumstances, property owners were quick to organize and to demand drastic budget economies. They prevailed upon the 1933 legislature to suspend all mandatory spending laws in order to give local officials greater latitude in cutting costs. Hundreds of officeholders who did not see fit to heed these public demands for economy were sooner or later replaced by others who would and did.

Citizens Demand Efficiency

When the inevitable pressure came from spending groups to impose new forms of taxation to "replace" part of the ever-increasing tax burden borne by real estate, the property owners themselves offered the most strenuous resistance to what they considered a specious panacea for the financial ills of New Jersey's local governments. They were exceedingly skeptical of the efficacy of new taxes, and maintained that governmental economies and more business-like management alone could bring the lasting relief needed by real estate owners. A retail sales tax passed by the 1935 legislature proved short-lived when a thoroughly aroused and enraged public demanded and secured its immediate repeal. Since that time, both major political parties in the state have stood committed against new taxes.

Public demands in New Jersey for more efficient and economical administration of local government, and against new and additional tax burdens, were implemented from the beginning by sound, effective, organized effort on the part of leagues of women voters, taxpayers' associations, chambers of commerce, savings and loan leagues, and other civic groups, both local and statewide. This solid front has since been maintained. Equally important is the fact that solutions to New Jersey's major public finance problems were arrived at not through hastily-considered action, but after much study, thought, and discussion by well qualified public officials, legislative leaders, and research agencies. These thorough-going explorations were largely responsible for most of the desirable new laws subsequently enacted, and for the greatly improved machinery of local administration.

The first cash basis legislation was enacted in New Jersey in 1933 and 1934, but these measures applied only to a limited number of municipalities. In 1935 a local bond act was passed, placing much needed restrictions upon the borrowing activities of municipalities. It required, among other things, that all bond issues in the future be serial issues. In 1936 a local budget act was enacted, restricting current borrowing and committing all municipalities to an eventual cash or "pay-as-you-go" basis of budgetary operation.

Provide State Supervision

In 1938 four new measures were enacted, providing for the establishment of a State Local Government Board with broad powers of supervision over the entire field of local government finance. These were known as "the Princeton bills," having been drafted by the Princeton Local Government Survey, a privately supported research organization, in coöperation with a number of legislative leaders and outstanding municipal finance authorities. An excellent article, written by a member of the Local Government Board, explaining in detail the way in which these new laws operate, appeared in an earlier issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.[3]

The financing of poor relief remained a vexing problem in New Jersey until comprehensive financial assistance legislation was finally enacted in 1940, setting up a sensible system of state aid to municipalities which emphasized not only standards of adequacy in relief giving, but also standards of efficiency and economy in local administration. The legislation also created a state supervisory agency which has been performing in a most competent fashion in controlling relief expenditures.

In 1941 the legislature solved another difficult finance problem of long standing—that dealing with the taxation of railroads in New Jersey. The old laws, taxing the roads solely on the basis of property valuations, had led to diminished revenues, protracted and costly litigation, and general chaos in tax administration. The new laws provide for two taxes —a limited property tax on valuations, and a franchise tax based on net railway operating income. Receipts for 1942 under the new railroad tax laws greatly exceeded those realized under the old formula.

One outstanding serious tax problem remains unsolved in New Jersey. Under present laws tangible and intangible personal property is required to be assessed at true value and taxed at local property tax rates.

(Continued on Page 436)

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[3] "A State Department of Local Government," by Samuel D. Hoffman, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1939.

Unemployment Compensation: Federal-State Cooperation

Wherein the author sets forth his reasons for urging that the states retain their present opportunities and responsibilities in the unemployment compensation field.

By **PAUL A. RAUSHENBUSH**
President of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is a reply to one published in the May 1943 issue of this REVIEW, in which Mr. A. J. Altmeyer, chairman of the federal Social Security Board, advocated a uniform national system of unemployment insurance.

THIS country now has a coöperative federal-state system of unemployment compensation which leaves wide discretion to the several states as to the substance and administration of their laws. I favor the continuance of that general system and further improvement of the state unemployment compensation laws by state action.

Mr. Altmeyer's recent article urged the substitution of a uniform national law in place of our present system of state laws. This "reply" seeks to answer his main arguments, and to set forth at least some of the reasons for urging that the states retain their present opportunities and responsibilities in the unemployment compensation field.

Any attitude on the "federalization" question here at issue should be based on two general considerations. First, concern about the specific program and the protection of wage earners against unemployment. Second, concern about government, and the effects which nationalization of this major program would have on government functioning.

In brief, the states have done rather well—and have made real progress—in administering and improving their unemployment compensation laws. But the state laws should—and doubtless will—be further strengthened. There is some doubt whether a straight national system would do much better, in actual practice as distinguished from discussional blue-prints of perfection. Even if a national law could provide benefit levels above those now found in most state laws our present coöperative federal-state system should nevertheless be worth preserving in order to maintain a sound balance between the functions of our state and national governments. Some shortcomings in immediate results might well be outweighed by the long-range importance of preserving back-home democracy in as many fields as practicable.

It should be noted, before turning to specific unemployment compensation problems, that the federalization issue in this field is of great long-run significance for the future of this country and our way of life. The "employment security program" itself is a major one—including both unemployment compensation and employment service, with about forty million workers and nearly a million employers covered by the present state laws, and over four billion dollars already accumulated in state unemployment reserves. Beyond all that, however, the efforts to "federalize" unemployment compensation are closely tied in with current plans for a completely national system of social insurance, with state and local participation in the whole broad field of social security confined to a narrow vestige in public assistance matters.

It is high time to consider whether state action shouldn't play a major role in extending social security into new fields—such as sickness, hospitalization, and health insurance—instead of leaving to centralized national action all these future government functions, as well as those fields—workmen's compensation, employment service, and unemployment compensation—in which the states have been functioning in the past.

If the national government were to succeed in taking over the entire field of social security a tremendous stride would have been taken toward centralized control over the daily lives of most citizens, and away from the functioning of state and local units of government. With many Washington officials regarding state and local units primarily as barriers to national progress, our federal-state system of unemployment compensation is now one of the important bulwarks of democratic back-home government against undue centralization of the public's business.

One other preliminary comment. Though the war naturally affects all our social thinking, it is well to remember that our federal-state system of employment security is a permanent long-range program. Some wartime changes, including the current loan of state employment services, may well be needed to help meet wartime conditions; and other changes may yet prove necessary to help meet postwar problems; but it would be shortsighted to stretch unemployment compensation beyond its valid limits. It can and should serve covered workers as an effective "first line of defense" against postwar lay-offs, but it could not properly carry the whole unemployment load even if federalized. So we shouldn't be stampeded by the war emergency into distortion or nationalization of a program which must serve us well for decades to come.

Progress under State Laws

One of Mr. Altmeyer's substantive criticisms of our present system of state laws was that they afford inadequate *benefit protection* to unemployed workers. Though he probably had some "adequacy" yardstick in mind, he has often recognized that social legislation can never be considered complete or final. Its test is progress rather than perfection. How then do state unemployment compensation laws meet such a test—with respect to their past and present benefit provisions?

The states have made a great deal of progress during the past few years toward more adequate benefit protection—even though the Social Security Board hasn't advertised the liberalization of state laws very heavily. (Mr. Altmeyer's article did admit that "benefits have been made somewhat more adequate".) Incidentally, most states started out with the conservative formulas recommended by the Board's staff. Their subsequent progress is shown by major improvements —made since benefit payments started in 1938 or 1939—in such main provisions as waiting periods, weekly benefits, duration of benefits, etc.

Notable liberalization has applied to benefit *waiting periods*. These have been greatly reduced by nearly all states to less than half their original levels. Most laws not only started out with an initial waiting period of two or three weeks but also required two or three added weeks for later spells of unemployment within the same year. At present a large majority of laws require only a one-week waiting period and nearly all the rest are down to two weeks per year.

Benefits Increased

Similarly, there have been substantial increases in the *weekly benefit amounts* payable to unemployed workers. At the start, for instance, only two laws had a top rate above $15, which was the standard "maximum" used by all other states. The top rate now exceeds that level under twenty-eight laws with twenty-three using a maximum of $18 or more—lowest laws, $15; highest law, $22. At the lower end of the benefit scale few laws originally provided any fixed minimum rate, whereas all do now. Though a few low-wage states still issue some checks for less than $5, lowest weekly payments now range between $5 and $10 under most laws.

What about the many benefit rates —and payments—which fall between each state's top and bottom limits? Most state laws have raised their whole level of benefit amounts by changing their formulas to use a higher percentage of earnings, and some use schedules definitely weighted in favor of the lower earnings brackets. Current variations between states are partly based on their varying wage levels.

The *duration of benefits* is clearly of major importance in making unemployment compensation an effective first line of defense for laid-off workers. Here, too, very real progress has been made during the past few years. Most state laws started with an outside duration limit of sixteen weeks, but about seventeen laws began with lower maximum durations than that and only six laws started higher. Only three laws, instead of seventeen, now limit duration to less than sixteen weeks; and nineteen laws, instead of six, now go above sixteen weeks, with a dozen of these providing maximum durations of twenty weeks or more.

Within their respective top limits, most state laws have also increased the actual duration rights of most of their covered workers, either by providing for flat uniform duration or by using a higher percentage of earnings in determining benefit rights.

Combining each law's maximum benefit rate and duration, forty-eight out of fifty-one laws now provide total benefits ranging from $240 up, and fourteen of these provide $360 or more.

Much of the progress thus summarized occurred before 1943; but some improvements were enacted this year, as indicated in the July issue of this Review: "In the field of unemployment compensation, much has been done. Over twenty states liberalized the provisions of their laws in this regard, raising maximum and minimum payments, the period during which payments are made, and the groups covered."[1]

The states will doubtless raise their benefits—and lengthen their benefit durations—to some further extent as and when they believe that experience and conditions warrant further liberalizations. Currently, however, most of them do want to be sure that they can make good, and pay out, on the substantial benefits already promised by their present laws, and still remain solvent throughout the postwar period.

More Workers Included

What about *coverage* under the state laws? They have made far more progress than the national law which implements them. The federal unemployment tax, as passed in 1935, applied only to employers of eight or more workers. The federal act has not yet been extended to smaller employers, as it should be; but more than half the state laws are now covering employers of less than eight workers, as they all should.

But how do *migratory workers* stand under our present system? As Mr. Altmeyer's article noted, the Committee on Economic Security thought this problem difficult to handle under state laws but not insoluble, and recommended it as a major subject of study by the "federal administrative agency." Though that agency has given the migratory-worker problem disproportionate publicity, it can fairly be said that the states have given it more practical attention and have contributed far more to its solution.

Workers who build up substantial benefit rights in one state and then move to another do not lose those rights. They can claim through the state they're in under a coöperative interstate plan which has worked smoothly for several years. Nor is any benefit problem created by those workers who migrate to regular war jobs for the duration. They are building up full benefit rights where they work and can later collect on them wherever they may then be located.

The problem which concerned Mr. Altmeyer so much is limited to certain multi-state workers who are employed in several states but fail to earn sufficient credits in any one to qualify for benefits. The numbers who lose benefits in that way are not large and their problem is far from insoluble. In fact some forty-two state laws now authorize coöperative interstate arrangements for combining benefit credits in such multi-state cases, and the states have been developing a suitable "combining" plan which many of them will be adopting before the close of 1943. So this stock argument against state laws will soon begin to vanish.

Considering the substantial benefit liberalizations achieved by most states within the past few years, there seems to have been more interstate rivalry to liberalize benefits than "interstate competition" to hold them down—

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[1] "State Legislative Highlights—1943", by Herbert Wiltsee, p. 364.

despite Mr. Altmeyer's apprehensions. In many of the forty-odd "experience-rating" states employers have supported benefit improvements, in order to retain experience rating, under a legislative variety of "collective bargaining" by which both labor and industry have gained. On the other hand, employers have often opposed such changes in the "flat-rate" states where they are not supposed to take any interest in benefit costs. In other respects too the interstate-competition argument is generally overworked, but space prevents their discussion.

As to possible benefit levels under a national law, are the advocates of federalization quite sure that "national" benefits would be much above those now provided by the more liberal state laws? Even big promises have to be paid for. Isn't Congress likely to count the costs and to consider the probable impact of benefit levels on industrial operations? Even though the national plan would of course eliminate experience rating—because all the "federalizers" are opposed to varying employer contribution rates in accordance with their varying experience—would that remove the concern of employers and other taxpayers in the ultimate costs and industrial effects of the proposed national benefits? Legislation doesn't always follow the advance blue-prints.

National action might possibly level down as well as up, and the more liberal states could no longer furnish the spearheads of legislative advance which have improved our present system. National action would put an end to state pioneering and experimenting, and it might even lack the relative stability of state laws in periods of national economic or political upheaval. Used as a short-cut nationalization might some day result in cutting short the program or in its conversion into a mere "relief" system.

Postwar Solvency

The unemployment reserves of the states already total about four and one-third billion dollars. If the war lasts one and a half more years they'll probably exceed six billions by the spring of 1945. How long the war will last and how long conversion to peacetime production will take are the major factors—and uncertainties—in estimating the probable adequacy of the various state funds to meet their promised postwar benefit payments.

Postwar benefits are bound to be heavy at best, so it is clearly vital for each state to build "adequate reserves" during the war years. Most states apparently believe that their unemployment funds are—or will be—adequate, at least by the close of the war.

Yet Mr. Altmeyer suggests that "in a number of states" the funds "are by no means secure." Which states? His Board—presumably the best place to secure such comparative data—has thus far refused to specify which state funds may prove shaky; so it has been difficult to know just where needed action has thus far been lacking. In general, however, the more wartime expansion a state has had the larger its unemployment reserve will need to be.

Mr. Altmeyer's article cites the case of a war-expanded employer who will have to lay off thousands of war workers when victory has been won, asks "how a state with hundreds of such employers will be able to meet its obligations," and implies that state-by-state action cannot solve this problem. Yet he knew—or should have known—that some states had already worked out an adequate answer to this problem.

In brief, the wartime payroll expansions of such large employers will mean roughly-proportional increases in postwar benefit payments to their workers. So the expanded employers should be required to pay correspondingly higher "war-risk" contribution rates, to assess fairly the costs of wartime expansion and to assure the postwar solvency of each state fund.

Nine states have so far enacted this answer in one form or another, and have thereby shown the way to any others who may need to strengthen their funds for the postwar impact. Some additional states may yet act similarly if their estimates and/or federal estimates show a clear need—unless the virus of "let-Washington-do-it" has badly infected this field, as it has so many others.

State Administration

Mr. Altmeyer recognized as early as 1940—after only two years of benefit payments—that "all the states . . . are solving the administrative problems involved with a high degree of success".[2] Relatively low costs—compared to Britain's—and continuing improvement have marked state administration generally, even though some states have done better than others. The back-home folks seem rather well satisfied.

True, there have been some administrative frictions between the federal and state agencies involved but hardly enough to justify repudiating federal-state coöperation. The nationalization issue naturally produces some friction. So do 100 per cent federal grants, but that arrangement isn't inherent in the system and might well be modified.

Mr. Altmeyer's article cited reporting by large multi-state employers to various states; but that really isn't very burdensome, especially where their records and reporting are decentralized so that each plant reports to the state where it is located.

As to government record-keeping, Mr. Altmeyer's contrast between one and fifty-one sets of records sounds much worse than the facts warrant. One centralized federal set of lifetime records is maintained for old-age purposes, and another more current set—decentralized among the states and covering only a year or two—is used to deal with the rapidly changing benefit status of laid-off workers.

The administration of unemployment compensation is inherently more complex than that of old-age insurance, so national experience with the latter program might not apply to the former. Unemployment benefit eligibility may change from week to week and involves far more frequent—and often more controversial—contacts with employers and workers than is true of the national old-age program.

Mr. Altmeyer once told state administrators: "The Board is of the opinion that a national system would have broken down under the initial impact of the administrative difficulties which you have been able to surmount with such a considerable degree of success."[3]

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[2] Address to American Association for Social Security, March 30, 1940.

Can federal officials—and the public—have confidence that a centralized national system would not break down under the far heavier impact of postwar layoffs? State organizations may be a good deal more flexible than a big national one.

There will always be a deal of truth in the Brandeis phrase "the curse of bigness" and in its thesis that smaller units are often more efficient than big ones—in government as well as in business. The smaller units need and use less red tape. Top executives in big outfits are usually hampered by the limits of time, and of human capacity. Putting a few men in bigger jobs with larger responsibilities doesn't always make supermen out of them. There aren't very many supermen, after all, even in Washington.

Experience Rating

Over forty state laws now provide for some type of experience-rating system, varying each employer's contribution rate in accordance with his own unemployment and benefit experience.

Varying employer contribution rates does roughly allocate the costs involved to specific plants and products, thereby treating benefits as business costs rather than as generalized social costs. This device also affords each employer a concrete added inducement to provide the steadiest employment he possibly can.

If the federalizers had their way, both these experience-rating principles would be discarded in favor of flat uniform tax rates, with cost variations obscured and ignored and inducements to preventive efforts abandoned. That fact is a weighty count against a national system.

Even so rich a country as ours can ill afford to ignore major cost variations, and to give up the specific extra incentive which experience rating now offers to private management for maintaining full and steady employment. That added incentive may become of major importance during the postwar years, when we all hope that private enterprise will achieve—and maintain—a record level of peacetime jobs and goods.

As Elizabeth Brandeis has said:

> Of course, experience rating alone is not going to solve the unemployment problem; but it is one of the steps in the right direction. It puts emphasis on steady jobs which can increase purchasing power, and on steady plant operation which can reduce costs. These are the methods by which more goods can be sold and more jobs created . . . Experience rating must be preserved in our American compensation system because it is an integral part of a constructive attack on unemployment.[4]

A national system, by eliminating experience rating, would hardly promote genuine "employment security" —on the job. Is "unemployment insurance" really all we want in this field?

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[3] Address to Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies, October 20, 1938.

[4] "The Federal Threat to State Progress in Unemployment Compensation," *American Labor Legislation Review,* December 1940.

Centralization vs. Democracy

Turning now from these various substantive phases of our unemployment compensation system, what of our second general consideration—the effects which nationalization of this major program would have on our governing structure and its functioning? Despite the critical importance of that "abstract" question only the briefest discussion is possible here.[5]

Underlying most arguments for federalization of the whole employment security program are the persistent refrain that unemployment is a "national" problem, and the assumption that all "national" problems should be handled solely by the national government. There are obvious fallacies—and implications—in such thinking.

On such a basis how many other "national" problems might be found within every state and city in this country—employment and jobs, industrial accidents, education, recreation, public health, water supply, sewage, police protection, etc.? Or perhaps the next plan of the federalizers should be one for a uniform inter-American—or world—system of social security, administered by a hemispheric or world authority?—for they could certainly argue that unemployment is a world problem.

But unemployment is truly a state and local problem as well as a national and international one. A worker's job and lay-off are localized. Being bound by many ties—a home, schools, church, lodge, union seniority, etc.—he usually seeks benefits—and another job—locally rather than in any national labor market. And the "national unemployment problem" will not be solved unless regular employment is provided in each community.

The following U. S. Supreme Court comments, when upholding the coöperative federal-state system of unemployment compensation, are more relevant to the *policy* question—of proper state and national functioning—than Mr. Altmeyer's quotation as to the national power to enact old-age insurance:

> Together the two statutes now before us embody a coöperative legislative effort by state and national governments for carrying out a public purpose common to both, which neither could fully achieve without the coöperation of the other.[6]
>
> Alabama . . . chose to have relief administered under laws of her own making, by agents of her own selection, instead of under federal laws, administered by federal officers, with all the ensuing evils, at least to many minds, of federal patronage and power.[7]

State action and federal-state coöperation—in most of the social insurances and in many other fields—should hardly make the correlating of supplementary or related programs unmanageable; indeed, such problems would exist even if all the programs involved were national ones. For national enactment of a program and its administration by Washington officials do not always assure its perfect integration with all other related programs administered from Washington—to say nothing of related state and local activities, which may also be important. And there would seem to be little danger that our national government will lack enough postwar and peacetime tasks of a kind which only it can handle.

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[5] For a more adequate treatment, see "Centralization and Democracy," by Elizabeth Brandeis, in *Survey Graphic,* December 1942.

[6] *Carmichael* v. *Southern Coal Co.*; 301 U. S. 495, 526.

[7] *Steward Machine Co.* v. *Davis*; 301 U. S. 548, 590.

Though many varied problems—unemployment, industrial accidents, illness, education, etc.—may have some national aspects, it is clearly vital for a democracy to maintain effective participation in government affairs *by* ordinary citizens, and therefore to preserve municipal and state functioning wherever practicable. For the country is too big, and Washington is too remote, for ordinary citizens to participate effectively in any "uniform national system" even though it closely affects their daily lives.

The federalizers' passion for nation-wide "uniformity" not only runs counter to the stubborn facts of regional diversity, but also ignores the importance of scope for diverse local policies. For instance, the nationalizers object to state variations in unemployment benefit levels and disqualifying provisions. But does it follow that Congress should uniformly impose the judgment of federal government or labor officials in such matters? Aren't such questions better left to the citizens and legislatures of the respective states, even where the central government is—and always will be—both benevolent and wise?

In the important sphere of actual administration, Mr. Altmeyer's article dismisses as unwarranted the fear of "a huge bureaucracy"—and protests that a uniform national system would not necessarily mean "centralized administration". Nevertheless, he was probably nearer right a few years ago, when he still favored federal-state coöperation but made the following comment on a straight national system: "From an internal administrative standpoint, it is much easier to set up a hierarchy of federal officials with orders being issued from the top and being carried out without question by subordinate officials."[8]

He now believes that local advisory and appeal boards might enable a national law to operate flexibly and democratically, and cites the good work done by various local war boards. But the analogy doesn't fit because the war boards have had rather wide discretion. So his hopes for genuine local participation in operating a uniform national system would be apt to prove illusory. As Tocqueville—that wise French student of government and the democratic process—warned a century ago:

> When the centralized power . . . invokes the assistance of the citizens, it says to them, "You shall act just as I please, as much as I please, and in the direction which I please. You are to take charge of the details, without aspiring to guide the system . . . " These are not the conditions on which the alliance of the human will is to be obtained; it must be free in its gait and responsible for its acts, or (such is the constitution of man) the citizen had rather remain a passive spectator than a dependent actor in schemes with which he is unacquainted.

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[8] Address on March 7, 1940, in Wilmington, Delaware.

State of Washington Views Postwar Problems

Looks with optimism to the postwar period and lays plans for use of new resources and methods developed during nation's war effort.

By P. HETHERTON, ***Executive Officer***
Washington State Planning Council

POSTWAR problems came to the state of Washington well before Pearl Harbor and the nation's entrance into the conflict. Late in 1940 and early in 1941 lend lease and defense preparations brought new industrial activities to the state, activities which have been intensified and diversified since the attack on December 7, and which, with the army of workers that accompanied them, have created the problems to be dealt with now and in the readjustment period that will follow the war.

The Washington State Planning Council, reporting to the Governor of the state in October 1940, set forth its long-range view of the situation, which still obtains, in the following words: "It [the Council] not only believes that present gains in resource conservation should be maintained but that as far as possible present expansion in war industries and activities should be so directed that a much broader and better balanced economy for the state will result in our return to a peacetime basis." A revision of this report in October 1941 added, "While the state shares so largely in the preparation for all-out defense, new opportunities are offered to lay the foundation for a more abundant peace." In other words the Council believed then, and still believes, there can be no clear line of demarcation between war and peace. What we now do to win the war will have an effect on our peacetime economy.

Our industrial pattern is changing. Low-cost electric energy from two great dams—Grand Coulee and Bonneville—is expanding this picture to include production in fields heretofore not represented in the state's economy. As is happening all over the country, many years of progress are being compressed into a few, and new developments are establishing for years to come the economic pattern of state and region.

Our postwar problems, then, will be those of an area with plants and equipment designed for special mass production jobs which will need to be converted; labor with highly specialized skills to be re-educated; too much electric energy devoted to production of primary materials—aluminum, magnesium, etc.; a deficiency of remanufacturing; marginal mines, industries, and farms; serious social maladjustments.

In considering postwar readjustments the Council, so far as possible, has attempted to confine its considerations to the state itself. What can the state do to meet the many problems of peace? What laws should be enacted or amended in order to give the fullest encouragement to private enterprise? What should now be its tax policy? What should it do about a well considered program of public works including public buildings and natural resource conservation in keeping with the state's ability to finance them, that is, independent of federal aid? In what ways can cities and counties be encouraged to adopt the same procedure?

Public Facilities Taxed

It was in the defense period that the first rush of "defense" contracts and the expansion of military establishments began to overload public facilities of schools, transportation, housing, hospitals, water supply, sewage disposal, and recreation. At this time, to assist public officials in meeting these new problems, which in most cases were beyond the financial abilities of local governments, the Council supplied technicians to prepare reports on which to base requests for financial aid. Valuable assistance was obtained through the coöperation of the state departments of health, education, and highways, and from others representing state, local, and federal agencies. With the passage of the Lanham Act in June 1940 and the reorganization of the National Housing Administration, funds for needed improvements helped these communities meet otherwise impossible situations. The Council worked through city and county planning commissions and local housing authorities, and where these did not exist, it encouraged and assisted their organization.

Industry too has been encouraged. During the last biennium, 1941-1943, and now in this biennium, 1943-1945, at the direct request of Governor Arthur B. Langlie, $150,000 was appropriated by the legislature from the state's general fund to the State Planning Council "for research in connection with furthering the development of industry and agriculture within the state of Washington." With these funds research has been and is being conducted at the University of Washington, the State College, and through certain of the state departments to develop uses for our natural resources and to bring about greater industrial diversification. The state's economy has depended too much on forest products, and on the production of semi-manufactured goods, but with the war effort there has come to the state pig aluminum and magnesium plants, the manufacture of ferro-alloys and certain chemical operations. Research is now being directed to provide the raw material supply for our pig aluminum and magnesium plants so that they will have a chance to operate following the war.

At the state level a basis for a six-year public works program has already been developed and a preliminary report, *Six-Year Public Improvement Program for the State of Washington,* has been issued. It is the Council's belief that counties and cities should be encouraged to produce and maintain similar programs, and that state assistance in this work should be forthcoming if needed.

Working in still another field, the Council last July held the initial meeting from which its present post-war activities have developed. From this meeting came the proposal that a statewide committee be appointed, consisting of representatives from various organizations of manufacturers, bankers, lawyers, labor, farmers, service groups, women's clubs, chambers of commerce, miners, transportation, and export and import groups. At the same time the Council named a five-member technical advisory committee to undertake research and to be prepared to find the answers to a number of problems which the state committee would propose.

The first task of the smaller technical committee was the assembling of data on the size of the postwar problem facing the state as evidenced by (1) the great increase in population, and (2) the number of new industries established. This information has been issued by the Council in a mimeographed publication entitled, *War and Postwar Readjustments: Preliminary Statement.*

Program Outlined

The Council's program for the state may be summarized as follows:

1. A thorough inquiry into the size of the problems to be met, followed by proposals to meet them.
2. Encouragement to various groups to study their immediate problems. This has the double purpose of educating ourselves and the public.
3. Every encouragement to private enterprise to meet the problem of providing full employment.
4. Public works programming at state, county, and city levels.
5. Creation of capital reserve funds. (Cities already have this power.)
6. Study of legislation and taxation to provide maximum encouragement, in keeping with good public policy, to private enterprise.
7. Service to county and city planning commissions to aid them in zoning—particularly rural land zoning—and public works programming.
8. Continuation of research to develop new industries using our natural resources.

The organization of the larger committee, proposed by the Council at its July meeting mentioned above, proceeded rather slowly. The state legislature convened in January of this year, and it was thought well to postpone meetings until the deliberations of this body were completed. Representation for the committee was sought from all the organizations and associations in the fields named above, and almost without exception appointments were made. It was the Council's hope that with such broad representation each member of the committee would bring to the general meetings the thoughts and ideas of his particular group and would, in turn, take back to his own organization the thoughts and ideas of the general committee, and that in this manner the best thinking of various state groups could be collected and exchanged to the benefit of all. In further explanation of the purpose of the committee, the letter to appointees calling the first meeting contained the following paragraph:

> Because postwar problems are so extensive (world wide) it is thought well to confine our thinking to state problems, recognizing, however, the strong influences of national and international policies. (It may also be well to be prepared to compare notes periodically with our neighboring states.) Our final objective should be full employment in private enterprise for our employable citizens, recognizing fully the needs of our citizens now in military service and the thousands of new residents. At the same time public aids that may be

needed in the transition period from a war economy to a peace economy should be reviewed. If we can, within ourselves, accomplish these objectives, and if each state can act similarly, the democratic process will be greatly strengthened and our citizens better able to view national and international problems in their proper perspective.

To date, two organizational meetings of the statewide committee have been held, one in Seattle and one in Spokane. Central theme of the discussion in both was the matter of postwar employment which was unanimously conceded to be the major concern of the committee.

Some indication of the size of the problem is contained in the fact that since 1939 man-hours of employment in the state have zoomed from 413,000,000 to 776,000,000 in 1942; the population from 1,736,191 to an estimated 1,970,722 as of March 1943. Private enterprise must solve this problem, said the representatives of industry; public works have a place in the program, said a city commissioner, let's have the plans and finance them as we can; set aside reserves now in city, town, and state—then we'll be ready, said another.

Community Committees

Varying points of view were reconciled in a procedure, first outlined in Seattle and later accepted in Spokane, which seeks to stimulate local action and self-analysis on the part of communities and cities. The statewide committee recommended the establishment of a post-victory employment committee in each community of the state, with a membership that would include: two employers, two employees from organized labor in the larger towns, from local sources where labor is unorganized; one professional person, a doctor or lawyer or similar representative; one educator from the public school system; two youths between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two who are recommended on the theory that young people of this age will live the lives being planned for them; one representative of the city or local government, a person who can add up all the public works needed in the city; one householder; one farmer; one representative from the armed services, preferably someone who has been in action; two representatives of the churches; and one storekeeper.

The work of this committee will be to make a survey of the community through the use of two questionnaires prepared by the technical advisory committee of the statewide organization, but adjustable to local needs. The first of these is addressed to business firms. It asks for information about their present employment situation, the number of men employed in 1940 and the number now, the use of women in jobs formerly held by men, and the firm's postwar plans. The second questionnaire is designed to discover consumer needs within the area. Successful returns are anticipated from the questionnaires, since one of the committee's duties will be a personal approach to business men. No questionnaires are to be sent by mail.

The public relations committee of the statewide committee is charged with the responsibility of executing this program. A start was made early in June when a local "Olympia Committee for Post-Victory Employment" was organized in the capital city of Olympia and is now at work with the first questionnaire. Results here may indicate any needed changes in procedure.

Despite the emphasis on state problems, it is clear that we cannot ignore what is taking place outside—what national and international policies are being developed, or what our adjoining states are doing. As an example, the ports of Puget Sound and the Columbia River have had important places in import and export trade. Certainly national and international policies are going to have a considerable effect on the reestablishment of this activity.

Of all states, Washington may well look with optimism to the postwar period. From our war efforts we are gaining materially in experience, manpower, plant, and equipment. We shall have immense sources of low-cost firm hydroelectric energy from our private, municipal, and federal plants through a statewide high tension transmission system. Our industrial base is being broadened. New crops and new methods of processing promise well for agriculture.

These advances cannot be taken from us. The same people and the same resources which are winning the war will be with us to win the peace. We have sufficient faith in ourselves to know that we are going to win the war. Let us retain that faith and win the peace.

NEW JERSEY

(Continued from Page 422)

Efforts by local assessors to enforce these laws to the letter would obviously impose confiscatory burdens upon the owners of such property, and would invite disaster to the economic life of many New Jersey communities. The seriousness of this problem of "tax lightning" is now fully recognized by all concerned, and a sensible solution is expected in the not too distant future.

The most important task ahead for those who have been instrumental in bringing about financial reform in New Jersey is to hold the fort against all efforts which may be made in the future to subject the new laws to weakening amendments. Repeal of any of the important phases of this legislation is unthinkable, and is not expected. The first serious attempt to amend the cash basis laws came this spring, when Atlantic City legislators tried to secure a partial suspension of the legislation "for the duration," in so far as it applied to municipalities on the Atlantic seaboard which are "wholly or partially occupied by the armed forces." The measure was pushed through before most legislators and the general public were aware of its serious implications. It was vetoed by the Governor. The passage of a greatly modified bill finally resulted, with the vicious features of the original measure removed and applying only to Atlantic City.

This recent experience has had one good effect. It has shown the taxpayers and the more thoughtful public officials of New Jersey that constant vigilance must be maintained against such assaults upon our good finance laws in the future. Surely the gains which these laws have brought to New Jersey warrant this watchful protection.

Treasury Committee Summarizes Its Tax Recommendations

This is the third and last of a series digesting the report of the United States Treasury Committee on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations.[1]

The Committee's emphasis on coöperation rather than coercion was covered in the first installment[2] which included also its basic recommendations for a Federal-State Fiscal Authority. The Committee's now famous suggestion that cities consider an occupancy tax along with other reforms to strengthen local revenue was covered in the second installment.[3]

Here is reproduced in full the Committee's summary of its recommendations for action by federal, state, and local governments to solve a variety of pressing problems in the fiscal field. The recommendations cover not only the establishment of the Federal-State Fiscal Authority and changes in the general property tax, but also such questions as coördination of specific taxes—income, tobacco, liquor, gasoline, retail sales, business, etc.—tax immunities, multiple taxation, and other problems. EDITOR.

XI. Summary of Recommendations in Terms of an Action Program for Each Level of Government

I. Federal Government

A. For immediate action:

1. Negotiate with state representatives and pass legislation to create a Federal-State Fiscal Authority.

2. Amend the income tax law to make state income taxes deductible on an accrual basis even though other expenses are reported on a cash basis.

3. Revise, modernize, and broaden the death tax credit.

4. Give the federal estate tax a thorough overhauling, integrating death and gift taxes, substantially reducing exemptions, and coördinating federal and state taxes.

5. Eliminate tax-exempt securities in a manner to secure states and municipalities against loss arising from the taxability of their securities.

6. Defeat discrimination resulting from state community property laws by providing that they shall not apply in the operation of federal tax laws.

7. Provide a clearing house and "board of appeals" (Federal-State Fiscal Authority) for more careful and consistent treatment of payments in lieu of property taxes on federally-owned property. Such payments should be generous, especially during the war.

8. Provide a special joint committee of Congress to consider legislative proposals for payments in lieu of taxes; provide facilities for maintaining a permanent inventory of government property.

9. Allow state sales tax application to contractors working on government orders.

10. Modify and improve the coordination and efficiency in unemployment compensation by increasing the federal credit from 90 to 100 per cent and requiring the states to

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[1] Committee members are Luther Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration; Harold M. Groves, University of Wisconsin; and Mabel Newcomer, Vassar College.

[2] See REVIEW for June, p. 297.

[3] See REVIEW for July, p. 380.

furnish part of the cost of administration.

11. Disallow sales taxes as a deduction in federal income tax practice; if the deduction is retained, make it general and not conditioned upon certain technicalities in the tax law.

12. Pay more heed to cost of compliance in framing tax laws.

13. Extend the civil service coverage to include all personnel engaged in federal tax administration.

14. Consider the provision of a suitable bond instrumentality for the investment of state and local surplus funds during the war. This might take the form of a non-negotiable bond redeemable after the emergency or upon a showing of war-created need, and to be matched by the federal government if used for approved public works.[1]

15. Continue and enhance coöperative efforts to improve state and local accounting and reporting; provide annual compilation of cost of government and total taxes.

16. Expend more effort on federal-state collaboration in the administration of overlapping taxes.

17. Repeal the automobile use tax, or, if it is retained, require receipt as a condition for obtaining a state license.

18. Further promote better uniform governmental accounting and reporting.

19. Assume the responsibility of annual calculation and publication of the over-all cost of government and other fundamental fiscal data.

20. Cultivate an attitude which regards states and localities as partners in a joint enterprise.

B. For immediate or future action:

21. Develop, in consultation with the states, standard rules for income and death tax jurisdiction; develop suitable rewards for state compliance with these rules and other suitable procedures so that the federal government may serve as an umpire in multiple taxation disputes.

22. Develop in consultation with the states rules of uniform income tax procedure; promote the adoption of such rules looking toward single administration of a relatively uniform state and federal income tax.

23. Adopt a federal-collection-state-sharing program for the tobacco tax.

24. Enact legislation providing for federal incorporation of corporations doing an interstate business.

25. Provide distribution of welfare grants to the states through a graduated bracket system as suggested in the Connally amendment.

C. For future action:

26. Abandon motor vehicle taxes to the states reserving the right to tax motor fuel used in aviation.

27. Inaugurate a thorough study of the cost of tax compliance and the burden of multiple taxation on interstate companies; reserve action on centralization of business taxes until this evidence is available.

28. Use a public investment technique (if necessary) to cope with postwar deflation and unemployment; dual budget; creative public works (health, housing, nutrition, and regional development); full liquidation of outlays.

29. Reduce repressiveness of the

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[1] Written before recent developments which cover, to some extent, the needs of the states.

tax system by de-emphasizing business taxes and by equalizing burden upon equity-financed companies compared with those financed by means of indebtedness (through a partial credit to the corporation for dividends paid out).

30. Broaden federal aid to include relief and elementary education.

31. Broaden the social security program to include uncovered groups under old-age insurance and unemployment compensation. This would not only provide more equitable coverage but would also make possible some simplification of payroll taxes.

32. Recognize a national minimum status for elementary education by provision of a differential (equalization) grant.

33. Provide controls which will insure improvement in the division of educational revenues, local districting, and the quality of the educational product, at the same time insuring against coercive interference with local autonomy and minority views concerning education.

34. Provide for federal scholarships to insure the adequate development of talent through higher education.

35. In the interest of simplification, repeal federal liquor license fees retaining licenses where needed for administration.

D. Contingent action:

36. If a federal retail sales tax is enacted, provide legislative implementation and administrative action to insure the fullest coöperative use of state personnel and machinery.

II. State Governments

1. Negotiate with federal representatives and collaborate in the development of a Federal-State-Fiscal Authority.

2. Negotiate with federal officials and Congress to inaugurate a program for the elimination of tax-exempt securities in such manner as not to embarrass states and municipalities fiscally.

3. Tighten property exemption provisions; relax ceiling and uniformity requirements as to local property tax levies; develop more adequate supervision of property tax administration.

4. In collaboration with municipalities, refrain from demanding unreasonable wartime aid from the federal government, thus recognizing the importance of local independence.

5. Apply surplus revenues, where possible, to the elimination of debt and the development of a reserve against wartime loss of revenue and postwar need for public works.

6. When revenues will permit, allow federal income taxes as a deduction in calculating state income taxes.

7. Redouble attack on trade barriers, multiple taxation, and special inducements for the location of industry; use of education, reciprocal agreements, and interstate compacts toward these ends; pass legislation allowing credit to new residents for automobile license taxes paid in the same year to other states.

8. Collaborate with the federal government looking toward federal arbitration of jurisdictional disputes and joint determination and promotion of uniform practices in income and business taxation especially with regard to questions of jurisdiction.

9. Further collaborate with the federal government in the joint administration of overlapping taxes.

10. Adopt legislation on their own initiative that would make payment of federal automobile use tax a condition for the receipt of a state license.

11. Mitigate the rotten borough system by providing more adequate representation for cities in state legislatures.

12. Give more consideration to cities in the distribution of shared taxes, particularly motor vehicle taxes.

13. Adopt enabling legislation that would permit cities to supplement the general property tax with a rental tax on occupiers.

14. Adopt enabling legislation that would facilitate surplus financing during war time.

15. Adopt legislation requiring more adequate and more uniform governmental accounting and reporting.

16. Cultivate an attitude that regards all governments as partners in a joint enterprise.

17. Collaborate with the federal government on a broader and more generous program of federal aids, accepting controls but insisting that they be coöperatively applied rather than dictated.

III. Municipal Governments

1. Negotiate with federal representatives and collaborate in the development of a Federal-State Fiscal Authority.

2. Negotiate with federal officials and Congress to inaugurate a program for the elimination of tax-exempt securities that will not fiscally embarrass states and municipalities.

3. In collaboration with states, refrain from demanding unreasonable wartime aid from the federal government, thus recognizing the importance of local independence.

4. Apply surplus revenues, where possible, to the elimination of debt and the development of a reserve against wartime loss of revenue and postwar need for public works.

5. Broaden the property tax program by supplementing the property tax with a rental tax on occupiers.

6. Strictly interpret property tax exemptions.

7. Inaugurate a thorough-going study of possible new sources of independent local revenue.

8. Study successful procedures for safeguarding reserve funds, and enact legislation needed for this purpose.

9. Develop more metropolitan coöperation and the use of large metropolitan districts for financing functions of common interest.

10. Emphasize raw material producing districts' claim upon aids and shared taxes because their tax base does not represent their contribution to the national product.

11. Demand more equitable representation in state legislatures.

12. Demand more equitable distribution of shared revenues, particularly motor vehicle taxes.

13. Provide for more adequate governmental accounting and reporting.

14. Cultivate an attitude which regards all governments as partners in a joint enterprise.

15. Prepare for collaboration with the federal government in a postwar public investment program.

16. Collaborate with the federal government on a broader and more generous program of federal aids, accepting controls but insisting that they be coöperatively applied rather than dictated.

Contributors in Review

THE Governmental Research Bureau of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, organized in 1915, is said to be the oldest statewide research agency in the country. **Alvin A. Burger** (*New Jersey Reaps Fruits of Good Municipal Finance Laws*) has served as its director since 1936. In addition to his various activities related to the improvement of state and local government in New Jersey Mr. Burger is chairman of the Eastern States Committee to Study Federal Expenditures, a group composed of research directors of six State Chambers of Commerce, which is working in close coöperation with the Byrd Committee and other Congressional committees interested in federal finance.

SINCE collaborating in the writing of *New Jersey Reaps Fruits of Good Municipal Finance Laws*, **Robert C. Hendrickson** has been commissioned a major in the Army Military Government Division. He served in World War I also when, just out of high school, he saw plenty of action in the Aisne-Marne, St. Mihiel, and Meuse-Argonne offensives. Mr. Hendrickson established a law practice in his home town of Woodbury, New Jersey. In 1934 he was elected State Senator from Gloucester County and was re-elected twice. In 1940 he won the Republican nomination for the New Jersey governorship but was defeated by Governor Charles Edison in a close race. Last year the legislature appointed him State Treasurer. Senator Hendickson has been a leader of New Jersey's forces seeking good government. He drafted and introduced much of the municipal finance legislation referred to in the present article. He is a vice president of the National Municipal League, and active also in work of the Council of State Governments.

AFTER teaching economics for some years at the University of Wisconsin, **Paul A. Raushenbush** (*Unemployment Compensation: Federal-State Cooperation*) helped to draft and secure passage—in January 1932—of Wisconsin's pioneer unemployment compensation law. A. J. Altmeyer then brought him into Wisconsin's Industrial Commission to help apply the new statute. As director of the Commission's Unemployment Compensation Department, Mr. Raushenbush has been responsible for the administration of Wisconsin's law ever since it began operating in July 1934. He helped plan the coöperative federal-state system enacted in 1935. For the past ten years he has served as the presiding chairman of Wisconsin's Advisory Committee on Unemployment Compensation, consisting of leading employer and labor representatives, which has been a major factor in the law's improvement. He is also president of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies.

A LICENSED mechanical engineer, **P. Hetherton** (*State of Washington Views Postwar Problems*) has been connected with the Washington State Planning Council since 1934. His first appointment was as the Council's Assistant Executive Officer, then as consultant assigned to the Council by the National Resources Planning Board; he is now its Executive Officer. Mr. Hetherton is a member of the American Society of Planning Officials and of the American Society of Civil Engineers.

Researcher's Digest: September

All about defense councils; readers' digest for the intelligentsia; Newark police taken to the cleaner's; state auditor in Kentucky; New Orleans spending; Alabama finance in abbreviated form.

A RECENT timely work is the report on *State Councils of Defense* published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California at Berkeley.** What the Californians have done is (a) to gather all the facts on the subject as industriously as magpies; (b) to analyze those facts and rearrange them in six major tables: (1) a listing of the names, dates, legal basis, and history of organization of all the state councils of defense; (2) a tabular analysis of the composition of the various state councils of defense; (3) a listing of the administrative structure of the councils; (4) listings of the committees of state councils of defense; (5) facts about the funds of the defense councils; and (6) an analysis of the relationships of state councils of defense with other agencies.

The result is a highly useful compendium of information on a subject which is of no little importance in this unfortunately warring world.

Pellets on Planning

It seems only right that the benefits which the "digest" magazines have brought to the busy but literature-conscious man in the street should come at last to the harried worker in the field of public betterment. **The Bureau of Urban Research of Princeton University** has brought about this greatly desired boon with its *Selected Items from the Urban Reference* which, it announces, it will be glad to send to any interested individuals or organizations who "find it difficult to maintain contact with the wide range of current material in the field."

What the Bureau does is to extract pertinent paragraphs from books, articles, and pamphlets in the general field of urban planning and to present them, carefully bounded by quotation marks and free of any comment, in a mimeographed sheaf of pages. Volume 2, number 6, for instance, contains a quotation on factors which may influence the future distribution of population, an extract on infant mortality in rural and urban areas, a piece on public interest in municipal improvements, some tabular material on age of urban and rural dwellings, a quotation on the need for housing, an extract on the need for a protective belt around the Detroit municipal airport, an analysis of the ownership of Manhattan real estate, and some thinking on the future of local government in New York.

Newark Police

Both frank and thorough is the report on *Police Problems in Newark* which the **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research** turned out at the request of the newly elected commissioner of public safety. A foreword by the Bureau's director terms the Newark Police Department one "which can be described for the most part only in uncomplimentary superlatives." Politics and a traditional indifference to good administrative practices are blamed for the sorry condition in which the city's guardians of law and order find themselves.

The exhaustive study which the Bureau undertook presents 150 separate recommendations for the reversal of this unfortunate situation, including better practices in the selection of personnel, reorganization of the pension system, overhauling of the unwieldy departmental structural organization, and improvements in every division of the department. The study involves 156 printed pages, and if there is anything the investigators overlooked, this reader, for one, would be very much surprised.

Auditor

In the light of experience in Kentucky and other states, and in the light of the opinions of authorities on the subject, the **Bureau of Business Research of the University of Kentucky** has published a work on *The State Auditor* which reflects favorably on that office in Kentucky. Intended in part as a guide to good auditing practices in Kentucky, James W. Martin and his co-authors have produced a very handy compendium of experience and opinion on a subject which is always good for lively discussion among public administrators. Brought to the fore again are the reasons for the independence of a state auditing agency, the objections to the performance of administrative duties on the part of a post-auditor, and the various methods of selecting an auditor.

Where the Money Goes

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans** has begun a series in its *City Problems* on the financing of the New Orleans city government. The first issue, cannily prefaced with the warning that only 35 to 40 per cent of total city government costs are reflected in the general fund, is devoted to an analysis of trends in general fund expenditures from 1937 to 1942. Tabular material, charts, and a running analysis are too detailed for summary here—but they must provide intensely interesting reading for conscientious taxpayers and voters. A second issue on the subject analyzes general fund financing for the same period, from the standpoint of receipts, balance sheet, and cash position.

Miniature

A sensible recognition that brevity sometimes is the winning play in the game of catching readers must have prompted the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** in issuing a condensed version of its earlier work, *High Spots in Alabama Finance,* by Joseph M. Ray. The present pamphlet, as attractively bound as the larger study, includes twenty-eight concise pages, including a spectacular chart at the middle of the book, to which the reader automatically opens.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Audit

The State Auditor. By James M. Martin, Robert L. Sawyer, and S. Marie Fraser. Lexington, Bureau of Business Research, College of Commerce, University of Kentucky, December 1942. 75 pp.

Defense

State Councils of Defense. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, December 1942. 38 pp.

Finance

High Spots in Alabama Finance. By Joseph M. Ray. University, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1943. 28 pp.

Trends in General Fund Expenditures; General Fund Financing. New Orleans, Bureau of Governmental Research, *City Problems,* June 2 and July 9, 1943. 18 and 10 pp. respectively.

Police

Police Problems in Newark. Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1943. x, 156 pp.

Salaries

Municipal Salaries in Massachusetts 1942. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1943. 30 pp.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Charles P. Taft, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

The U. S. Cadet Nurse Corps

TO HELP fill the ranks of nurses—who constitute one of our acute shortage areas in home front war service—Congress this June established the U. S. Cadet Nurse Corps.

Uniformed, trained at no cost to themselves in accredited schools of nursing throughout the country, relieving pressure on reduced hospital staffs even as beginners, and proceeding at an accelerated pace to complete their basic training and enter full professional service, the girls enrolled under this new federally sponsored plan are taking their places in the front ranks of the nation's war workers. What is more, they are preparing themselves for a lifetime profession in a field where the urgent need for skilled, experienced service is almost unlimited —in our local communities, and in government service both in this country and abroad.

Sixty-five thousand new students are needed this year—some 20,000 more than the ordinary enrollment of recent years.

The new program is directed by the United States Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency, the Public Health Service making grants-in-aid to participating schools of nursing to cover costs of training, maintenance, and stipends for cadets, for which federal funds make provision.

To help put the program into immediate effect on a nation-wide scale, the National Nursing Council for War Service and the American Hospital Association have requested that Surgeon General Thomas Parran undertake a series of meetings during August and early September in key cities throughout the country—Washington, D. C., New York City, Boston, Harrisburg, Chicago, Atlanta, New Orleans, Dallas, Kansas City (Missouri), Salt Lake City, Los Angeles and San Francisco, Portland (Oregon), and Seattle.

Heads of nursing schools, hospital superintendents, and officers of nursing organizations are thus having a chance to get first-hand information and immediate answers to their operating questions, so that they can submit plans for Public Health Service approval with a minimum of red tape and delay.

But this is a matter of concern not only to nurse educators and administrators and prospective students. Every community in this country, as well as our armed forces and our government hospitals and public health services, have a stake in the program. Though only 2 per cent of the people is sick at any one time, the situation is so serious in many overcrowded boom towns that even the man in the street wonders what will happen if he or his family is ill and in need of nursing care.

About one-third of our doctors and one-seventh of our nurses are already in the armed services, and the need of the Army and Navy for 2,500 additional nurses each month will bring about one-fifth of our total nursing force into military service by the end of the year. But this demand for duty on the military front is not the only cause of the current shortage.

Hospitals need more nurses: Though

the number of hospital beds has not changed substantially, the rate at which these beds are used has been mounting. Although we have been fortunate in having no significant increase in illness, many changes of wartime living contribute to this fact—the rising birth rate, higher wages which make it possible for more people to pay for hospital service, increasing participation in hospitalization insurance plans, overcrowded housing and the transient living arrangements of many war workers, and the need to conserve the time of doctors by centralizing their patients in hospitals.

Public Health Nursing

City and county health departments need more nurses: Even before the war many communities were awakening to the importance of health protection. Such activities, in which the public health nurse is a key worker, have been stimulated by federal aid under the Social Security Act, and more recently by a special federal appropriation for public health in war-affected areas. In many boom towns near military camps and in centers of war industry, especially intensive efforts have been necessary in order to prevent and control disease. The work done in these communities proves the effectiveness of such measures: yet more than one-fourth of the counties in the United States still do not have any public health nursing.

Industry needs more nurses: With the tremendous increase in the number of workers employed in war plants, and the number of inexperienced people who have been drawn into such employment, health problems on the job become an increasingly important factor in production. Industrial hygiene, long recognized as a sound part of good management, now becomes a "must." Illness and accidents still rate as major causes of absences, and keeping them at a minimum demands skilled nursing and health service in the plant.

In spite of all these calls for additional nursing service, the profession of nursing has recently had to face stiff competition from the many kinds of jobs the war has opened to young women. Business and industry pay relatively high wages, even to girls with little or no training. The women's uniformed military services make an appeal to the patriotic and the adventurous. Nursing, which requires several years' training and which, even at a minimum, has in the past cost the student several hundred dollars, has had an uphill fight to recruit the students it so desperately needs.

The U. S. Cadet Nurse Corps was created under the Bolton Act—so called because it was sponsored by Representative Frances Payne Bolton of Ohio, long an active friend of the nursing profession. Approved June 15, the new law became effective as of July 1 this year. It places the U. S. Cadet Nurse Corps under the direction of the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service.

The Public Health Service has established a Division of Nurse Education to administer the program, reporting directly to the Surgeon General. Lucile Petry, on leave as Dean of the School of Nursing of Cornell University, has been appointed director.

Though this is a federal program, it does not set up federal nursing schools. What it does do is to offer funds to any school which is legally qualified in the state in which it is located and which meets certain generally accepted standards of nurse training.

Both students now in training and those just entering may enroll in the Cadet Corps. They must agree to continue in military or essential civilian nursing for the duration of the war.

Those in training for ninety days before termination of the war may complete their course under the program.

Cadets are entitled to wear the distinctive uniform and insignia of the Corps. They receive a stipend and pay no tuition or fees.

Each school participating in the program will continue to set its own curriculum and requirements for admission, and to select its own students.

Specifications on the length of the course divide it into three periods: the first nine months to be known as the pre-cadet, the next fifteen months as the junior cadet, and the remaining six to twelve months as the senior cadet period. Except for students admitted before January 1, 1942, these together must not exceed thirty months, and may be shortened to twenty-four months.

Most state laws require a graduate nurse to have had thirty-six months of supervised training, but by accelerating the academic portion of the course, the senior cadets can give full time to actual service under hospital supervision. This means that for the last year or half year before completing this legal requirement, they can perform many of the duties of graduate nurses.

The services of these senior cadets will be spread beyond the hospitals in which they receive their basic training. The plan allows for their transfer to other institutions where help is needed. Federal hospitals have first call. But it is estimated that such institutions will not take more than about 20 per cent, and the majority will continue to serve on the civilian front where the need is now so great.

Sufficient federal funds are to be made available so that the student nurse will be financially independent and the school will be compensated for the additional cost of the accelerated program. The grants made to the school cover maintenance, tuition, and fees for pre-cadet nurses; tuition and fees for junior cadets, and fees for senior cadets; outdoor uniforms for all grades; stipends of $15 a month for pre-cadets and $20 a month for junior cadets. The required minimum stipend for senior cadets is $30 a month; this is not met out of federal funds, but must be paid by the school or affiliated hospital.

Refresher Courses

In addition to this basic training provided under the Cadet Corps plan, the Bolton Act offers similar federal aid to nursing schools for refresher and post-graduate courses. Refresher courses—for inactive nurses wishing to return to regular duty—must be between six weeks and three months in length. Hospitals with or without nursing schools may participate provided they meet certain standards.

Since the program is one of grants-in-aid, and participation is voluntary on the part of both students and schools, there is no way to predict its effect upon the nursing shortage. The goal—65,000 new students—represents more than 10 per cent of the girls graduating from high school each year. This is a large number, but there seems good reason to believe that the quota will be filled.

The agreement to continue in essential nursing for the duration of the war, required of all nurses enrolling in both graduate and undergraduate courses, will assure the continuance of service throughout the emergency. And even after the war is over, we can look forward with more assurance: nurses will be trained and ready to do their important part in the urgent tasks of health-relief, rehabilitation, and the re-establishment of peacetime living—in our own communities and throughout the world.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Georgia Approves Voting at 18; Other Amendments

Constitutional Changes Endorsed by Governor

By a vote of three to one on August 3 the Georgia electorate adopted a constitutional amendment granting the right to vote to persons who are eighteen or older. This was one of twenty-eight constitutional amendments supported by Governor Ellis Arnall, all of which were overwhelmingly approved. The Governor announced that he would attempt to have voting rights at eighteen included as a goal in the Democratic national platform. He stated that he was not seeking property rights for eighteen-year-olds, but that "the best training in citizenship is participation in the rights and obligations of citizenship."

Another amendment stressed by the Governor was one providing the basis for a system of retirement payments for teachers in the common schools. Two other important amendments provide for a State Board of Education and for a Board of Regents of the University System, both as constitutional bodies. The Governor cannot be a member of either board. Members serve for seven-year terms. Vacancies, pending appointment, are filled by secret ballot of the members still on the board. The Senate confirms appointments to the State Board of Education. These amendments were designed to take politics out of the Georgia schools. The State University System lost its accredited standing during the administration of Governor Talmadge, whom Governor Arnall defeated.

The power of the governor to grant pardons and paroles, which had caused much criticism and controversy, is removed by another amendment and placed in the hands of a State Board of Pardons and Paroles of three members with seven-year terms.

Other amendments permit counties and municipalities to assist in the administration of the teachers' retirement system, and pay pensions, costs, and benefits under that system; create a State Game and Fish Commission; provide for equal civil service preference to veterans of all wars; establish the Public Service Commission as a constitutional body; abolish the ten-day "organization session" of the legislature; fix the compensation of legislators at $600 for two years with mileage allowance limited to a single payment; exempt certain taxes of corporations 90 per cent or more of whose stock is owned by Georgia corporations; provide how cases shall be disposed of by the Georgia Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals; permit divorce actions by soldiers who have been on army posts or reservations in Georgia over a year; provide that revenue anticipation obligations shall not be deemed debts against the issuing political subdivisions; and change the method of consolidation of local school districts.

The other twelve amendments are local in character, chiefly relating to finances of various counties and municipalities.

The twenty-eight amendments constitute the smallest number submitted in Georgia in several years.

Legislative Developments in Illinois

The Illinois General Assembly closed its sixty-third regular biennial session with a record of 655 measures enacted out of a total of 1,502 bills introduced.

The session[1] was marked by a wartime psychology which tended to destroy many old cleavages and restrict action to "essential" measures. Interest attaches to a series of measures enacted with the backing of Governor Dwight H. Green:

Authorization to invest state funds in short term federal securities, $80,870,000 being currently invested.

Authorizing the reclassification and salary standardization for 20,000 positions in the state code departments: job titles will be cut from 1,150 to 550.

Consolidation of control of relief, old-age assistance, aid to dependent children and the blind under the Illinois Public Aid Commission. An effort to place this function in the Department of Public Welfare, against the wishes of the Governor, was defeated by a narrow margin.

Creation of a new Department of Revenue to take over the functions of the Department of Finance, leaving the latter department free to concentrate on budgeting and examining. The State Tax Commission was abolished and its duties were assigned to the new department.

A War Labor Standards Board was created to relax the six-day-week law and the eight-hour-day law for women.

A state employees pension system was created.

Other measures of general interest include: extension of state civil service preference to World War II veterans; emergency war tenure for civil service appointees to end when competitive examination lists resumed; creation of a commission to study and report in 1945 on the state's needs for higher educational facilities; an amendment to the constitution was placed on the ballot to remove the restriction against county treasurers and sheriffs succeeding themselves.

Constitutional proposals defeated were another "gateway" amendment and a proposal to permit straight party votes to be counted as votes for constitutional proposals which have been approved by party conventions. At present a majority of all votes cast in the election are required.

Another act requires instruction in public or semi-public schools, as a prerequisite for graduation from the eighth grade, in voting methods under the Australian ballot system and in United States history with emphasis on "a comprehensive idea of our democratic form of government and the principles for which our government stands as regards other nations."

The Assembly created a total of eighteen joint legislative interim commissions, including a postwar planning agency and a budgetary commission to work with the state departments in preparing the next state budget. The Assembly refused, as had its predecessors since 1911, to enact congressional or legislative reapportionments.

Edward M. Martin
Union League Club, Chicago

Michigan's New Department of Business Administration

The Michigan legislature at its regular session of 1943 enacted what has come to be known as the Department of Business Administration Law. This measure enjoyed the joint sponsorship of Representatives Post, Hermann, and Story, and received the strongest support from Governor Kelly.

This act creates a Department of Business Administration within the executive branch of the Michigan state government, to be headed by a director appointed by the Governor. The director is to receive a salary not to exceed $7,500 a year. He may, subject to the approval of the Governor, employ such assistants and incur such expenses as shall be necessary to carry out the provisions of the act; such expenditures are to be charged to the appropriations made for the executive department.

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[1] The Illinois legislature was still in session when Mr. Herbert Wiltsee's summary of state legislation, "State Legislative Highlights—1943" (July, p. 360) was prepared.

The new department is charged by its basic statute with the duty of making investigations and recommendations concerning the economic coordination of state activities. Upon the direction of the Governor it is authorized to make investigations of any or all executive or administrative departments, boards, institutions, commissions, or agencies in the state government. These investigations or surveys are to determine whether the activities of any of these governmental agencies or administrative bodies are essential to good government, or if they are being carried on, managerially speaking, in an economical and efficient manner. Duplications of service and effort are to be ferreted out by this new department.

Other purposes, according to the new law, for which investigations may be instituted include increase of efficiency and economical operation by consolidation and re-arrangement of any such state departments, boards, institutions, commissions, and agencies.

In carrying out investigations the Department of Business Administration has power, again subject to the approval of the Governor, to conduct hearings and to compel the attendance of witnesses, the giving of testimony under oath, and the production of books, papers and records.

This new agency represents one more attempt to solve the twin problems which bedevil the administrative organization of the state of Michigan—lack of integration among the administrative services themselves, and the poor adjustment of relationships between the legislative and executive branches.

Charles W. Shull

Wayne University

Florida Would Permit Governmental Variety

The legislature of Florida has approved House Resolution 55, which proposes to amend Section 24 of Article III of the state constitution so as to eliminate and repeal the present requirement for a uniform system of municipal government. This amendment has been supported by the Florida League of Municipalities.

Legislative Reference Bureau for Hawaiian Islands

The Hawaiian territorial legislature at its last session created a legislative reference bureau as a department of the University of Hawaii, the president and board of regents of which appoint the bureau's director. The bureau is given bill-drafting functions; the attorney general appoints a deputy to work with the bureau in drafting bills and rendering legal services. The act took effect July 1.

New York Interstate Committee Urges Regional Conferences

The New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Coöperation held a three-day conference in New York City, July 8-10, as a result of which the calling of two regional conferences, on postwar relief problems and on wartime liquor control, was recommended.

To facilitate the handling of postwar relief, complicated by the mass migration of workers in war industry, the subcommittee on social welfare and relief urged that a regional conference be held, in coöperation with the Council of State Governments, to study the easing of settlement and residence requirements generally, the supervision of old-age, blind, and dependent children cases, residence requirements for old-age and blind cases, and veterans' assistance. Opposition from areas of large increases in population was anticipated, but it was stated that statistics indicate that not more than 15 per cent of migrants ever seek relief.

Standing Committees of State Legislatures

A survey of state legislative practices by the Council of State Governments indicates increasing reliance on standing committees to maintain continuing contact with various fields of legislative interest. These committees deal with a wide diversity of subjects, including agriculture, labor, public health, education, finance, amendments to state constitutions, workmen's compensation, public works, insurance, transportation, elections, and interstate cooperation.

The most recent additions to the expanding list of standing committees are those concerned with civilian and national defense and aviation, the majority of which have been set up during the last three years. Wisconsin this year added a Senate Standing Committee on Military Affairs, created by the legislature to exist until six months after the war. Similar committees already exist in nearly all forty-eight states.

A total of 3,365 standing committees now handle regular work of the forty-eight legislatures in the country. Of these 1,445 are senate committees, 1,785 are house committees, and 135 are joint committees. The totals vary from 118 in Kentucky and 116 in Georgia and Oklahoma down to sixteen at the present time in Nebraska's unicameral legislature, according to the study.

Standing joint committees are found in only ten states and handle the bulk of committee work in only three of them—Connecticut, Maine, and Massachusetts.

Eighteen States Permit Local Reserve Funds

In addition to the sixteen states mentioned in the REVIEW for June (p. 392) as having legislation permitting municipalities to establish capital reserve funds for future public works, Maine and New Hampshire have enacted such legislation. Maine permits reserve funds for stabilization of tax rates as well as for specific capital purposes. The New Hampshire legislation permits accumulation of funds only until July 1945.

Local Retirement Systems for Four States

The legislature of Colorado has authorized extension of the state employees' retirement system to all municipal, county, and school district employees. Coverage is given automatically, but cities are authorized to exempt themselves by action of their councils.

A statewide municipal employees' retirement system has been established by the Pennsylvania legislature, effective this September. Cities are not required to join, but once they do so they cannot withdraw. The employees of a city that has not joined may, by petition, require a city council to put the question of joining the fund to popular vote in the city, and if the vote is favorable the city must join. An existing local retirement fund may join by affirmative vote of 75 per cent of the members.

The Texas legislature has given initial approval to a proposed constitutional amendment to authorize municipalities to establish retirement and disability pension systems for their employees and also permitting the legislature to establish a statewide pension system for municipal employees.

In Wisconsin a new statute provides for an optional statewide retirement system for the employees of any city or village except Milwaukee. If approved by a municipality the plan becomes applicable thereto on January 1 of the following year. The board of trustees consists of the state commissioner of insurance, ex officio, and four members, appointed by the governor, who are officers or employees of municipalities covered by the fund.

Council-Manager Plan News

Sweet Home, Oregon, adopted a council-manager charter on June 22. According to Howard H. Ennor, Acting Director, Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Oregon, Sweet Home has recently grown to a municipality of some 3,000 people from 1,090 in 1940, because of wartime expansion of the lumber industry, and the need for a full-time trained administrator has been realized.

In **Carey, Ohio,** the proposal for city manager government lost at a special election on June 22 by a vote of 416 to 184. Proponents of the plan presented arguments in its favor in the local newspaper over a period of six weeks, and by means of a handbill shortly before the election.

The City Charter Commission of **Ishpeming, Michigan,** has completed the tentative draft of a council-manager charter, which includes provision for a council of nine members, who would also serve as members of the county board of supervisors. The present council consists of twenty aldermen. Some members of the commission preferred a council of five, but nine was the compromise number adopted.

A petition amending the city charter to provide the council-manager plan with proportional representation has been filed in **Long Beach, New York** (see page 467).

Hackensack, New Jersey, (city manager) is one of the thirteen cities winning awards in the 1942 National Health Contest, and Arlington County, Virginia, (county manager) is one of the twenty winning counties.

Beatrice, Nebraska, is planning to hold a special election on replacement of the commission plan by the manager plan.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Everett, Washington,** is sponsoring a movement for the adoption of the manager plan in that city. It is working out a committee organization based on the Cincinnati plan. To amend the present charter requires a petition signed by 20 per cent of the voters at the last election, and a majority vote at the polls.

In **Miamisburg, Ohio,** a special election on July 27 as to adoption of the manager plan resulted unfavorably, the vote being 474 in support of the plan and 590 against. The plan has been voted on in that city three times previously, losing by margins of 272 in 1931, 11 in 1933, and 298 in 1935. Four of the city's eight wards were for the plan and four against, but the heavier majorities were in the four losing wards.

Mayor Ab Jenkins of **Salt Lake City, Utah,** has vigorously criticised the existing commission government of that city, and states that a strong mayor or a city manager is needed. He is quoted as saying: "The mayor or any commissioner lacks sufficient authority to accomplish many actions. . . . Under the present set-up the city actually has five head executives."

In the first half of 1943 four municipalities adopted manager charters says a summary by the International City Managers' Association: Las Vegas, Nevada, effective July 1; Norway, Maine, effective May 10; Thomasville, Georgia, effective January 1, 1944; and Sweet Home, Oregon, effective July 1. Lehighton, Pennsylvania, adopted the manager plan by ordinance, May 3; and two cities, Marysville, Michigan, and Sylacauga, Alabama, where the plan became effective prior to 1943 have been added to the Association's official list, bringing it to a total of 578 cities and seven counties as of July 1. Five communities this year have defeated proposals to adopt manager government: Sheffield, Alabama; Corpus Christi, Texas; New Bern, North Carolina; Tillamook, Oregon; and Carey, Ohio.

Postwar Planning Progress in Large Cities

Several cities of over 200,000 population report notable accomplishments in the field of postwar planning.

In Detroit the City Plan Commission has prepared "A Six-Year and Reserve Capital Improvement Program" which includes projects contemplated by the Wayne County Board, Port of Detroit Commission, Huron-Clinton Metropolitan Authority, and the State Highway Department. The program takes account of probable availability of funds from current tax levies, to maintain the city's policy of financing capital improvements from current revenues. Many necessary improvements are in a "reserve group" because of limited capacity to finance them.

In Minneapolis the City Planning Commission in its "Program for Postwar Progress" recommends a regional approach to local problems and the creation of a state research agency to study opportunities for bettering conditions of present industries and establishing new industries based on resources of the region.

In Portland, Oregon, the city has established the Portland Area Postwar Development Committee. An executive committee and four subcommittees on economic, area planning, public relations, and work programming matters have been set up. The technical leadership for the economic committee is supplied by the Chamber of Commerce in coöperation with industrial, commercial, and labor organizations. Area planning will be largely under the City Plan Commission, with the aid of various city, state, and national agencies. Works programming will have the aid of city departments, the Chamber of Commerce, banks, organized industry and labor. The program will cover both public and private projects.

Following the appointment of a postwar planning committee in Indianapolis, Indiana, Mayor Robert H. Tyndall stated that "the biggest job of this administration, that of preparing the city to meet problems of the postwar era, is under way." Specific plans will be prepared for a new sewer system, new airport facilities, track elevation, and enlarged recreational accommodations, among other major undertakings.

The city of Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee, have a $75,000,000 program, described on page 460.

A capital work program planning committee has evolved in Rochester, New York, from the former "administration committee," which acted as a project committee for work relief. The revamped committee works closely with the City Council and the City Planning Commission. The city manager sits with the other officials on the committee, which holds its meetings in his office.

Postwar planning activities of various other large cities and many smaller ones were mentioned in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for June (p. 392) in connection with a survey of ninety-two council-manager municipalities made by the International City Managers' Association.

AMA Stresses Municipal Postwar Planning

The American Municipal Association is actively engaged in a program of aiding cities to formulate and execute postwar plans, in collaboration with the state leagues of municipalities. A special committee is preparing a detailed statement on planning to serve as a general guide to municipal officials. The Association is also coöperating with the American Society of Planning Officials and the state leagues in the organization of six-day conferences on municipal postwar planning in the various states. Furthermore, a handbook, *Progressive Steps in Community Planning,* prepared by the staff of the urban section of the National Resources Planning Board, is being published under the sponsorship of the AMA, the ASPO, the International City Managers' Association, and Public Administration Service; it is expressly designed to aid city officials to organize their own planning programs.

Federal Financing of Election Campaigns Proposed

Senator Carl A. Hatch of New Mexico, author of the Hatch Act restricting campaign funds and proscribing pernicious political activities by governmental officials and employees, is reported to be drafting proposed legislation for governmental financing of political campaigns for federal offices. According to an Associated Press dispatch of July 17, he is not satisfied with the present limitation on contributions and concurs in the view expressed by the Senate committee, headed by Senator McFarland of Arizona, which investigated the 1942 campaigns, that "despite state and federal laws the limitations placed on expenditures for campaign purposes have been largely ineffective." Senator Hatch indicated that the outlawing of all private donations may become necessary. He is quoted as saying:

"The people pay the costs of these campaigns in one way or another, anyhow, and the financing might as well be done directly out of the Treasury, where regulations can be enforced and the amount of expenditures limited."

An obstacle to having the Treasury pay the cost of campaigns for federal offices, according to the Senator, is the difficulty of separating those outlays from the costs relating to candidates for state offices, especially in states where the expenditures are made by one organization working for an entire ticket. He also recognized a problem of setting proper limits for different offices and districts, whether based on population or other considerations.

San Mateo Adopts Merit System

The citizens of San Mateo, California, have voted three to one for a charter amendment to establish a merit system for all city employees. The adoption of the city merit system follows the establishment of such a system for San Mateo County last year.

City Officials Organize in Atlanta

Thirty-one department heads of the government of Atlanta, Georgia, have organized an association to stimulate interdepartmental coöperation, learn more about the city's needs, and acquaint the public with the city's problems.

AMA Conference

The American Municipal Association will hold its twentieth annual conference October 27, 28, and 29 at the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago. A preconference session for officials of state leagues of municipalities will meet on October 26 at the Association's office, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Business, Government Cooperate in Plans for Corpus Christi

Community Concentrates on Test Project

SPEAKING at the National Planning Conference in Indianapolis May 1942, Charles S. Ascher described a long-range planning technique that the National Resources Planning Board was demonstrating in selected cities. This process undertook to help a city draw within a short time an outline plan for its over-all development.

So, we asked for it! Corpus Christi asked to be used as a guinea pig.

In July 1942, the City Planning Commission, the *Caller-Times,* the Chamber of Commerce, and the Mayor and City Council requested that the National Resources Planning Board designate Corpus Christi as one of the cities to be studied by the Board with a view to making recommendations which, if adopted and followed, would clarify and expedite the solution of problems anticipated by a growing city in the postwar period.

A technique devised under the direction of Robert B. Mitchell, Chief of the Urban Section of NRPB, was applied to the project. S. B. Zisman, planning technician, was assigned to Corpus Christi as the resident representative of the Board.

Because our people as well as the NRPB advisers believed that planning can be most soundly conceived by active participation of the many individuals and groups in the community, the project was inaugurated on that premise. The knowledge, good judgment, and experience of local people was used throughout the demonstration. Technicians and consultants were utilized to guide the planning process.

Local individuals and groups were encouraged to take the leadership in those phases with which they were directly concerned. Some of these local committees have met at least once a week for the past six months. Several have made their initial reports. Other groups are continuing their studies. All reports and studies were referred to the Planning Commission as the coördinating agency.

The Chamber of Commerce has provided the leadership in working out a plan for economic and industrial development. The work has been carried on by the Industrial Committee of the Chamber which, without changing its name, has been performing the functions of a postwar planning committee. It has been meeting regularly each week for more than six months, analyzing the area's resources, studying the needs of the region, and working out plans for demobilization and the postwar period. With the aid of an industrial technician of the National Resources Planning Board, over-all employment and production goals have been set up through 1950.

In order to deal with an important part of the work a subcommittee of the Industrial Committee was set up on employment planning and training. Representatives of the employment service, education, war training program, and community racial groups made up this committee. It also has been meeting regularly each week and has submitted its preliminary report on employment prospects. A second report recommending an industrial training program for the demobilization period and future industrial development is now in preparation and will soon be submitted to the Industrial Committee.

At the same time the Chamber is

asking business and industrial leaders to study future production goals, distribution marketing problems, etc. Reports from key men in each field of enterprise are being developed to be included in the plans. The first general report is nearly completed. Steps are being taken to organize further study. Briefs will be prepared for each industry and it is hoped to have each firm or business develop its own plans for the postwar period.

School Plans

The public school system was drawn into the project in its first stages. In our original conference with the superintendent of schools an immediate problem of redistricting the elementary schools was found. A technique was devised whereby the school children themselves marked on a map the location of their homes. A pilot study was conducted in one of the schools to test the procedure and correct mistakes. After this study was made the technique was applied to the remainder of the elementary schools and the junior and senior high schools as well. Within a short time the total school population was counted and located. When a master map of school distribution was made and presented to the School Board it immediately saw the necessity of planning a long-range school program. The President of the Board appointed a planning committee to make studies and present definite recommendations. This report has not yet been completed and technical aid will be necessary.

The Library Board has submitted its first report outlining its objectives and recommending policies and program for future development. This was done in broad terms and specific recommendations will come later.

The Corpus Christi Housing Authority undertook the study of both private and public housing. The executive director of the Housing Authority, who is also a member of the Planning Commission, furnished the leadership for this work. A comprehensive report is now being prepared which will present some definite recommendations.

The Council of Community Agencies, heading the section covering health and welfare, has completed its report on health. This indicates the policy for future development and has definite recommendations for the physical plant. The welfare report is expected shortly.

The Transportation Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, the city engineer, and the navigation engineer have met regularly and have outlined the transit goals toward which we should work. The NRPB furnished a consultant for several days to review the work done and to offer his views on future trends in transportation. The CAA was asked to check the airport plan to see if the proposals were sound. The highway system was studied by this same group which enlisted the services of the state highway engineer. These studies are being continued and should result in a program of coördinated effort.

A study of a bayfront development plan was inaugurated by the Architectural School of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. This work was not completed but some other group will finish the studies in order that the bayfront area can be developed as a unit. This presents a problem in which both private and public lands are involved.

The Real Estate Board has undertaken a study of sites for industrial locations, a method of land assembly, and a study of the tax structure.

A list of public works has been made and from this list a public works program will evolve. The city engineer and the city controller are preparing a six-year capital budget.

It should be clear that the program in Corpus Christi is a demonstration of coöperative planning by private enterprise and government so that progress of both private enterprise and necessary and desirable public works can be successfully coördinated.

A. C. Walker
Corpus Christi Planning Engineer

Phoenix Citizens Clean Up City, Win Army Praise

Phoenix, like the fabled bird from which the capital of Arizona took its name, has risen from the ashes—a revitalized city with a great majority of its citizens determined that it will be one of the best governed cities in the country.

It has had good government, bad government, and the indifferent kind. Too little of the first and too much of the latter. Any good government that lasted more than a year—since the inception of the council-manager plan back in 1914—established some sort of a record—for Phoenix.

Phoenicians were fed up with "one-year" government. The thing that hurt their pride was the sudden realization that they themselves were wholly responsible. Government, they decided, was good, bad, or indifferent according to the wishes of the citizens. Most wished for a good government but did little about it—until the U. S. Army Air Force training fields began to make their appearance. The Army decided that Phoenix had ideal all-year flying weather. The Army also decided that Phoenix vice conditions could not be tolerated.

This came as a terrible shock to Phoenix citizens, as proud of their climate and tourist attractions as all of Florida and California, but never before greatly disturbed about organized vice. The primrose path to the openly organized "district" was brightly illuminated by neon signs advertising "rooms." The "madams" and the "girls" regularly paid their fines to the city coffers each month.

That was pre-Pearl Harbor. From the airfields that sprang up all over the valley like the proverbial mushrooms came swarms of planes that filled the skies, and swarms of cadets and ground personnel that filled the city streets. Phoenix overnight had become a typical army camp town.

Typically enough, the Army was quite obstinate from the start about the district. It had to close and no ifs, ands, or buts. The word was passed and the madams obediently turned out the neon signs. But the venereal disease rate at Luke Field, largest single-engined advanced flying school in the world, continued to climb. Again the Army gave an edict and again was assured organized vice had been driven out. The field medical men presented proof that such was not the case.

So the Army declared a large section of the city surrounding the district out of bounds. The prostitutes relocated and reopened. The Federal Security Agency made a secret investigation and a public report that shocked the whole state. Then the entire city was declared out of bounds to all military establishments. The thousands of cadets and soldiers disappeared from the streets although the skies still were filled with roaring planes.

Phoenix ministers — Protestants, Catholics, Mormons and Hebrews—were aroused. So were Phoenix businessmen. Chamber of Commerce directors held a meeting which city commissioners attended. The Chamber directors laid their cards on the table. They made it plain they intended to get action—pronto, as they say in the Southwest. They demanded the replacement of the city manager, the chief of police, and the city clerk-magistrate, the three officials responsible for law enforcement. After a nearly all-night session, the City Commission agreed and at an extraordinary special meeting at noon the following day they fired the three officials and appointed three citizens mutually agreed upon the night before. In a few days vice squads had made such a thorough clean-up the city was reopened to Army personnel.

The reform lasted little less than a month. The majority bloc on the Commission broke its pledges, kicked out the three new appointees, recalled the city manager and city clerk previously fired, and appointed an acting police chief.

Volunteers Clean Up

Citizens were aroused and immediately formed the Citizens Good Government Council. There followed the most amazing campaign in the city's history. Through the churches and civic groups thousands of volunteer women campaign workers were enlisted. They persuaded thousands of other citizens to register. They circulated nominating petitions for two candidates for the commission, Bert Fleming, a minority commissioner, for re-election, and his running mate, Fred Wilson. The holdover minority commissioner, Floyd A. Ford, was pledged to join with them on their election to form a majority bloc. They were elected by an overwhelming majority and a month later when they took office they conducted a thorough house-cleaning.

Lots of cities have done that, Phoenix has done it before, but this time it is different. Phoenix is behind the Citizens Good Government Council and the Council is behind the good government. Council members attend all City Commission meetings. They stick their noses into every phase of the city government and they support every progressive move of the majority bloc in control. They backed the Commission in a plan to coördinate all agencies dealing with juvenile delinquency—delinquency had increased 63 per cent in 1942 over 1941. Coördination is being effected and the Commission has named Russell B. Jackson, former chief probation officer of the juvenile court as coördinator. Not only is the city as a whole pleased, but so is the Army.

As late as July 29, 1943, city officials held a joint meeting with military officers from the various fields. The military gave sincere praise for what has been accomplished and said that Phoenix now is one of the cleanest cities in the country—and most hospitable to the thousands of officers and enlisted men.

That means a lot to Phoenix. Army population far outnumbers civilian population. There are six big flying fields, several smaller military establishments and the huge desert training center west of the city where thousands upon thousands of crack troops are getting the toughest kind of training. Phoenix is the only place for them to go for recreation.

Phoenix is going to guard the reputation it is earning. It has learned the only way to beat a political machine is with a more powerful organization. It has that in the Citizens Good Government Council, which maintains a permanent office with W. J. B. Schimfessel, assistant manager of the Chamber of Commerce, as its executive secretary.

Far from resting on its laurels the Good Government Council is continuously attacking new problems as part of its sustained drive to make Phoenix the best governed city in the country.

With approval of the City Commission the Council is sponsoring a Community and Youth Activities Board of nine members representing labor, the Parks Department, schools, colored population, Mexican population, the Soldiers Center, and three members at large. The city has already approved a modest budget which will be supplemented by federal funds. An experienced commissioner and coördinator of youth activities has been engaged to run the program to combat an alarming increase in juvenile delinquency, disclosed by the Council's committee of eighteen appointed to study the problem.

In addition the Council has appointed working committees, already at their jobs in these fields: budget, transportation, aviation problems, governmental surveys, streets and paving, health and sanitation, civil service, fire prevention and water supply, parks and playgrounds.

Lawrence Andrews
Phoenix Republic and Gazette

British Mayor Shows Children How City Runs

The British too are having their troubles in practicing what they preach and fight for—democracy.

Here is the story of a small town mayor in Great Britain who is doing what he can about it, starting, as often advocated in the Review, with the youngsters. The story is from *Local Government Service,* the official journal of NALGO (National Association of Local Government Officers). Editor.

A visitor from Mars would surely think the English the queerest race on earth. He would see us fighting and dying for democracy; praises of self-government would assail him from every newspaper and radio. Yet, as he moved among the people, he would find few indeed who knew anything of the machinery of their vaunted democracy, and still fewer who exercised the right it gives them to govern themselves.

The lack of interest in popular government—reflected in a vote of only 35 per cent of the electorate at the last municipal election—has been worrying Mr. J. H. Round, mayor of Camberwell. Mr. Round is a tall, kindly man, the father of four children, who speaks in a quiet voice. "I feel," he told me the other day, "that the greatest hope for local government is to interest the coming generation."

Many of us feel the same. But for Mr. Round, recognition of a need means action to meet it. So, for the past year he has been receiving parties of Camberwell schoolchildren, twenty at a time, at the Town Hall, and telling them how their lives are affected by what goes on there.

The children are from twelve to seventeen years old. They are the sons and daughters of dockers, engineers' fitters, transport workers, and factory hands. They come from elementary, central, and secondary schools, and from clubs attached to churches and university settlements. Boys and girls come in equal numbers. . . .

The Mayor, whose talks are impromptu, first described the differences between local and central government. He spoke about London and the L.C.C. [London County Council]. He told the children how councillors are elected, and took them on an imaginary walk street by street through the borough, describing the work of the local authority. He explained committees, and how rates are raised and spent.

"If a man in Camberwell shares a house with a rateable value of £20," he said, "this is what we charge him each week for our services. For the collection of household refuse—1¾d. *You* would want 2d. for carrying a dustbin just a little way, wouldn't you? Well, for 1¾d. we take away your rubbish, ship it down the canal, and dump it on a marsh down the river.

"Cleaning of streets would cost this man one-third of a penny a week,

(Continued on Page 472)

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Wisconsin Moves to Permit County Reorganization

Proposed Amendment Looks to Sweeping Changes

THE 1943 session of the Wisconsin legislature approved the so-called Daugs resolution changing the state's constitution to relieve Wisconsin counties of the present uniform county government restriction. The proposed amendment must be passed by the next legislature, meeting in 1945, before its submission to the voters for final adoption.

The amendment (1) provides for removal of the provision that all Wisconsin counties must have the same form of government regardless of their many differences in population, geography, resources, etc.; (2) gives the legislature power to prescribe optional forms of government from which counties would be permitted to choose by popular vote the type best suited to their needs; and (3) permits appointment—or abolition—of certain county officers, such as sheriff, coroner, and register of deeds, now elected by popular vote.

The Daugs resolution, which was strongly supported by the Wisconsin League of Women Voters and other civic groups, was adopted once before by the legislature but was permitted to die in the subsequent session.

New York City Sheriff Issues Report

The Office of Sheriff of the City of New York has issued its first annual report, a forty-page booklet describing the reorganization, operations, and economies effected during 1942. As previously reported in this REVIEW,[1] the city sheriff, appointed under provisions of the merit system, now replaces the former county sheriffs elected in each of New York City's five counties.

The first duty of the new sheriff, John J. McCloskey, Jr., chosen from 335 applicants, was that of appointing his staff. Only one employee, a telephone operator, had civil service status and hence was available from the staffs of the five county sheriff offices. The sheriff recruited from New York City's Department of Investigation, from the eligible list for sheriff, from the Police Department list, from special lists set up for the sheriff's office, and from appropriate lists for clerical personnel.

Thirty-five per cent of the deputy sheriffs are lawyers. Being a young organization with young employees, and maintaining a policy of requesting no draft deferments, the office is faced with the problem of losing men to the armed forces. Twelve already have entered military service.

Reorganization included establishment of chief deputy sheriffs in each of the five counties, a staff of administrative assistants to the sheriff, and offices of counsel, chief accountant, and chief clerk. The chief deputy sheriff of New York County is designated "under sheriff."

Operating expenses have been reduced 50 per cent resulting in a saving of approximately $300,000 per year. This economy was effected by reducing the number of persons on the payroll from 220 to 155. Two of the civil jails were closed, and more were scheduled for closing, but transportation problems arising from the war temporarily interrupted this development. A new central civil jail is planned after the war.

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[1] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1942, p. 47.

To improve administration of the Office, nine bills were drafted and submitted to the 1943 session of the state legislature. All were adopted by the legislature, and seven have been signed by the Governor.

The Office maintains a system of periodic reports of activity, and last year the administrative staff delivered a series of lectures on the duties of deputy sheriffs. Minutes of the lectures have become the deputies' textbook. Further lectures are planned. Informal conferences for purposes of training and coördination are held at frequent intervals.

The report concludes with the observation that, although substantial progress has been achieved in the struggle for better government, much remains to be accomplished.

Shelby County, Tenn., Plans Postwar Program with Memphis

Shelby County, Tennessee, and the city of Memphis are developing joint plans for a $75,000,000 present and postwar public improvement program. The program includes sixteen slum-clearance projects, new schools, libraries, medical clinics, street improvements including six-lane highways at the city's gateways, flood control, and dock and wharf improvements. Some portions of the work will begin shortly, but a greater part must necessarily be postponed until wartime priorities on materials are lifted.

Ohio Enacts County Welfare Law

The Ohio state legislature, after a bitter struggle, has enacted a law[1] permitting counties to consolidate their welfare activities by establishing county welfare departments. It becomes effective September 9, 1943, although no welfare department may be organized before January 1, 1944.

Under the law a welfare department can be established in a county only by unanimous action of the commissioners. All employees other than the director must be under the classified civil service. Appointments are to be made by the director and superintendents of any institutions, but they can appoint only residents of the county. There may be an unpaid advisory board appointed by the county commissioners.

Atlanta Journal Stresses Need for City-County Consolidation

According to an article published recently in the *Atlanta Journal,* the need for city-county consolidation remains uppermost in the minds of civic leaders in Atlanta. In response to a questionnaire sent out by the Chamber of Commerce regarding postwar plans, several replies emphasized the necessity of some kind of merger or consolidation of city and county governments. One person wrote: "There is absolutely no need for two school systems, two police departments, two health departments, and two court systems in Atlanta. I believe the great majority of our taxpayers would welcome such a change, although most of the city and county jobholders would object."

City-County Park Merger Considered in Toledo

The Toledo City Journal, official publication of the city of Toledo, Ohio, has proposed that first steps in city-county consolidation be undertaken by merger of the two park systems. Joint tuberculosis control, venereal disease control, poor relief, or perhaps even general city-county consolidation could follow as a natural development at a later time.

The Metropolitan Park Board, gov-

(Continued on Page 471)

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[1] Amended Substitute House Bill No. 140.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

War Fails to Depress Property Tax Collections

Downward Delinquency Trend Continued in 1942

CONTRARY to expectations in some quarters, war influences during 1942 failed to operate to depress current collections of ad valorem property taxes. There was a slight decline in the combined collection of current and back taxes, but total collections none the less remained in excess of the year's levy in the average city.

These are among the conclusions shown in the eleventh annual study of property tax delinquency and collection of Dr. Frederick L. Bird.[1]

The median year-end delinquency on current tax levies dropped from 6.8 per cent for 1941 to 6.0 per cent for 1942 for 150 cities of over 50,000 population. In 1930 the ratio had been 10.2 per cent, raised to 26.4 per cent in 1933, but down to 9.3 per cent by 1939. Of the 150 cities, 128 had lower ratios in 1942 than in 1941, two were unchanged, and but twenty had higher ratios. Four cities—San Jose, Fresno, and San Francisco, California, and Mobile, Alabama—had 1942 delinquency ratios of 1 per cent or less.

For a group of 100 cities, combined current and delinquent tax collections showed a slight decline. The median was 100.5 per cent of the year's levy, as compared with 101.7 per cent for 1941. The range was from a low of 87.0 per cent to a high of 122.2 per cent, whereas in 1941 the extremes were respectively 83.4 per cent and 116.9 per cent. Only ten of the group, however, had 1942 total collections in excess of 105 per cent, as compared with 14 in 1941.

Noting that slow Congressional action on the 1942 tax bill, and such factors as increased income and purchasing power, reduction in real estate vacancies, etc., played a part in continuing in 1942 the downward delinquency trend evident since 1934, Dr. Bird says:

> The prospect that property tax collections will continue satisfactory . . . does not mean that cities have no major fiscal problems in 1943. Budgets that originally appeared to be in balance will be difficult to keep under control for various reasons, among them the higher cost of supplies, pressure for higher wages and cost of living bonuses, a falling off in some types of miscellaneous revenue, and uncertain trends in various locally-shared state taxes. Probably the biggest hazard to financial stability is the demand for local tax reduction, regardless of how achieved, at a time when budgets should be making full allowance for uncertainties in tax yields and for deferred maintenance. Under prevailing circumstances, the trend of tax delinquency is less revealing of municipal financial prospects than the study of fiscal policies and plans.

Committee Recommends New York City Fiscal Reforms

A so-called Committee of Fifteen[1] has drawn a set of recommendations for the rehabilitation of New York

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[1] *The Trend of Tax Delinquency: 1930-42. Cities of over 50,000 Population.* By Frederick L. Bird. Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., New York City.

[1] Paul Windels, chairman, George L. Allin, Henry Bruere, Louis I. Dublin, Maskell E. Fox, Frederick E. Hasler, Arthur A. Johnson, John Lowry, Very Rev. Msgr. Edward Roberts Moore, William A. Pendergast, J. Barstow Smull, David L. Tilly, Delos Walker, Leo Wolman, and John A. Zellers. Jones W. Mersereau is secretary.

City's economy which has been widely hailed as striking close to the root of many of the city's fiscal difficulties.

Pointing out that the city is faced, on the one hand, with statutory and constitutional restrictions on the amount and kinds of revenues it can raise, and, on the other, with legislative mandates for certain expenditures, often at stipulated amounts, the Committee frankly admits that inflation of the city's taxable valuation is under the circumstances unavoidable and asks that the state assume its obligation either to act itself or to give the city authority to do so.

The recommendations of the Committee are summarized below:

1. A self-sustaining transit fare. Estimated to reduce debt service budget by $37,000,000 annually, and to permit improvement in subway service. Legislative authority needed.

2. Assumption by state of cost of certain state functions now financed by city, including higher courts, county offices, and Board of Elections, now amounting to about $14,000,000 annually. (Similar to recommendation of Mayor F. H. LaGuardia in his 1943 budget message.)

3. Release so far as practicable from other mandatory state legislation, as non-teaching and non-administrative personnel in school system. (Again, similar to Mayor LaGuardia's budget recommendation.)

4. "A fairer allocation of New York City's share of state taxes by methods heretofore proposed, which will assure to it a larger income and at the same time protect it against substantial fluctuations due to business conditions."

5. Elimination of some municipal services until "our expenditures are brought within our income based on just and proper tax assessments."

6. No new capital outlays unless and until accompanied by public statement of estimated annual operating cost, debt service, and means of financing.

7. "A capital debt geared to the actual value of real estate rather than to the present fictitious assessed valuations."

Tennessee Poll Tax Repeal Held Invalid

The Tennessee Supreme Court, in a three-to-two decision handed down on July 3, declared unconstitutional the recently enacted poll tax repeal law.[1] This law had been passed by the Tennessee legislature after a seven-year fight for repeal led by the newspapers of the state and labor, civic, and other organizations. The adverse decision by the court is a severe blow to those who have sought the law's repeal.

The Tennessee constitution of 1870 provides that "All male citizens . . . over the age of twenty-one years, except such persons as may be exempted by law on account of age or other infirmity, shall be liable to a poll tax. . . ." A further provision states that a voter must furnish "satisfactory evidence that he has paid the poll tax assessed against him" before being allowed to vote. In the first session following adoption of the constitution of 1870, the legislature passed a law carrying out this constitutional mandate. The repeal of this law was the measure under review by the court.

The supporters of the repeal measure conceded that the provision making persons liable for a poll tax is mandatory but contended that it was not self-executing and that if the legislature refused to execute the mandate or, having acted, reconsidered and repealed the measure carrying out the constitutional mandate, the court is without power to act.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1943, p. 199.

The court in its majority opinion conceded that the constitutional provision making citizens liable for the payment of a poll tax, while mandatory, was not self-executing. Consequently, had the legislature disregarded the mandate the courts would have been without authority to enforce performance. The court held, however, that "when the constitutional command has been carried into execution, and incorporated into operative law, the courts, which may not say shall, have the authority and solemn obligation to say shall not. The power of the courts to declare void and restrain an affirmative act which contravenes and nullifies the higher law is beyond question in this jurisdiction."

The Chief Justice in his dissenting opinion pointed out that the decision by the court was not supported by any authority and that it was unsound in principle. The Chief Justice further stated that: "If a constitutional provision requires the support of a statute in order to operate, it cannot function when that support is withdrawn—when the statute is repealed. The legislature has power to repeal any statute unless restrained by some limitation of the constitution such as the prohibition against any law impairing the obligation of contract. No such interdiction is suggested as applicable here.

"Stripped of its eloquence and ethics, the substance of the majority opinion is that obedience to a mandate of the constitution by one legislature introduces into that instrument a warrant to this court to compel obedience to the mandate by a subsequent legislature. But the legislature cannot amend the constitution nor can it bind future legislatures."

As a result of the decision, it now seems that the only method by which the poll tax can be removed in Tennessee is through a constitutional amendment. This is not an easy task. The complicated procedure for amending the constitution has successfully prevented any change in that instrument since its adoption in 1870. It is safe to assume, however, that the people of Tennessee will continue their fight for repeal of the poll tax.

M. H. Satterfield
Tennessee Valley Authority

Disposition of State Surpluses Analyzed

An examination of legislative measures enacted or proposed this year and last with regard to state surpluses leads to the conclusion that most states "seek to combine a cautious foresight toward future perils with the urge to provide relief to the taxpayer or to improve state services," according to a survey of state revenue trends by the Federation of Tax Administrators.

Most states have adopted laws providing for establishment of reserve funds, either for postwar purposes or as a "cushion" against anticipated revenue declines. Others have used parts of their surpluses to raise salaries, retire debts, or increase aid to municipalities in addition to setting up reserve funds for postwar use. A few states have reduced taxes, mainly by increasing income tax exemptions or by reducing retail sales taxes, and two—South Dakota and West Virginia—have repealed their income taxes outright.

Following are brief examples of the use of surpluses in individual states and of measures taken or proposed to relieve the surpluses:

Arkansas: Legislature reported to have "dipped so deeply into the general revenue fund—which had a $1,100,000 surplus in January—that the current surplus may be wiped out before the legislature meets in 1945." The legislature appropriated $325,000 for increases in teachers' salaries and $100,000 for increased aid to the state medical school; $148,000 in gasoline and oil inspection fees were transferred from the general fund to counties.

California: California had an $80,000,000 general surplus in March, and anticipates a surplus of $100,000,000 by midsummer with a monthly increase of about $2,900,000. The 1943 legislature enacted a $65,000,000 tax reduction program which, among other things, cut the sales tax rate from 3 to 2½ per cent, a biennial reduction of $28,000,000 in revenues; granted corporation income and franchise taxpayers a 15 per cent war credit, or a reduction of $10,400,000; increased personal income tax exemptions and granted other exemptions for a reduction of $27,000,000 in revenues. Enacted also were measures freezing $41,000,000 into a war catastrophe reserve and a bond redemption fund, and earmarking $43,000,000 for postwar reconstruction work.

Illinois: Legislature authorized investment of $60,000,000 surplus, as of January 1943, in war bonds and other U. S. securities.

Iowa: Anticipates a surplus of $14,000,000 by June 30. Nearly $3,000,000 has been frozen for postwar reconstruction. State income payments due in 1943 and 1944 were reduced by 50 per cent this year by the legislature.

Michigan: Surplus of $50,000,000 expected by July 1. Law to set up postwar reserve fund of $50,000,000 adopted in February, and $20,000,000 of the existing surplus was earmarked for the purpose. State also appropriated $8,000,000 for a postwar state building program.

New York: $69,000,000 surplus on April 1, end of nine months of the 1943 fiscal year, with surplus of $100,000,000 estimated by July 1. The legislature this year continued for the second year a 25 per cent reduction in state income tax payments, increased tax exemptions, and allowed deductions for medical expenses, insurance premiums, and dependency. Further pay increases were granted state employees. Funds were provided for planning and executing postwar programs.

North Carolina: $31,000,000 surplus in January. Under 1943 state law a postwar reserve fund was set up to which $20,000,000 of surplus was transferred. Further transfers will be made. Flat pay raises of $25 a month, expected to total more than $6,000,000, were granted school teachers for next two years.

Oregon: $12,000,000 surplus estimated for July 1, resulting from increases in income and excise taxes. Surplus will be left after $10,000,000 is applied toward canceling state property levies and elementary school taxes, and $5,000,000 is used to set up a school support fund to offset special property levies in school districts. The legislature reduced taxes on this year's income, both corporation excise and personal, by 30 to 40 per cent.

Tennessee: $2,860,000 general fund surplus estimated for June 20. A "cushion" of $7,700,000 in state sinking fund was established to maintain debt retirement program.

Virginia: $18,600,000 unencumbered general fund surplus anticipated by June 30. Legislature authorized the purchase of federal securities in a move to liquidate the state debt of $18,000,000.

Washington: $35,000,000 surplus in March. Legislature granted 30 per cent pay raises to school teachers and, among other things, made several million dollars available to local governmental units to solve war-brought problems.

West Virginia: $10,000,000 surplus expected by the end of the current biennium June 30. Legislature, however, has cut revenues for the next biennium, including repeal of the state personal income tax law.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Irish Dail Elected by P. R.

Referenda in Two Cities Vacancies in Cambridge

ON JUNE 22 the Dail Eireann of Southern Ireland (Eire) was elected by the Hare system of proportional representation for the ninth time. Eire is the one country which uses this best form of P. R., similar to that used in American P. R. cities, for all its elections, national and local. First prescribed by the British Parliament, it was continued voluntarily by the Irishmen themselves and incorporated in the constitutions of the Irish Free State and its successor, Eire.

The election deprived Prime Minister Eamonn DeValera and his Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny) party of the absolute parliamentary majority they had enjoyed, except for one year, for the last ten years. The leading opposition party, William T. Cosgrave's Fine Gael (United Ireland), lost still more heavily, however, and Mr. DeValera is carrying on the government with the cooperation of minor party members and independents.

In general the trend in Ireland under P. R. had been in the direction of a two-party system, but once before, in June 1927, the voters showed their dissatisfaction with certain policies of both the major parties by swinging over to various minorities. Both parties promptly modified their policies and when another election was held the following September there was a strong trend back to the two strongest groups. The ability under P. R. to obtain representation in small parties as easily as in large ones has proved an effective check on the major parties in keeping them close to popular wishes.

Economic Issues Foremost

This time the dissatisfaction seems to have been caused largely by domestic economic problems growing out of the war.

Food shortages, belated price fixing, and wage freezing policies were particularly under attack and caused many industrial workers and farmers to elect candidates of their own instead of staying with the major parties. The Labour party nearly doubled its parliamentary delegation and the Farmers' party reappeared as a strong political unit. Labour gained chiefly at the expense of Fianna Fail, and the Farmers, who were particularly strong in West Ireland, at the expense of Fine Gael. Many of the new minority members are content to have Mr. DeValera continue as Prime Minister, but he will have to pay more attention to their ideas on domestic issues than he would have if he had obtained the absolute majority for which he asked.

The government's neutrality policy was obviously popular, as only one candidate out of a total of 355 declared against it. Incidentally that one, James Dillon, was elected as an independent minority representative in County Monaghan.

Leaders Returned

A notable practical advantage of P. R. was illustrated again when the principal leaders of all parties were reelected. These included Prime Minister DeValera and most of his cabinet members, Mr. Cosgrave, and William Norton, leader of the Labour party. The minority representation in each district makes unlikely the defeat of outstanding leaders which so often characterizes majority elections, as in the famous defeats of Senator Norris for the United States Senate, Prime Minister Mackenzie King in Canada, Asquith in England, Smuts in South Africa, and Venizelos in Greece. Mr. Cosgrave's party was so far reduced below the strength it had when it held power some years ago, however, that some of his former cabinet ministers were defeated.

There were several well known father and son candidates elected—William S. Cosgrave, Sr. and Jr.; James Larkin, Sr. and Jr., Labour; and Alfred Byrne, Sr. and Jr., independents. The elder Mr. Byrne is a former Lord Mayor of Dublin, a post to which the city council has just elected a Labour man for the first time.[1]

Election Orderly and Well Attended

An Associated Press dispatch referred to June 22 as "one of the most peaceful voting days in the country's history." This recalls the tribute of the Reverend Canon Luce, professor of moral philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin: "P. R. has been a healing force in our midst. Old political feuds are dying; public spirit is replacing faction. Our elections are well conducted. The voice of reason is heard, and the gun is silent. P. R. deserves much of the credit; for P. R. produces contented and loyal minorities, whereas the other system breeds muzzled, sullen, discontented minorities, predisposed to doctrines of violence. P. R. has been a unifying force and unity is strength."

The peace of election day was not due to lack of interest. More than 70 per cent of the 1,800,000 electorate turned out to vote in spite of the difficulties of wartime transportation and the total vote was greater than in the previous election five years ago. "Because of a ban on gasoline," the Associated Press reported, "voters were taken to the polls in every type of horse-drawn vehicle, including old-time coaches that had been off the roads for fifty years."

The Irish Consulate in New York City supplied the following summary figures of the results, with those of the last previous election for comparison:

DAIL EIREANN ELECTIONS OF 1943 AND 1938

	First-Choice Votes[a]		Seats Won[a]	
Party	1943	1938	1943	1938
Fianna Fail	555,113 (42%+)	667,996 (52%—)	67 (49%—)	77 (56%—)
Fine Gael	297,494 (23%—)	428,633 (33%+)	32 (23%+)	45 (33%—)
Labour	208,816 (16%—)	129,757 (10%+)	17 (12%+)	9 (7%—)
Farmer	141,157 (11%—)	———	14 (10%+)[b]	———
Independents	116,632 (9%—)	60,680 (5%—)	8 (6%—)	7 (5%+)[c]
Total	1,319,212	1,287,066	138	138

[a] The small discrepancies between first-choice percentages and seat percentages are explained partly by the small unrepresented remainder in each of the numerous districts and partly by crossing of party lines in the voters' expressions of preferences.

[b] There were really two farmer groups, a Farmer party which elected six and a Small Farmer party (Clan na Talmhan) which elected eight. In some of the accounts five of the Farmer members are listed as independents.

[c] Two of these are sometimes classified as Farmer members.

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[1] The Lord Mayor is not the chief executive, but the president of the Council. Dublin, like Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Dun Laoghaire, has a municipal manager appointed by the P. R. Council as in Cincinnati and some other American cities.

We are indebted to Father Edward Dowling, S.J., of *The Queen's Work,* St. Louis, for the following summary of the results of Ireland's Dail Eireann elections since the founding of the Free State, showing the gradual changes in representation under P. R. corresponding to the changes in public sentiment instead of the violent "landslide" oscillations which so frequently characterize majority elections:

Party Standings in Dail Elections

	1922	1923	1927 June	1927 Sept.	1932	1933	1937[a]	1938	1943
Pro-Treaty Sinn Fein	58								
Cumann na nGaedhael		60	47	62	57				
Fine Gael						48	48	45	32
Farmers	17	15	11	6	4			2	14
Independents[b]	10	16	16	12	11	8	8	5	8
National League[c]			8	2					
Center						11			
Independent Labour		1		1	2	1			
Labour	17	14	22	13	7	8	13	9	17
Fianna Fail			44	57	72	77	69	77	67
Anti-Treaty Sinn Fein[d]	36	44	5						

[a] Number of members reduced by 1935 revision from 153 to 138.
[b] Includes ex-Unionists, Redmonites, and genuine independents.
[c] Formed by Captain William Redmond from his father's old followers.
[d] Abstained from participating in Dail.

Long Beach Petition Filed

The first step necessary for the submission of P. R. and the city manager plan in Long Beach, Long Island, this November has been successfully completed. A petition requesting the necessary charter amendment was circulated by the Long Beach Citizens Union and filed with the City Clerk on July 1. The latter has certified that he found 546 valid signatures of registered voters on the petition, whereas only 408 were needed to make up 10 per cent of the last gubernatorial vote in the city and bring the amendment officially before the City Council.

If the Council does not put the question on the ballot voluntarily within two months from the date of filing—as it is clear it has no intention of doing—a second 5 per cent petition, with different signatures, can force the question onto the ballot. The second petition for this purpose is now in circulation.

It seems probable that a court fight will be necessary to force the city officials to take the steps for submission required in the city home rule law. The City Clerk, in certifying that the first petition contained sufficient valid signatures properly authenticated, nevertheless informed the Council that he regarded the petition as invalid. The city administration has developed theories as to the legality of the petition's substance, although it is similar to the petition which initiated the present P. R.–manager government of the city of Yonkers.

For the sake of simplicity the Long Beach Citizens Union abandoned its original idea, explained in this department for June, of presenting a proposed charter commission to the voters along with the P. R.–manager amendment. Nevertheless there will be a charter commission proposal on the ballot. In an effort to sidetrack the Citizens Union amendment, the City Council has put forward a proposal to elect a charter commission of fifteen, nine members to be chosen by districts and six by plurality vote at large. The Citizens Union has decided not to try to capture the commission but instead to oppose its creation. The district plan of election would be likely to give unrepresentative results and a charter commission in the wrong hands would be worse than useless.

Yonkers to Vote on P. R. Changes

At the same time that the voters of Yonkers, New York, elect their third P. R. City Council on November 2, they will vote on two questions which will affect the method of counting the P. R. ballots:

1. A proposed change in the election quota from the present "fixed quota" to a quota calculated each time from the number of ballots cast and the number of members to be elected.
2. A proposal to elect the mayor (president of the Council under the city manager plan) and the vice-mayor by continuing the count of the Council ballots to determine the majority choice of the voters.

These proposals were prepared, under instructions from the Council, by a competent charter commission, headed by Philip H. Cornick of the Institute of Public Administration, appointed by the Council last October. The Council adopted certain minor proposals of the commission and referred these two important matters to the voters under the mandatory referendum provisions of the city home rule law.

A New Quota Rule

Yonkers' present Council consists of five members. The number was not fixed in the charter but resulted from a provision which fixed the quota sufficient for election at 10,000 votes and made the number of members dependent on the number of quotas. A total valid vote between 20,000 and 40,000 under the present rule would result in a Council of three, a vote between 40,000 and 60,000 in a Council of five, a vote between 60,000 and 80,000 in a Council of seven, and so on.

Under the new proposal the Council will still be variable in size—five members for any valid vote less than 50,000, seven members for a vote between 50,000 and 80,000, and nine members for 80,000 or more. The election quota will no longer be fixed in advance, however, but will be calculated from the total valid votes cast as in most other P. R. communities.

The quota rule proposal will give the same results as in all the other American P. R. cities except New York, but its wording is entirely new and different, since the commission wished to emphasize the fact that it would assure a majority of the seats to any majority of the voters. It reads:

> The quota of votes sufficient to elect a councilman shall be fixed by dividing the smallest number constituting a majority of the valid ballots, by the smallest number constituting a majority of the councilmen to be elected, giving the value of one to any fraction in the result.

This definition is only proper when an uneven number is to be elected.

It is proposed that this new quota be put into effect this fall, for the count of the P. R. ballots cast the same day as the vote on its adoption.

Election of Mayor

The charter commission was under instructions to provide for a direct election of the mayor. It did so by providing for a second count of the P. R. ballots for Council according to the Hare system of majority preferential voting. This system is sure to elect as mayor any councilman who is preferred by a majority of the voters to each of the other councilmen.

The commission also proposed that the runner-up in this mayoralty count, who would often be the leader of the opposition, be the vice-mayor. This would fit in well with the coöperative idea, which P. R. promotes, of giving all elements of the citizenry an important share in the government.

Yonkers council vacancies are filled by recounts of the P. R. council ballots. In case of a vacancy in the mayoralty the commission proposed, first, a regular council vacancy recount (of the ballots which elected the mayor to the Council together with the ballots which did not elect anyone) to fill the vacating mayor's place on the Council; and then a recount of all the ballots to determine which member of the revised Council is preferred for leadership in it by a majority of the voters.

All of these provisions relating to the mayor and the vice-mayor are included in the same proposition.

Vacancy Recounts in Cambridge

The second, third, and fourth recounts of P. R. ballots ever held in this country to fill vacancies in public office took place in June in Cambridge, Massachusetts; the first having been held in Yonkers last year.

Under the Massachusetts "Plan E" law any vacancy in a city council or school committee elected by P. R. is filled by a recount of the particular ballots by which the vacating member was elected, to determine the next choice of his constituency. This rule was extended by this year's legislature to temporary military vacancies, thanks to the vigilance of Representative A. John Serino, Cambridge Republican, who secured an amendment of a bill which provided for the filling of such vacancies in general by Council appointment.

The persons chosen to fill military vacancies serve for the remainder of the unexpired term or until the absent member returns if he returns earlier. In the case of a Council position the substitute and the absent member divide the salary evenly between them. School committeemen are unpaid.

The new law was promptly applied in Cambridge, with results which brought considerable satisfaction. Sergeant Edward A. Crane, independent Democrat elected to the Council on the "Plan E Committee" ticket in 1941, was replaced by Francis P. Scully, an able, non-political businessman on the same ticket. In the first School Committee recount Major Ralph W. Robart, elected on the "Plan E" ticket, was replaced by Reverend Frank E. Duddy, who ran on the same ticket. Lieutenant William F. Brooks, Democrat, was replaced on the School Committee by Mrs. Margaret M. Kelleher, Democrat. Mrs. Kelleher has joined forces with the three Plan E members of the School Committee (the Mayor, ex-officio, and two members out of six elected to the committee) to bring about certain changes in school policy for which there had been a considerable demand.

The *Boston Herald* of June 22 commented on the advantages of this method of consulting the voters to fill vacancies as compared to a fresh election: "The notable point about the filling of these vacancies is that the total expense is only about $50. No special election is held. It was necessary to employ one or two extra helpers for the examination of the vote in the regular election. . . . The system sounds complicated but it works well. . . . Plan E is proved once more to be a smooth-running machine. It saves money and time and fills vacances without any political hullabaloo."

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

The City. Its Growth — Its Decay — Its Future. By Eliel Saarinen. New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1943. xvi, 380 pp. $3.50.

Many citizens are making a contribution to their cities without any pecuniary recompense by acting as members of city planning commissions. This is an unusual form of citizen activity for though generally in the hands of laymen such commissions have official backing. This book should be read by all who are rendering that service.

Saarinen is an artist-creator talking about his medium, architecture, in its broad aspects. He realizes that the business of "building" a city is not a matter of the intellect and the slide-rule; it is a matter of one's own "deep self." You are sensitive or you are not. If you are and you serve on a planning commission you help a San Francisco Civic Center come into existence. If you are not, then you help produce that of Milwaukee.

To be sensitive you must be integrated, as Harry Emerson Fosdick points out. That is the explanation of Radio City. Each office in it corresponds to the separate cell of a sponge; the only "cooperation" between the cells of a sponge is that one tacks his cell to that of his "neighbor," but within each cell is a "rugged individualist" living his own self-centered life. That is why sensitive people who see Radio City and who know neither biology nor architecture nevertheless feel a sense of being in the presence of a low form of life though they may not be able to put their feeling into words. This book gives them the words.

Only an unintegrated age could conceive of a such a building and only such an age would be unaware that it will tell the story of its spiritual dimness to the ages to come as the Parthenon tells of the organic unity of the Greek soul.

A week after this book is read every word will be forgotten, even such terms as "organic decentralization." For it is as formless as the mists that rising from the surface of streams gave birth to the myth of the sylph. But like the mist it is penetrating and you are aware through reading it that the juxtaposition of the green ribbon of the Chicago Lake Front to blighted areas and noisome slums has not just "happened"; that contrast is as completely a key to "Chicago" as a state of mind as his thumb-print is to an individual.

On that Lake Front to the north of the North Link Bridge is a tower surmounted by expensive and utterly useless buttresses. Its design was chosen by its owner over that of Saarinen. Why? The real reason was hidden from the consciousness of the man who made the decision. Its trumpery but outwardly impressive form is his own photograph. At the time some of us were sorry that Saarinen was turned down. Now we are not. His design was a cry in the night to sleeping men. His book is a cry to some who are awake. His tower will yet be built and every reading of his book will add to that assurance, for only those with integrated souls will read beyond the second page. Those who do will read to the end and go forth as builders of cities suited to the souls of free Americans who have shaken off the fear of insecurity which led so many to exploit others to get rich, as men who because they have lost fear will express in their buildings and their city plans Walt Whitman's "dear love of comrades."

Walter J. Millard

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Accounting for Expenditures in Pensacola, Florida. By Charles H. Walker. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1943. 8 pp. 35 cents.

Administration

Guide to Municipal Functional Organization Charts—Their Purpose, Construction, and Uses. Prepared for the Mayor's Committee on Simplification of Procedures. New York City, Division of Training, 1943. xv, 64 pp. 50 cents.

Regulatory Administration. An Exploratory Study. Edited by George A. Graham and Henry Reining, Jr. New York City, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1943. $2.75.

Blighted Areas

American Cities After the War — A Plan for the Elimination of Blighted Areas. (Preliminary Report No. 1 of the Committee on Post-War Planning.) By Walter J. Mattison. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1943. 19 pp. $2.

Budgets

State Budget for 1944 and 1945. Biennial and Annual Budgets Presented to 1943 Legislatures. By V. J. Wyckoff etc. Washington, D, C., Division of State and Local Government, Bureau of the Census, 1943. 15 pp.

Codification of Ordinances

Latest Codified Ordinances of Cities over 100,000 Population and Selected Smaller Cities. Compiled by M. Margaret Kehl. New York City, Municipal Reference Library, 1943. 5 pp.

Constitutions

Organization Manual for the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1943. By Martin L. Faust. St. Louis, State-Wide Committee for the Revision of the Missouri Constitution, 1943. 63 pp.

Democracy

Democracy, Efficiency, Stability. By Arthur C. Millspaugh. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1942. x, 522 pp. $4.

The Democratic Tradition in America. Edited by Colonel Clayton E. Wheat. Boston, Ginn and Company, $2.

Fire Prevention

Fires Fight for the Axis. Fire Prevention Week (Oct. 3-9) Handbook. Boston, National Fire Protection Association, 1943. 16 pp.

Taxation and Finance

At Long Last Pay-As-You-Go. By Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1943. 4 pp. 25 cents.

City Expenditure in 1941. City Debt and City Sinking and Trust Funds in 1941. City-Area Finances in 1941. Washington, D. C., Division of State and Local Government, Bureau of the Census, 1943. 33, 44, and 19 pp. respectively.

Financial Statistics of Counties: 1941 (Final Report). By Wylie Kilpatrick. Washington, D. C., Division of State and Local Government, Bureau of the Census, 1943. vi, 90 pp.

Trend of Tax Delinquency, 1930-1942. Cities of over $50,000 Population.[1] By Frederick L. Bird. New York City, Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, 1943. 34 pp. $2.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from Page 460)

erning a county system, has jurisdiction over approximately 1,800 acres including eight major parks. The Toledo system has jurisdiction over approximately 1,500 acres including nine large parks. Although both are operated in a highly efficient manner, the *Journal* believes substantial savings could be effected through elimination of some overhead expenditures. Furthermore, it believes a unified system would be more attractive to private donors.

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[1] For a review of this volume see p. 461 this issue.

City-County Health Department Succeeds in Florida

Six months' successful operation of a health department serving the entire county, including the cities of Coral Gables, Miami, and Miami Beach, have been completed in Dade County, Florida. The population of the county totals about 270,000. Previously each of the cities, as well as the county, had its own health unit, and there was much overlapping of work. Where formerly each city and the county had a dairy inspector now one inspector handles this activity. Duplication has been eliminated also with regard to school doctors and nurses.

At present the cities transfer to the county the amounts provided in their health department budgets. Beginning in October, however, the county will furnish all funds for health work.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from Page 458)

Sewers and drains—that includes all your bath and washing up water—1½d. Your dad wouldn't like to clean out an earth closet on Saturday afternoons, would he, instead of going to a football match?

"Libraries cost him ½d. a week. For this, a family of five could have ten books out at once. Civil defence—wardens, ambulances, gas masks, rescue parties—cost him 2d.

"Education costs him 6½d., however many children he may have. The fire service costs him ¾d., and parks and open spaces even less than that." . . .

When Mr. Round had spoken for forty minutes, the children asked questions: why were there different kinds of lighting in adjoining streets; why do burial charges vary; do you have to apply to Parliament before you build a house? . . .

Next came the council meeting. The boys sat in the gallery overlooking an oak-panelled hall. The civic arms gleamed above the Mayor's table. A mace bearer, followed by the town clerk in wig and gown and the Mayor wearing his golden chain, advanced over a crimson carpet. The children loved the bright colors. Perhaps it is what they will remember best.

Except the town-hall lift! That was the star turn of the evening. The boys clustered about its rails, longingly fingered its buttons, and hoped that it would stick half-way, so that they could be rescued. It didn't. They saw the rooms where the rates were paid, the town clerk's office, the architects' and finance departments. And they went home, a little wiser.

But why do we have to leave it at this—good as it is? Children who crowd round a lift would find the fire-engines, the gasworks, the electricity station, the refuse disposal depot, more enthralling still. Could we not show them the inside of their town—the sewers and mains, the clinics and hospitals, the police stations and laboratories—and how it works and lives?

Mr. Round has made a good start. He is the first mayor in the London area to give talks like this to boys and girls. But the success of his enterprise shows how much more could be done. If the children could *see* local government at work, they would remember it long after words had been forgotten.

If we are going to win the peace—a democratic peace—it's worth thinking about.

Hazel Shepherd

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Kansas City, Mo.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Planning and People

TODAY we are living in an atmosphere of planning—planning all over the world, military planning, occupation planning for liberated areas, international planning for living together as nations after the war, business and industrial planning, community planning for a better place in which to work and live. Where two years ago the word was used with apology now everyone speaks of planning boldly and with conviction.

Local democracy is confronted with the biggest opportunity since this country began. Public works will be just one phase of this opportunity. An earthquake jolted San Francisco into a new era. A new Chicago was forged from fire. London has been bombed into a great awakening. The impact of this colossal war is shocking us, too, into a new responsibility. The emergency of the war is the dynamo. But the energy produced can set in motion a great deal more than merely a shelf of public works. It can become that gigantic force—a people's program, a people's program for democratic area development—a development that will carry far beyond the postwar period into a future clear from the smoke and rubble of war. We call it postwar planning. The end of war merely dates the beginning of its execution.

All of us know that the fire of democracy is kept alive on the hearth of local government. In our cities and towns we live and work; it is there that we shape the destiny of this nation. It is in our local communities that we educate our children, provide for health and sanitation, build our homes, worship in our churches, and develop our culture. It is there that we must plan our way of life following this war.

Yes, the atmosphere is charged with the electricity of bold planning. We are all taking stock of our position and casting about for a brighter future. Everyone old enough to think is excited with the challenge this war has thrust upon us. We have been shaken loose from our inertia. Rare is the person who is today proceeding in his accustomed groove. We look around with new perception. Things must be better, we say, when this war is done.

So what are we doing about it? Every professional planner has known for years that our cities are rotting at the core. We are developing ghost areas. We call it blight. Our oldest residential streets are now lines of boarding houses. Their value is half, a quarter, a tenth of what it was. Our business areas are gradually moving away from the sections our fathers knew as the centers of thriving commerce.

And in the wake of this movement we see a dilapidated obsolescence. People are moving out, farther and farther. As values decline, taxes go up in order that the budget may be balanced, for most city treasuries are pegged largely to real estate. We are casting off our old buildings like old clothing, and leaving them to disuse and decay. We cannot shrug our shoulders and just call it fate. Some even put blinders on and call it progress. But however you name it, it's waste and extravagance. And there is something that private enterprise, unaided and on its own, can do nothing about. If this is permitted to go its decadent way to its inevitable result, it means, at the worst, the death knell of our cities. Or at the very best it would mean much more public housing than we care to contemplate.

But we have an alternative—one that is bright and full of promise. . . . We can provide properly located playgrounds and breathing spaces, adequate sanitation, schools, and clinics. At the same time that we make our cities structurally sound we shall be preventing and curing human erosion. Here is a program both socially and financially sound.

To accomplish this program we must obtain the enactment by our state legislatures of proper urban redevelopment laws. We must select our first area for neighborhood redevelopment. Both will require research and thought and planning. And where can you find a better place to invite the coöperation of your local architects, lawyers, builders, engineers, businessmen, and just plain citizens? Furnish the full assistance of your planning commissions, yes, and of your works department, and your school board. But let it become a citizens' enterprise as well. The people are vitally interested in becoming a part of their city's future. Democracy makes the mistake not of asking too much participation by its members, but too little.

We are always talking about government *by* the people as well as *for* the people. Well, then, let's make our community planning *by the people.* In the early days of modern city planning it became the custom to employ a city planner to develop a master plan. After he had completed his utopia it was presented to the people. Everyone gasped and said, "How wonderful," or "How idiotic," according to his fancy, and by the time the first public clamor had died away the dust had begun to gather on the master city plan.

I venture the prediction that where properly selected citizen committees, in coöperation with local officials, prepare a community's postwar plans—or area development, as I should prefer to call them—a large part of the final projects will become realities, for they will represent the ambition of the people for their city. Theirs is a tremendous pool of ideas, technical skill, and energy for practical accomplishment.

This means a working citizens committee, not just a group of names. At the very least they can work on community planning in their free time. Many, even the busiest, will take time out from their business days. Most alert citizens, while perhaps unwilling to give up their business and hold public office, are glad for the opportunity to help as an avocation.

Everyone likes to tell the mayor or the city manager what should be done. Direct this energy into a constructive channel. Almost everyone likes to plan a house. How much more exciting to plan a city. To him, it's a war job. It's a chance for concrete postwar planning for the citizens' own good.

Furnish the committee with assistance from full-time public officials who can take from the committee the burden and detail of the work and test the suggestions with practical experience. It will be a job of real coöperation. The city officials by their work between meetings will keep the committee's activity alive and specific.

Here would be the chance of a lifetime for wide-awake, civic-minded, capable citizens to bring their experience and judgment to bear on the specific problems which face their city and affect—yes, vitally affect—their own business and their pocketbooks. Higher property values mean better business for the real estate man. Construction means prosperity for architects, engineers, builders, and labor. Cultural opportunities interest not just the students and artists but every citizen as well as the people in the surrounding area. And a progressive city sets the pace for prosperity in all business.

Most city plans have borne but little fruit for lack of public funds or at least for lack of public interest and support. But if it is the people's plan it will have the public backing, receive the public funds, and it will be assured of action.

WILSON W. WYATT, *Mayor*
Louisville, Kentucky

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Excerpts from an address before the annual meeting of the International City Managers' Association, September 10, 1943.

League to Hold No 1943 Conference

For the second time in its fifty-year history, the National Municipal League will dispense with its National Conference on Government which has been held annually since 1894. This decision is in deference to official requests that conventions be avoided in order to relieve the strain on transportation facilities.

Members of the League's Council will meet, probably in New York, as they did last year to transact necessary business. Plans will be discussed also for the observance in 1944 of the League's fiftieth anniversary.

What a Soldier Thinks About on a South Sea Island

Things are going very well in this part of the world; in fact, they look fine everywhere *except* at home. We get the impression here that strikes, unnecessary spending, and patronage continue unabated. The people at home must be made to realize that beating the axis is only part of our job. We've also got to beat the entrenched political machines at home in order really to have security for the four freedoms.

From a letter from Lieutenant Colonel JULIAN G. HEARNE, JR., a civic leader of Wheeling, West Virginia, who has been on active duty in the Pacific area for more than a year. Colonel Hearne has been active in League affairs for some years.

Hartford Metropolitan Needs Served by Water, Sewage Board

Case study of district utility organization points to possible solution for problems of government within large metropolitan areas.

By JOHN BAUER, Director
American Public Utilities Bureau

PRACTICALLY all large cities in the United States have outgrown their formal boundaries and have spread extensively into adjacent areas. While these areas are really integral parts of the city so far as industry and population are concerned, they are usually made up of numerous municipalities, and so complicate and impede the furnishing of essential public services for the entire metropolitan territory.

Despite the separation of municipal boundaries, however, practical necessity has forced such areas to make provision on a metropolitan basis. Water supply and sewage disposal as well as other vital utilities which are publicly owned virtually require unity of organization throughout the interrelated section.

This territorial extension has taken place in most urban centers, but it has been of rather recent development, and has received little comprehensive study as to comparative and suitable types of organization, methods of control, and managerial structure. The time now seems opportune to make a "case" study of such an area. For this purpose the Metropolitan District of Hartford County, Connecticut, has been selected. What has been done in Hartford should be of interest to all metropolitan regions.

The immediate necessity in creating the Hartford District was the furnishing of an adequate and safe water supply and a modern system of sewage disposal.

Hartford had long provided its own water supply and a sewage system which emptied into the Connecticut River. By the middle of the 1920's it needed a large additional water supply, and had to modernize its sewage disposal system to stop the menace of stream pollution. It had already reached out to West Hartford for water, but later, in going farther, it encountered the opposition of other communities. Plans for sewage disposal were similarly stalled. A protracted impasse ensued which finally led to consideration of the needs of the entire region.

A legislative commission was created in 1927 to survey the entire situation and, if found desirable, to submit legislation for the establishment of a metropolitan district through which both the city and the adjacent communities could be properly supplied with modern service necessities.

As a consequence, the Metropolitan District of Hartford County, Connecticut, was duly established in 1930. This required a majority vote of each of the participating municipalities. The District as initially constituted included the city of Hartford and the towns of Wethersfield, Newington, Windsor, and Bloomfield. East Hartford and West Hartford had been included in the legislative plan, but the first withdrew when the charter was presented to the legislature, and the charter failed of approval in West Hartford. The latter, however, has been furnished district service on the basis of its earlier water supply arrangement with Hartford, and receives sewage disposal services under a contract with the District.

The District Setup

Since the District's original establishment the towns of East Hartford and Rocky Hill have been added. New Britain, whose approval of the new order had been virtually essential, is represented on the District Board and will be entitled to full membership whenever it desires. Any adjoining town will be added when it applies on the basis of a majority vote of its citizens, if then approved by the District Board, and if each town already included also approves by majority vote. Upon any such addition equal service is provided, but such conditions may be fixed as to equalize substantially the relative financial position of the new and the previous members. The total population served is about 300,000—200,000 city and 100,000 outside. The population within the metropolitan region is about 650,000.

The governing body is the Board of Commissioners or District Board. As now constituted it consists of twenty-two members appointed by the Governor upon informal recommendation by board members. In addition New Britain has a right to appoint a representative, who has a vote in water matters only, to sit with the District Board. The Board meets once a month, and has full control over policies, organization, and activities.

Membership is divided into two so-called "forms." The first consists of seven, one from each town, appointed for two years. The second consists of fifteen, appointed at large for the District, five every two years for a six-year term. Although appointed at large, in practice eight have been appointed from Hartford and seven from the other towns.

Appointment by the Governor was provided originally merely as a matter of initial organization. Exceptionally able and public-minded individuals were recommended for first appointment. Subsequently board members were to be elected, but provision was made later for a second appointment by the Governor, and this process was made permanent after 1932.

Only one Governor has disregarded recommendations. When a vacancy has occurred the place has been carefully filled by the Board for the remainder of the term, and then reappointment by the Governor normally followed. The Board has been exceptionally stable in its membership. Throughout its history since 1930 only three individuals have not been reappointed upon expiration of their terms.

The Board is virtually a self-perpetuating body so long as the Governor makes appointments as recommended. Its high character is likely to continue indefinitely because of the standard set during the first twelve years. However, there can be recourse to election upon petition of 25 per cent of the voters in the District.

Throughout its existence, the Board has been under the chairmanship of Mr. Charles A. Goodwin. He has been re-elected annually by secret ballot. He is a noted member of the Hartford bar, is connected with leading financial institutions, and has a long record of various public service. The District has been his vital concern. With him on the Board have been leading business and professional men. Through this public-minded group, the organization has been kept to the purposes of regional welfare without local jealousies.

Functional Organization

The activities of the District have been organized in three operating units: the Water Bureau, the Bureau of Public Works, and the Regional Planning Commission. In addition, there are functional bodies concerned with all district plans and activities: the Finance Board, the Board of Contract and Supply, the Legislative Committee, and the Organization Committee.

The Water Bureau is in effect a continuation of the earlier Hartford City Water Board. It is in charge of a special board of seven members appointed from the District Board. It took over all the water properties and operations from the city and the towns, and assumed their outstanding water bonds. Soon after establishment it proceeded with the Barkhamsted reservoir development whose watershed has an area of 505 square miles and reaches over thirty miles beyond Hartford. The reservoir has a capacity of thirty billion gallons of water and assures an adequate, permanent supply for the entire territory. The cost has been over $8,000,000. The Bureau has constructed also the transmission mains and distribution facilities needed to reach all parts of the District, including West Hartford.

The Water Bureau operates on a self-sustaining basis. Its total gross revenues are applied to operating expenses, maintenance, depreciation, interest and other fixed charges, and debt retirement. The balance of earnings is added to surplus or net worth. Revenues amounted to $1,588,000 in 1942, compared with $966,000 in 1930, the first year of District operation.

The Bureau of Public Works controls and operates the sewers and sewage disposal plant. Its special board consists of seven District Board members. Under the law it has control also of metropolitan highways, but the exercise of this function has been suspended in favor of the State Highway Department. Plant additions are financed through assessments and bond issues, also, to minor extent, by taxes. Operating costs, including interest and other fixed charges and debt retirement, are allocated as taxes to the several municipalities on the basis of their relative budget expenditures for their own municipal activities.

The Regional Planning Commission consists of two members from the District Board, two citizen appointees, and, *ex officio,* the managers of the Water Bureau and the

Bureau of Public Works. It is responsible for long range planning throughout the entire District. It has made a precise survey of the District, and coöperates with the town planning boards in promoting balanced industrial, commercial, and residential developments for the territory. Its operations are largely integrated with the Bureau of Public Works; it has the same manager and its operating costs are allocated as taxes on the same general basis.

The Board of Finance has comprehensive supervision over all the finances of the District. It consists of two District Board members, four citizen members who are appointed by the Board for two years and are not removable, and the treasurer *ex officio*. The financial needs of the operating units are first presented each year as requests to the Board of Finance, which then holds public hearings and fixes the capital and operating budgets for each unit. The budgets as thus fixed go to the District Board for approval; the amounts can be changed only by a two-thirds vote.

A further financial provision is that all capital outlays of $100,000 or over must first have a two-thirds vote of the District Board and then must be referred to the voters for a majority vote in the District. This is a popular check upon plans and activities. In no instance have recommended capital expenditures been disapproved by the voters.

The Board of Contract and Supply obtains competitive bids for supply and construction contracts involving $2,500 or more. It consists of the chairmen of the Water Bureau and Bureau of Public Works, the District clerk, the District treasurer, and the executive secretary.

The Legislative Committee consists of District Board members (no fixed number) and five to nine citizen members appointed by the District Board. Its function is to keep under continuous survey the developing needs of the District and to prepare needed legislation. The procedure is informal, and proposals usually arise from the operating units. As developed proposals must have the approval of the District Board. They are then submitted to the legislature by the committee. Close contact with the legislature is maintained, particularly with representatives from the District.

The Organization Committee consists of seven District Board members. Its function is to study the activities and performance of the operating units and to recommend desirable changes. It canvasses the availability of new members for the District Board and citizen members for the subordinate bodies. Its final duty at the close of the year is to recommend to the District Board the organizational setup for the next year, and then it goes out of existence. Thereupon the chairman of the District Board appoints a new committee, whose first duty is to submit independently a slate for the ensuing year's organization. The District Board then passes upon the various appointments. The designation of the Committee is the only appointing power held by the chairman of the District.

In broad perspective the District Board constitutes the general policy-making body, including organization, budget determination, and responsibility for efficient operating performance. It appoints the managers who are responsible for their departments. All members of the District Board and of the subdivisional boards and committees serve without salary. Managers and operating personnel are paid full salaries and wages.

Ordinary political considerations have been strikingly absent from appointments of the District Board and the entire organization. All employees have continuous tenure, subject to removal for unsatisfactory work. There has been a very low turnover in the employees until recently; a considerable number has been lost to the military forces and to war work.

Facts and Issues

There is no attempt here to pass judgment on the efficiency of the District organization, but a high degree of public responsiveness and zeal has been maintained. This has been due to the chairman and his associates on the District Board. Their public devotion has been transmitted to the bureau managers and the entire operating organization. There is general pride in the District, and there has been little public opposition to the work as carried out.

Considering the Hartford District as a "case" study of metropolitan utility organization, the general suitability of its particular forms, controls, and procedure should be carefully weighed. There is an obvious need also to assemble the facts regarding various other metropolitan systems.[1] The following is an indication of the kind of questions to which answers should be sought:

First: What utilities have been organized on a metropolitan basis—water supply, sewage disposal, electric power, gas, transportation? Are the problems of organization the same for the different utilities?

Second: Has the organization taken the district form or has the central city provided metropolitan service through agreements with neighboring municipalities? Which is considered the better type of metropolitan organization?

Third: If there is district organization, what board of control is provided? How large is it? Is it elected or appointed, and how? What provisions are made for assuring public responsiveness and accountability?

Fourth: What management and operating units have been established and what are the standards for appointment, compensation, tenure, and other personnel matters?

Fifth: What are the provisions regarding plant financing and payment of operating costs?

The answers to these and perhaps other questions would give a perspective as to how metropolitan needs have been met by public organization, and an indication of what forms, controls, and procedure have proved to be most satisfactory for public service.

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[1] Tentative plans now are under way for a survey of the metropolitan areas of the larger cities along the lines here suggested.

Milwaukee Local Governments Join in Salary Adjustment Plan

City, county, school, vocational school, and sewage districts take uniform action for cost of living adjustment in wages of employees.

By OVID B. BLIX
Milwaukee City Service Commission
and
NORMAN N. GILL
Milwaukee Municipal Reference Librarian

COÖPERATION in the solution of metropolitan area problems has been given new impetus by the recent action of five units of government in metropolitan Milwaukee. The city of Milwaukee, the county of Milwaukee, the Public School System, the Vocational School, and the Sewerage Commission have all joined hands in the adoption of a uniform plan for an automatic, annual cost-of-living adjustment in the salaries of over 13,000 public employees. The plan was developed after several years of discussion by public officials, employee organizations, taxpayer and civic groups, labor unions, the press.

Cost of the plan is estimated at $4,000,000. It became effective August 1, 1943, for all except school teachers for whom it may be effective as of January 1, 1944.

The city and county legislative bodies have also adopted resolutions providing for studies of the basic compensation scales and classification plans of the five units of government, intended to bring about uniform classification and compensation plans for all employees of the five tax-levying bodies.[1]

The major elements of the plan are these:

(1) The new plan is uniform, and the cost-of-living adjustment is automatic and annual. The initial adjustment was effective August 1; subsequent adjustments will become effective once each year on January 1.

(2) The plan of adjustment is based on an annual salary of $1,620 (those below that are considered as receiving $1,620 as regards the adjustment), recommended by the Technical and Policy Committees as the necessary minimum during the base period 1935-39. To this extent the plan deviates from a true cost-of-living adjustment plan, but it can be defended because of the need for substantial salary increases to the lower salary groups, at the same time

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[1] Milwaukee has long been recognized as a leader in sound public personnel administration. Its city civil service law dates back to 1895, and its county civil service law was adopted in 1917. Over 98 per cent of city and county employees are included in the respective classified civil service systems. Public library and non-teaching school positions are filled through civil service appointments and carry civil service tenure. Both the city and county adopted classification plans before 1920. Original classification studies and reviews have been made by Jacobs, Griffenhagen, Telford, and the local authorities. Uniform compensation plans have been reviewed within the past five years in view of conditions existing in the 1930's.

providing adjustments for the higher salaried employees.

(3) The rate of adjustment each year will be the difference between the United States Department of Labor cost-of-living index for Milwaukee,[2] as of June 15 each year, and the base of 100 for the period 1935-39.

(4) The $1,620 figure is multiplied by the annual rate of adjustment to secure a base for the actual cost-of-living adjustment for monthly, semi-monthly, per diem, hourly, and part-time employees. Example: The index for Milwaukee as of June 15, 1943, the figure to be used during 1943, was 122.7, or 22.7 per cent above the base of 100; 22.7 per cent of $1,620 equals $367.74, the cost-of-living adjustment. The $900 employee will thus receive an increase of nearly 41 per cent over his basic salary; the $5,000 employee will thus receive an increase of 7.3 per cent over his basic salary. The dollar amount in each case will be the same, $367.74, or $30.64 per month.

(5) The adjustments will rise or fall as the cost-of-living index increases or decreases, but no increase or decrease after the initial adjustment will be greater than ten index points in any one year.

(6) The adjustment will be an addition to or a deduction from each employee's base pay. It is in lieu of previous adjustments, temporary increases or bonuses in force in 1943. All temporary adjustments which had been effective in 1942 and 1943 were eliminated, such as the $10 to $25 range for city employees up to $5,000, and the $7.50 to $17.50 range for county employees up to $2,400. Thus, a laborer previously receiving a temporary adjustment of $25.00 receives an added amount of only $5.64, while a policeman previously having a salary increment of $15.00 receives an added amount of $15.64, and a superintendent previously receiving a salary increment of $10.00 is paid an additional $20.64.

Background

In the fall of 1941 the Mayor of Milwaukee requested the City Civil Service Commission, in coöperation with the municipal reference librarian, to make a study of the compensation of lower paid employees. In 1942 a special committee of the county board, together with the county auditor, the secretary of the County Civil Service Commission, and representatives of employee groups visited St. Paul and Detroit to study their cost-of-living salary adjustment plans. In 1942 and 1943 the technical studies were made which resulted in uniform action and the cost-of-living ordinances were adopted in July 1943.

Employees Included

There are approximately 13,000 persons employed by the five governments—city 5,400, school board 4,000, county 3,000, vocational school board 300, sewerage commission 300. Practically all including school board employees, except elective officials, board members, school teachers, vocational school and sewerage commission employees, and less than fifty appointive officials, are selected under civil service laws and rules. The library and museum boards are subordinate to the general city government. The city ordinance covers elective city officials but the county ordinance does not cover elective county officers or members of the judiciary. Employees who receive the prevailing (union) wage are specifically excluded since that wage has been previously fixed by collective bargaining and includes increases due to the cost of living.

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[2] "Index of Cost of Goods Purchased by Wage Earners by Groups of Items."

An analysis of the payrolls showed that 45.6 per cent of the employees in the several jurisdictions receive $150 per month or less, while only 4.4 per cent receive over $250 per month. The remaining 50 per cent, in the $151-$250 range, are represented largely by policemen, firemen, teachers, technicians, and supervisors.

Salary Range	*No. of Employees*	*Percentage of Total*
$ 25-65	92	.8
66-100	1,870	14.4
101-125	2,289	17.6
126-150	1,667	12.8
151-170	1,530	11.7
171-200	3,095	23.8
201-250	1,891	14.5
251-300	307	2.4
301-400	194	1.7
401-500	48	.2
500 plus	23	.1
	13,006	100.0

Policy and Technical Committees

Coöperation between the five units of government was secured by the creation of two committees—a Policy Committee and a Technical Committee. In 1942 the Policy Committee included the finance committees of the legislative bodies of the five units of government. In 1943 the Policy Committee consisted of two representatives from each of the five legislative bodies. The Technical Committee included: (1) for the city of Milwaukee, the deputy comptroller and the associate chief examiner of the Civil Service Commission; (2) for the county of Milwaukee, the county auditor and the chief examiner of the County Civil Service Commission; (3) for the Milwaukee school board, the secretary-business manager of the board and an assistant school superintendent; (4) for the vocational school board, the director of vocational education, who was the committee's chairman; (5) for the sewerage commission, the personnel manager. The city municipal reference librarian acted as secretary of the Technical Committee.

The Technical Committee made a report[3] with recommendations to the Policy Committee, which in turn transmitted the recommendations to the respective legislative bodies for consideration and subsequent approval.

Study of Basic Compensation

The recommendations of the Technical Committee were two-fold: *first and now,* immediate cost-of-living salary adjustments; *in the near future,* a study of the basic compensation of the employees in all five units of government, with the goal of recommending uniform basic salary schedules for positions with similar duties in the services of all five units. This is a long range program, involving study of over 13,000 positions. Both the city and county have formally agreed to make this study.

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[3] Copies available from Mr. Gill, Secretary of the Technical Commission, 803 City Hall, Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin.

The Common Council resolution designated two aldermen "to meet with the Policy Committee consisting of representatives of the five tax levying bodies for the purpose of continuing through its Technical Committee a study of the basic compensation scales and classification schedules for all public employees of the five units of government." The County Board resolution contains similar provisions.

Conclusion

The Technical Committee in its report outlined the advantages of the plan as follows:

1. The cost of living usually rises in a period of greatly increased industrial activity. During such periods the wage scale in private industry likewise rises. Hence, the cost-of-living salary adjustment for governmental employees geared to the increases and decreases in the cost of living is automatically geared in a measure to the fluctuations of wages paid in private industry.
2. Such flexible salary plan is fair to the employee since it eliminates the salary cuts hidden in an increase in the cost of living.
3. It is fair to the taxpayer since it eliminates the salary increase hidden in a decrease in the cost of living.
4. When the cost of living goes up, it usually reflects a period of increasing assessed valuations and increased industrial activity which in turn enable the taxpayer to meet the additional costs for salary increases.
5. When the cost of living drops below normal, it usually reflects a depression period during which the income of the average taxpayer is sharply curtailed, resulting in demands for reduced taxes despite heavier relief expenditures by the local governments.
6. A fair and equitable flexible salary plan decreases the requests for salary adjustments since it eliminates one of the main reasons for such requests—the rising cost of living.
7. It avoids permanent increases in basic salary due to cost-of-living increases which may prove temporary.
8. The annual adjustments in salary are entirely automatic regardless of whether they mean an increase or a decrease to the employee.
9. Such plan does not prevent making changes in basic salaries when necessary. Furthermore, employees may be advanced to a higher basic salary by changes in classification when warranted, and upon taking a promotional examination.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

San Francisco Voters Prove Sound 'Lawmakers'

Record of ten years — 1932-43 — shows independence in voting on many proposals; extension of merit system and promotion of fiscal control supported.

By **JOHN M. SELIG**
San Francisco Junior College

SINCE inauguration of the 1932 charter, the citizens of the united city and county of San Francisco have voted on direct legislation and bond issues in twenty-two general and special municipal elections. San Francisco's record of 134 proposals submitted is high in comparison with leading American cities. Submission of proposals to the voters is regulated by ample charter provisions and the general laws of California which apply to most municipal legislation.

The Board of Supervisors may, by a majority vote, submit charter amendments, declarations of policy, and ordinances at regular or special elections to be held not less than thirty days from the date of call. Ordinances or declarations of policy proposed by the mayor alone, or by four supervisors, may be submitted at the next general election. Bond issues require a two-thirds vote in the Board of Supervisors for submission.

Initiatives, referenda, declarations of policy, and charter amendments may be placed on the ballot by petition. If voters equal to 10 per cent or more of the total votes cast for the office of mayor at the preceding general election sign a petition, a special election is called; if the percentage is between 5 per cent and 10 per cent, the issue is placed on the ballot at the next general municipal or state election, unless the Board of Supervisors directs that a special election be held. Referendum petitions must be circulated and filed before legislation becomes effective, which is thirty days after passage for regular ordinances and sixty days for franchises. Franchise-granting ordinances are subject to referendum by 5 per cent of the electors. Action by the Board of Supervisors to lease or sell any public utility must be referred to the people. Ordinances on administrative affairs, on taxation or appropriations, and acts and ordinances of the mayor and Board of Supervisors during a public emergency or catastrophe, are not subject to referendum.

Except for bond issues, direct legislation carries if approved by a majority of the votes cast on each issue. Of the 134 municipal propositions submitted from 1932 to 1942 seventy-two, or 53.7 per cent, passed.

During the period under review three initiatives and five referenda arose by popular petition. Initiatives to prohibit the erection of billboards near the San Francisco Bay Bridge, to re-enact the anti-picketing ordinance removed from the statute books by referendum eight months previously, to limit jitney bus transportation, were all defeated. Referenda were more favored, with four victories and one defeat. Ordinances were approved regulating garbage collection and disposal, repealing the anti-picketing ordinance, providing for two-man operation of street cars, and upholding the existing ordinance requiring cemetery removal. A referendum vote repealed a salary standardization ordinance in 1939. An extension of the referendum process through a charter amendment limiting supervisorial power in passing emergency ordinances carried in 1935.

Eight declarations of policy were submitted. Two were concerned with the location of the proposed Golden Gate International Exposition, and one with submission of a bond issue to finance an exposition on the mainland. The electorate chose the island location, and overwhelmingly defeated the suggestion of bonding. A proposal to make the coroner elective failed. Declarations of policy requesting the submission of bond issues in stipulated amounts for the extension of two downtown streets, for the purchase of the Market Street Railway, and for establishing city-wide municipally-operated bus transportation, failed.

Charter Amendments on Personnel

Forty-nine charter amendments concerning personnel — the largest number in any field of municipal activity—were proposed in the past eleven years by the Board of Supervisors. It is significant that issues in the field of personnel constituted 56 per cent of charter submissions, and that 70 per cent of these issues passed.

San Francisco has generally favored merit system extension to employees already on the municipal payroll, as well as to those just entering public employment. Thus, the voters first refused, but on resubmission extended, civil service to the employees of the parks, the airport, two museums, and to institutional help in the Health Department. Civil service was extended to employees of the Library and the Health Service System, and to members of the Underwriter's Patrol, which recently became an integral part of the Fire Department. One employee in the treasurer's office was the beneficiary of a special amendment. Amendments providing temporary civil service and retirement rights for employees of the local private gas and electric company—if it were leased by the city—were passed.

The only direct attempts to remove employees from civil service, by making the usher attendant in the mayor's office appointive and by suggesting making the coroner elective, were defeated. Of the 10,652 total officers and employees (excluding school teachers) of San Francisco on June 30, 1942, 10,413 were subject to classification. The voters placed 1,411 positions under civil service in the past eleven years.

Several charter amendments regulate civil service recruitment and tenure. With few exceptions local residence of officers and employees is generally required. An amendment which would have extended veterans' preference, with additional advantages for disability, failed, as did a far-reaching reorganization of civil service examination methods and accrediting. The veterans' bonus in civil service examinations is discontinued when he has obtained a position or a promotion in which it was utilized. Civil service examination papers and answer keys may be examined gratuitously by participants, but a one dollar charge is made if they wish to view all the tests and the score key as well.

An early amendment limited temporary appointments to ninety days within any fiscal year, and provided that an examination must be held to fill regular vacancies. The voters in November 1942 passed an amendment providing for civil service appointments for the duration and not to exceed six months thereafter. The appointees shall be chosen by informal, non-competitive examination, and shall serve at the pleasure of the appointing officer and the Civil Service Commission.

The impact of war called for revised legislation on departure for military and other war service. A 1934 amendment provided that periods of military duty should be credited toward retirement, but did not stipulate continuance of pension contributions during absence. Two 1940 amendments extended further retirement benefits. Military leaves should be granted to both officers and employees. Employees on military leave were given the option of continuing their years of city service by paying their normal pension contribution, or declining to contribute and getting no credit toward retirement for the years of leave. If the employee on leave gets less than $100 monthly base pay for military service, the municipality will make the contributory payment normally his, and the individual's years of service continue. A 1942 amendment permits ordinance-regulated wartime leaves for non-military work of a national defense or preparedness character.

April 1933 saw passage of the salary reduction amendment by which all salaries of municipal officers and employees could be decreased from 3 to 20 per cent, depending on level of income, whenever "extraordinary economic conditions actually exist."

Standardization of municipal compensations at prevailing salary levels in comparable business or governmental units, under a provision of the charter of 1932, has given rise to controversy both as to jurisdiction and good faith. The voters approved a $106 minimum wage for full-time municipal employees in 1939. A 1934 attempt to empower department heads to set salaries failed. A 1942 amendment provides for standardization of salaries at least every four years, and established a $12,500 revolving salary survey fund for this purpose.

Within the past eleven years, numerous changes have affected the uniformed services. A reorganization of the administrative structure of the Police Department was effected in 1937. A 1938 proposal to reorganize the structure, change the working time, and increase certain salaries in the Fire Department failed, as had an earlier proposal to add a fire marshal and chief deputy to the department. In 1939 the pay of fire captains and lieutenants was raised, while three years later all salaries in the Police and Fire Departments were increased. Although six amendments proposed liberalization of the pension provisions for these departments, only one affecting the Police Department was approved.

The voters established a Health Service System to provide socialized comprehensive medical care for municipal employees and their families. This system is under the direction of a board elected by the employees, who pay the expenses. Standards and costs of medical care are reviewable by the Municipal Retirement Board.

Since 1942 the Board of Supervisors has been empowered to provide medical care, hospitalization, and compensation for civilian defense workers injured while on duty.

Probably because municipal control over education is limited, only two charter amendments were submitted in this field. Teachers' salaries, formerly payable in ten installments, were placed on a monthly basis, and tenure was made automatic with completion of the required service. The same election saw the superintendent of schools (the incumbent excepted) changed from an at-pleasure to a four-year term, with election by the Board of Education retained.

Governmental Changes

Several structural changes and reallocations of power have been proposed. The creation of an independent Public Welfare Department headed by a mayor-appointed commission and a commission-selected director was approved in 1937. A restatement of the powers of the Recreation Commission, originally carried by reference from the preceding charter, passed in 1942. Passage of this amendment was the remedy for a 1938 judicial decision which denied that legislative powers could pass by reference.

An amendment changed the election time for the assessor from that of the mayoralty to the gubernatorial year. Rotation of candidates' names by assembly districts was approved in 1942, after four of five incumbent supervisors had been defeated by fusionists the previous year, partially because of the position of their names on the ballot. Provision for the suspension and removal of any elective and certain appointive officials is contained in a 1934 amendment.

Two proposals in the field of municipal publicity were submitted. One would have eliminated the eight thousand minimum circulation for the newspaper carrying official municipal business, and would have merely stipulated daily circulation. The second, which provided that official publicity of pending legislation extend to title notice at bill introduction, and full printing upon second reading, was approved.

Two public utility proposals carried. Any abandonment of transportation service must be recommended by the Public Utility Commission, but will not become effective if disapproved by nine supervisors. This amendment limits the commission's powers over long existing bus and railway lines, but grants exclusive power to establish new lines and to abolish them within one year after their creation. A 1937 amendment detailed the organization, operation, and management of the San Francisco harbor, whenever the state of California should transfer this utility to the municipality. It would also blanket the permanent employees of the harbor under civil service and the retirement system. The state of California still owns and operates the harbor.

Seven charter amendments proposing additional structural changes were defeated by the voters. Charter amendments to increase and clarify the Board of Supervisors' power over franchise, to raise their salaries, and to give them administrative powers, were proposed. An amendment to increase the hearing, inquiry, and subpoena powers of all municipal boards and commissions failed, as had an earlier attempt to widen the police commission's power in this respect. Amendments to create a traffic commission of considerable power, and to sanction the existing official practice in zoning, failed.

Fiscal Amendments

Several charter amendments relating to finance, notable for their diversity and specialized application, are grouped for convenience. Fiscal control is promoted by detailed budgetary procedure, provisions for issuance of tax anticipation notes, and for an emergency reserve fund regulating the character and frequency of controller's reports and limiting the time for filing injury claims against the city. Separate financial accounts and individual reconstruction and replacement funds must be maintained for each public utility. The voters refused to allow the Public Utility Commission, with the approval of two-thirds of the Board of Supervisors, to budget up to $500,000 in excess of estimated annual utility revenues for capital expenditures.

A mandatory tax of a half cent per hundred dollars of assessed property valuation provides a partial municipal subsidy for maintenance of the symphony orchestra. A 10 per cent preference for articles manufactured, fabricated, or assembled locally and used in public works or improvements contracts was approved, although a subsequent proposal to extend the preference to all purchases failed. A raise in the existing charter limitation on special assessments, with provisions for bonding the taxpayer to insure performance, failed. Tort liability was clarified by an amendment providing that the property owner must maintain his sidewalk in repair, while roadways shall be municipally maintained after their acceptance. Two amendments confirmed the principle that permits and inspection fees should cover costs and not be a source of revenue.

Bonding

In municipal elections between 1932 and 1942, thirty-one bond issues, and five charter amendments conferring revenue bonding power on the Board of Supervisors and/or the Public Utility Commission for specific purposes, were proposed to the people. Another amendment would have allowed revenue bonds to be approved by a majority of the voters, a majority vote of the Public Utility Commission and of the Board of Supervisors. The use of a charter amendment to carry revenue bonds by a majority vote was unsuccessfully attempted, in order to circumvent the two-thirds popular approval required for the passage of regular bonds. The voters passed thirteen bond issues and defeated all the charter amendments. Five declarations of policy requesting or approving the submission of bond issues were also defeated. All bond issues were submitted by the Board of Supervisors, although they could have been initiated by petition bearing the signatures of electors equal to 15 per cent of the total vote for mayor at the last preceding election.

Political Factors

The 134 proposals were endorsed or denounced individually by various "interests." These actions were directly related to the social, political, and economic viewpoint of the groups, although each assertedly acted in the public interest as it conceived it.

Several "interests" are represented in cosmopolitan San Francisco. Perhaps the most important of these, with relation to the propositions described, are the municipal employees, union labor, the downtown group, public ownership advocates, improvement clubs, civic organizations, and the press. It has been stated that the municipal employees are united behind all legislation affecting them. Although public employees have been consistently interested in maintaining and advancing a high prevailing rate of compensation and retirement, it need hardly be pointed out that a charter amendment benefiting a single department might elicit support of the employee federations, but not necessarily of the individual employees throughout the civil service. The large number of acts passed in the field of personnel show that the employees have not been unmindful of their welfare.

Union labor has advocated cost preference for locally made goods and wage standardization in the trades.

The downtown group is vitally interested in finance—fiscal structure, bonded debt, tax rate, capital expenditures, and current municipal operating expenses. It wishes to attract outside investors to San Francisco, and this perhaps accounts for its advocacy of a low commercial water rate, a low tax rate, adequate transportation. This group and the municipal employees maintain permanent staffs and have campaign capital.

The advocates of municipal ownership of all transportation facilities and of all electricity and power distribution within San Francisco are a persistent and important factor. Numerous times, through regular or revenue bonds at various total prices, the purchase of the Market Street Railway Company and of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company has been proposed. Although these issues have not been successful, they have elicited considerable public support.

Varying attitudes characterize the district improvement, women's, and civic clubs, whose endorsements are eagerly sought. The San Francisco newspapers have supported various issues backed by each of the interests mentioned, but consistency, viewed as continued loyalty to one group, has not marred their independence.

Although the politician has not been listed as an interest, his presence and influence are discernible in each of the interests described. All the groups above influenced popular legislation, but no one of them was dominant during the period 1932-1942. Certain interests, strong within the municipality, were not particularly concerned with the issues presented.

It would be significant to find the relationship between campaign expenditures and voter judgment on submitted issues. However, there is no law requiring publicity of campaign expenditures on propositions. Several public utility acquirement bond issues and various charter proposals received substantial financial support, vigorous approval by leading officials and civic organizations, endorsements by labor and downtown spokesmen, editorial support from daily and district newspapers, and still lost by notable margins. Certain other issues of non-controversial or remedial nature passed without much campaigning at all.

The electorate—ultimate entity in election analysis—showed considerable independence in voting, although customary approaches to certain fundamental issues are observable. The voters have, with some consistency, favored the extension of the merit and retirement systems. They have supported legislation designed to clarify the charter and promote fiscal control. The people have been reluctant to vote bonds, and have refused to weaken the procedure for bond issuance. While they have approved some legislation for which no adequate campaign was waged, voter independence has defeated some proposals almost universally supported by the "interests." No charter amendment or bond issue has been popularly initiated in the past eleven years. The volume, diversity, and complexity of the 134 issues submitted has been a frequent test of citizen judgment, and they provide a record of municipal progress in a major American city.

The following tables classify the proposals by type of legislation and by subject matter of charter amendments:

TABLE I

Recapitulation of Issues Presented, 1932-1942

Type	*No. Presented*	*No. Carried*	*Percentage Carried*
Charter Amendments	87	54	62
Bond Issues	31	13	42
Declaration of Policy	8	1	12
Referenda	5	4	80
Initiatives	3	0	—
Total	134	72	53

TABLE II

Charter Amendments Tabulated by Fields

	No. Presented	*No. Carried*	*Percentage Carried*
Personnel	49	34	70
Governmental Change	17	9	53
Fiscal	15	11	73
Bonding	6	—	—
Total	87	54	62

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

Contributors in Review

FROM school teacher and college professor to expert in matters pertaining to public utility economics and public control of business describes the career of **John Bauer** (*Hartford Metropolitan Needs Served by Water and Sewage Board*). Dr. Bauer has been called in by many cities and states as consultant on utility problems. He is author of numerous articles and books on the subject. Among the latter are *National Welfare and Business Stability—The Permanent Functions of Public Spending;* with Nathaniel Gold—*Permanent Prosperity and How to Get It, Public Utility Valuation for Purposes of Rate Control,* and *The Electric Power Industry—Development, Organization and Public Policies.* Dr. Bauer is public utilities editor for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, consultant on public utilities for *Public Management,* and associate editor of *Public Ownership of Public Utilities.* He has been director of the American Public Utilities Bureau since 1925.

PERSONNEL member of the Technical Committee which prepared the recent cost-of-living salary adjustment plan for Milwaukee, **Ovid B. Blix** (*Milwaukee Local Governments Join in Salary Adjustment Plan*) has done personnel work for the states of Massachusetts and Michigan as well as for various smaller jurisdictions. In his present capacity as associate chief examiner of the Milwaukee City Service Commission Mr. Blix works closely with city officers on matters affecting personnel control and the classification and compensation of city employees. He served two years as field secretary of the Milwaukee Voters' League, and started his career with the city as its municipal reference librarian six years previous to joining the staff of the City Service Commission in 1925.

MILWAUKEE'S Municipal Reference Librarian, **Norman N. Gill** (*Milwaukee Local Governments Join in Salary Adjustment Plan*), continues his extracurricular duties for the city as secretary of the Technical Committee appointed to draft a cost-of-living salary adjustment. Mr. Gill has served also as secretary of a committee appointed by the Common Council to draft a new budget law for Milwaukee. He has been staff member of the National Resources Planning Board's Urbanism and Science Committees, of the Committee on Public Administration on the Social Science Research Council, and of the Committee on Inquiry of Public Service Personnel of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute. His new book, *The Municipal Research Bureau Movement,* will be published shortly by the American Council on Public Affairs.

HOLDING a B.S. degree from the University of San Francisco and an M.A. in political science from the University of California, **John M. Selig** (*San Francisco Voters Prove Sound "Lawmakers"*) has been an instructor in political science at San Francisco Junior College since 1936. Interested in public affairs since college days, Mr. Selig has had ample opportunity to observe the working of direct legislation in his city.

GUEST editorial writer in this issue, **Wilson W. Wyatt** (*Planning and People*) was elected mayor of Louisville in December 1941 by the largest majority ever given a Louisville Democratic mayor. Mayor Wyatt started his career as a lawyer; he was a faculty member of Jefferson School of Law from 1929 to 1935. He is a member of the Board of Trustees and chairman of the Postwar Planning Committee of the American Municipal Association, a member of the Advisory Board of the United States Conference of Mayors, president and director of the Kentucky Municipal League, and president of the American Society of Planning Officials. In the spring of this year he acted as special representative of the Board of Economic Warfare on its mission to North Africa.

Researcher's Digest: October

Direct legislation in California; another survey by Kansas City bureau; rural governmental research; wages in wartime; government in Tennessee; no GRA meeting.

WHILE California is not the only state to have taken direct legislation to its democratic heart, "Ham and Eggs" and other quixotic proposals have focussed somewhat startled public attention upon that state's use of the initiative and referendum. Therefore *The Initiative and Referendum in California,* by Winston W. Crouch, a new publication issued by the **Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles**, is of particular interest. (Dr. John R. Haynes was the leader of the direct legislation movement from the turn of the century, which perhaps explains in part the Foundation's concern with the subject.)

Professor Crouch's new work is relatively brief, but it covers the subject dispassionately and with ample history and statistics. There have been all of 390 measures submitted to the California electorate since 1912, and this does not include the numerous pieces of direct legislation submitted by the no less democratic municipalities to the same voters.[1] What happened? Did the minority pressure groups use the device to gain their own ends? Did the voters succumb to pressure, or to confusion, or to anything else? In short, did a species of direct government prove practicable?

Apparently, according to Professor Crouch, the answer to the latter question is a gladsome yes, and to the other two queries a fairly clear no. All sorts of groups seem to have used the initiative and referendum, or tried to use it, but the very diversity of the subject matter seems to have proved the democratic worth of the device. As for the voters, they appear, commendably, to have kept their heads. They *did* tell off Ham and Eggs, and emphatically so, and they *did* adopt some constructive laws on subjects so technical as sound budgeting. More than that, direct legislation has served to educate the voters on a wide variety of subjects in which they ordinarily would not be interested.

Mr. Crouch's verdict is of special interest to this reviewer—a new California voter—who reeled back in confusion and horror when confronted with some thirty separate proposals, as well as a number of candidacies, on an "off-year" ballot. But after the first shock wore off, this voter discovered a new civic adventure in delving into the voluminous pro and con literature with which the registered voter is automatically provided out here. It *was* educational—and it's good to know that the education evidently had a constructive effect.

Research Meal

The **Kansas City Civic Research Institute** has lately issued a number of solid works of published research which are more than usually toothsome to the reviewer. The parade continues with *Kansas City Police Department* by J. M. Leonard, borrowed from the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** for the purpose. There are some twelve pages of findings alone on efficiency in operation and economy in manpower.

The Institute also has recently issued *Public Knowledge and Opinion on Jackson County Affairs,* which brings together in pamphlet form all the data on the Institute's opinion surveys which were published previously in bulletin form. Earlier enthusiastic comments on these surveys[2] make it unnecessary to point out how useful this compilation will be to those interested in this newest tool of governmental research.[3]

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[1] See p. 486, this issue.

[2] See "Polls," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1943, p. 253.

New York Local Government

The **New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University** has for a long time been actively identified with local government research, which is a natural and wholly admirable extension of the cracker-barrel type of discussion of local politics for which we have a native genius. Now the College comes forth with a straightforward, brief, and entirely valuable presentation of the subject of *State Aid and Shared Revenues,* a matter of the utmost importance to the rural areas in which the College is naturally most interested. Who pays—and who gets—and for what? are the questions the upstaters want answered and C. A. Bratton supplies the facts although not, it must be added, in a manner calculated immediately to be applied at the cracker-barrel level.

Another semi-new publication from the same source is *Rural Government in New York,* a revision of a September 1935 pamphlet by M. P. Catherwood and T. N. Hurd. Mr. Bratton has also had a hand in this one and it has all the admirable completeness and factualness of the other works of the College of Agriculture.

To Raise or Not to Raise

Perhaps a jog or two removed from the usual run of governmental research literature, but not unrelated, is *Wage Rates and Living Costs in a War Economy,* by Maurice S. Brody, one of the series of Studies in Business Administration of the **School of Business, University of Chicago.** There is an impressive array of economic facts, figures, and arguments which go in the end to bulwark the announced policy of the President not to permit wage increases to follow the cost of living, but rather to direct governmental attention to keeping down the cost of living as much as possible. This conclusion, of course, bears directly upon the pressing wartime problem of what to do about the salaries of municipal employees. Mr. Brody would seem to be among those who argue that the wages should stay close to where they were, in the interests of the national economy as a whole.

Manager Plan Does It

A very large volume of financial data results from *The 1942 or Seventh Annual Survey of Local Government in Tennessee,* conducted by the **Tennessee Taxpayers Association.** Such improvements as were found stemmed, it is reported, from war prosperity tax collections. But administrative methods as a whole remained poor, the surveyors found. However, some fine examples of what happens when a government does reorganize administratively are also presented, *vide* the proud pages on Kingsport, Tennessee's "first model council-manager municipality." Says the Association, in effect, "It can be done, boys —it *can!*"

Casualty

In case you haven't already heard, the **Governmental Research Association** will hold no meeting this year, thus removing temporarily from the scene a pleasant annual landmark and the opportunity for a sometimes sparkling exchange of ideas and pleasantries. This, indeed, is war.

(Continued on Page 520)

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[3] See also "Kansas City Goes A-Polling," by Loren B. Miller, the REVIEW, January 1943, pp. 12-16.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Charles P. Taft, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

"Back to School"

THIS fall sees millions of boys and girls faced with the decision as to whether they will keep on with their summer work, or go back to school.

The labor shortage due to the war has drawn school youth into industry in constantly increasing numbers. Good wages and opportunity for quick advancement have proved alluring to boys and girls who in ordinary times would never think of going to work until after they had finished high school. Now their problem is: "Shall we quit and go back to school?"

The best answer lies in a community approach to the problem, so that the interests of war production and education both can be served. Part-time work and study programs have sprung up all over the country as a practical, immediate solution. Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission and Federal Security Administration, and John W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education, have issued official statements urging that this course be followed.

It is obvious that the problem is no small one. The Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor has estimated that at least four million boys and girls in the fourteen through seventeen age group were at work during the summer. About half a million of these, aged sixteen and seventeen, were employed in manufacturing industries. Here, of course, the boy or girl has the best opportunity to see the concrete results of his contribution to the war. But there are also uncounted thousands of children who are employed—thousands in the age group below fourteen. These youngsters have taken on many of the odd jobs formerly held by the older groups, and do everything from "jerking soda" to running errands.

Moreover, during the past school term many high school pupils have dropped out to enter employment without any thought of ever returning to complete their secondary education. In one large industrial city the enrollment of the public schools decreased approximately 18 per cent between 1941 and 1943; in another similar industrial city the decrease was more than 20 per cent. In the first of these cities the usual number of work permits issued annually has been between 10,000 and 12,000; but from January to May of this year the monthly average was 5,000. In the second city the number of work permits issued between 1939 and 1942 to youth between sixteen and eighteen years of age increased more than 1,500 per cent. Even for children between fourteen and sixteen, the increase was more than 700 per cent.

To grasp the situation fully a number of facts on youth at work need to be kept in mind:

1. In 1942, 901,000 boys and girls fourteen through seventeen years of age obtained certificates permitting them to enter full-time or part-time work, according to figures of state and local offices reporting to the Children's Bureau. Of this number, 156,000 were fourteen or fifteen years old. In addition, large numbers of children enter employment without certificates because these are not required for the occupation or

because the children go to work illegally. In the early months of 1943 the number of young persons of these ages who obtained work certificates was more than double the number in the same months of 1942, and the rate of increase for fourteen- and fifteen-year olds was greater than for the sixteen- and seventeen-year olds.

2. Many of these young workers, particularly those under sixteen, are in jobs that are not essential to the war effort and that offer little training for usefulness after the war.

3. Illegal employment of children is on the increase. State labor officials report more and more violations of state child labor laws. The number of children found by federal inspectors to be employed in violation of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act increased from 1,761 in the year ended June 30, 1941, before the United States entered the war, to 4,567 in the year ended June 30, 1943.

4. Legal safeguards against child labor are breaking down. In 1943 seventeen states lowered standards or authorized the granting of relaxations in their laws governing employment of young workers.

5. More and more children are attempting too heavy a combination load of school and work. Boys and girls of fourteen to sixteen are working forty hours a week or even longer on top of their twenty-five to thirty hours a week at school. For instance, a fifteen-year-old boy works a six-day, forty-eight-hour week as bus boy in a cafeteria, from 4:30 p.m. to 1 a.m. and also attends school for twenty-seven and one-half hours a week. A sixteen-year-old grocery clerk carries a program of school and employment totaling seventy-six and one-half hours, with work both before and after school.

While the need for more and more war production workers is admittedly urgent, the Army and Navy continue to call for well educated youth who are capable of handling the complicated machines of mechanized war. The High School Victory Corps has been introduced into many schools in an effort to rearrange the curriculum so as to recognize the needs of the armed forces as well as of civilian war production. The War Department, coöperating with the U. S. Office of Education, has prepared a series of pre-induction training courses for high school youth so that their education may be pointed to Army needs as specifically as possible. Clearly, to be good soldiers and sailors, our youth should have all the education they can get.

Urge Return to School

On August 26, Mr. McNutt said in part:

"Communities and educators . . . must face the fact that there are real man-power shortages in many communities. They should recognize, too, that a community and an educational program which do not provide opportunity for work will leave a real hiatus in the lives of many young people who keenly feel the issues of the present conflict. Intelligent action on the part of educators and community authorities can meet that dilemma successfully.

"With the approach of a new school term, a plan of action should be developed which, at the same time, continues educational opportunities and permits student manpower to be used in the nation's interest:

"The program in every community should be one which takes full account of the laws which govern the labor of children and the boys and girls of school age. There should be no lowering of the barriers which have been so wisely erected against the exploitation of children and of youth. . . . "

The National Congress of Parents and

Teachers has expressed itself as follows:

"Until all sources of adult labor have been exhausted, children and youth should not be drawn into the labor force before completion of their education. . . . Their rightful heritage of an adequate education and a normal growth period should be preserved."

The Children's Bureau has issued this statement:

"With care we can use the devotion and skills and intelligence of our children without harm. But this cannot be left to chance. We cannot leave it to children to decide what is the best way for them to share in the war. They must be helped to choose, and to choose wisely. . . . For a very large proportion of the children who have taken summer jobs, this choice should be a return to school."

Commissioner Studebaker spoke for the Federal Security Agency's Office of Education:

"For the duration of the war every older able-bodied boy in high school is faced with the prospect of service in some branch of the armed forces. To these boys I say go back to school this fall; resume your education and training; point your studies to preparation for service to your country in the air, land, or sea forces. Put yourself in tiptop physical condition. Enroll for intensive work in mathematics, science, aeronautics, and such shop courses as may be available in your school. Study war aims and problems; keep in touch with the progress of the war on the battle fronts; and on the home front volunteer to help in community war service.

"To older high school girls who have been employed at manifold and necessary tasks during the summer, I say consider carefully your responsibility to secure the training which will enable you to render service to your country at your highest skill.

"To both boys and girls of high school age, I suggest that it should be possible to work out arrangements in your high school so that you can, if manpower shortages require it, continue part-time employment and at the same time resume your schooling. A number of communities have already developed plans which range all the way from part-time employment with staggered hours to conform to school and health requirements to splitting a job between two or three young people who spend alternate periods of time in school and on the job. Ask your principal about this possibility now."

All Groups Should Cooperate

To summarize: Only through the active coöperation of all community groups—labor and employers, schools, placement agencies, parent-teacher associations, youth-serving agencies, chambers of commerce, church groups, community service clubs, and other citizen groups—can a program to encourage fullest attendance of children at school and yet see that war production needs are met, be carried through to a successful conclusion. All these groups in each community can:

1. Support activity of the public agencies that have to do with keeping children in school and supervising their transition from school to work; that is, attendance officers, placement and counseling officials, certificate-issuing officers.

2. Give constant stimulation to better enforcement of child labor and school attendance laws.

3. Make aggressive efforts to find new sources of labor supply, so as to lessen the pressure upon children to fill labor shortages.

4. Map out a part-time school and work program which will make both school attendance and employment possible.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

State and Local Aid Given War Agencies

OWI Survey Shows Nation-wide Cooperation

THE federal government has been receiving whole-hearted coöperation on war problems from state and local governments, according to a canvass of federal war agencies recently completed by the Office of War Information.

The OWI listed as some of the results of this coöperation:

> Uniform rules permitting most trucks carrying war materials to cross state lines unhampered.
>
> Interstate reciprocal licensing of passenger vehicles to make it easier for war workers to travel from state to state. Trouble spots persist in some sections.
>
> Recognition of legal documents executed by servicemen before commissioned officers instead of notaries, without indicating where such documents are executed (hitherto mandatory in many state laws); thirty-six states have adopted the liberalized practice.
>
> Relaxation of stringent laws governing powers of attorney, to make it possible for servicemen's dependents to act for them during long absence or when they are reported missing. Fourteen states have taken such action.
>
> Standard laws on weights and measures to prevent deviation in size or weight of munitions and war weapons, and to help maintain price ceilings.
>
> Lifted restrictions on state banks, making possible local financing of large war contracts, in thirty-eight states.
>
> Changed state housing laws and building codes to meet federal regulations dictated by scarce materials and the necessity of war housing. Housing authority legislation was adopted in twenty-seven states.
>
> Altered state laws governing prison labor resulted in millions of dollars' worth of war goods by thousands of prison inmates.

While coöperating with one another and with the federal government, it appears from the survey that states and municipalities have jealously guarded their traditional American concepts of self-government. Some municipalities refused to pass civilian defense ordinances so phrased as to appear to make local rule subservient to federal regulations. Another instance of local individualism was the decision of three states to abandon war time.

Local Autonomy Recognized

State and local coöperation has been greatest, it is reported, where federal war agencies have recognized local autonomy, and used local machinery to administer regulations of national scope. Most difficulties have come from deviation from that principle.

To coöperate with organizations such as the Council of State Governments, the state leagues of municipalities, and related groups with Washington offices, and to provide a central federal clearing house for suggestions for state legislation, the Section on Federal-State Relations was set up in 1940 in the Department of Justice, and machinery has been developed, particularly in coöperation with the Council of State Governments, for the preparation, clearance, and channelling of proposals for state legislation designed to implement the activities of federal agencies in connection with the prosecution of the war. Proposals of state origin which affect the activities of federal agencies have been likewise channelled for clearance and a fusion of federal and state points-of-view. At times, also, it has been possible to ease tensions which have arisen and which threaten to impede the war effort.

The Federal War Agencies Committee, created in 1942, has acted in the field of state barriers prejudicial to the war effort, particularly in the field of transportation.

Many of the individual federal agencies have maintained constant contacts with the states and municipalities and their respective organizations.

Transportation Problems

A climax in motor-vehicle transportation difficulties was reached during the spring of 1942, when truck transportation of war materials across the continent had become an urgent necessity. On the initiative of the Council of State Governments, the Executive Committee of the Governor's Conference met on May 20, 1942, with a special committee appointed by the President consisting of the heads of ten federal departments and war agencies. The Committee assumed responsibility for establishing uniform motor truck standards throughout the country. These standards were developed by the War Department and submitted to and accepted by the states. Ten days later all the states had assured the President that the uniform standards recommended were in effect for the duration.

Conditions greatly improved thereafter, but many governors, in the absence of specific powers to suspend state laws (since corrected where emergency war powers acts have been adopted), had difficulties with enforcement officers. Some local constables had not heard, or didn't care, about the agreement with Washington. Others would let trucks go through if drivers would declare they were transporting war materials; which, to avert sabotage, truck drivers were forbidden to do.

Machinery for meeting special transportation problems has been set up in ODT under Director Joseph B. Eastman, where the problems of the Federal War Agencies Committee, the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Barriers and the Army are pulled together.

Other items on the federal-state program presented to the states through the Council of State Governments include an Emergency War Powers Act; additional civilian defense legislation, designed to strengthen existing systems; child care centers legislation; legislation relating to the repression of prostitution; weights and measures legislation; exchange of tax information and investment of public funds legislation, and others. Enactments, in these fields, were widespread and satisfactory.

Without solicitation all but seven of the states are operating—at their own expense — payroll deduction systems for their employees to purchase war bonds. All cities of more than 50,000 population, and many smaller ones, are doing likewise.

Scrap metal and rubber drives, although planned nationally by the Treasury Department, have been handled entirely by the 15,000 local committees operating in all of the 3,053 counties of the country.

Early this year the Government Division of WPB suggested that states and localities work out a plan for sharing road construction maintenance and snow removal machinery. All but ten states are now using the plan, with responsibility for effectiveness left entirely to the states and localities themselves.

Council-Manager Plan News

Hubbard, Texas, adopted a city manager ordinance August 10; it has had a manager since 1932, but has not been on the official list of the International City Managers' Association. The new ordinance is such as to qualify it for the list.

As a first step toward obtaining council-manager government for **Provo, Utah,** petitions are to be prepared for submission to the city commission, about 700 signatures being required. Approval of this move was given with but one dissenting vote at a public meeting at which George Bean, city manager at Escanaba, Michigan, and a native of Provo, explained the manager plan. A general committee of seven was appointed to handle the petitions. If approved by the city commission the proposal will go on the ballot, together with nominees for a charter commission of fifteen members. It is expected that the procedure will take about two years. The Chamber of Commerce and the Kiwanis Club are interested in the plan.

In **Eugene, Oregon,** Mayor Elisha Large on August 23 appointed a committee to study a proposal to adopt the manager plan.

A manager campaign is in progress in **Everett, Washington.** Mr. Herb Wilson, co-chairman of the Civic Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Commerce writes: "We are getting along very nicely, receiving some good coöperation from some parties and then of course the opposition is starting to manifest itself. . . . The paper has given us good support, printing all stories that we have asked for. . . . We hope to have the petitions on the streets for signatures by the 10th of this month [September] and put the amendment on the ballot of our city election November 20."

The city council of **Fairbanks, Alaska,** is reported to be highly favorable to the manager plan, proposed by a large number of voters, according to John W. Clark, chairman of the council's investigating committee. The latter was appointed by the council, prior to submitting the issue to a special election, to inquire regarding the manager plan and the possibility of obtaining suitable applicants for the position.

Interest in the manager plan is being shown in **Lansing, Michigan, The Dalles, Oregon,** and **Sand Springs, Oklahoma.** Mayor I. P. Nelson of the latter city is studying the plan.

The vote against the manager plan in **Carey, Ohio,** was not as great as was announced in these columns last month. Instead of 416 to 184 it was 232 to 184, an adverse majority of 48. According to H. B. Keller of that city the plan was defeated two years ago by a majority of 148; and another effort will be made next year.

City Managers' Meeting Stresses Postwar Problems

Postwar problems of cities and the importance of general public understanding and participation in their making were emphasized at the thirtieth annual conference of the International City Managers' Association which was held September 10 to 14 at Chicago.

Frank C. Hanrahan, county manager of Arlington County, Virginia, who succeeded the late E. M. Knox as president during the past year, was reelected president of the association. Vice presidents elected were Leonard G. Howell, Port Huron, Michigan; Russell E. McClure, Wichita, Kansas, and C. Q. Wright, Albany, Georgia.

The 149 managers present—who established a near record of attendance—represented a total of 1,118 years of manager experience. Besides those from United States cities, managers attended from Canadian cities and from Puerto Rico.

In addition to managers, among those who addressed the conference were Paul G. Hoffman, chairman, Committee for Economic Development; Mayor Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville; Arthur Collins, consultant on local government, London, England; James M. Mitchell, director, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada; John Nuveen, Jr., Chicago civic leader and member of the Council of the National Municipal League; Carl H. Chatters, director, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada; Dr. Yu Lin Hsi, personal representative of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who is in the United States to observe the operation of municipal government; C. A. Dykstra, president, University of Wisconsin, and past president of the National Municipal League; Louis Brownlow, director, Public Administration Clearing House.

Two Oregon Cities Prepare Charter for Consolidating

In accordance with a law adopted by the Oregon legislature in 1941, permitting the consolidation of non-adjoining cities and the inclusion of the intervening territory in the consolidated city, a charter has been drawn for a proposed new city, Coos Bay, which would consolidate the existing cities of Marshfield and North Bend and a strip of territory between them. Under the statute the charter will be submitted to popular vote at an election where both the consolidation proposal and the charter will be passed upon.

According to Orval Etter, of the staff of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, the North Bend council first opposed the consolidation idea, as presented by petitions, under the law, from residents of the two cities and the intervening territory, but later met with the Marshfield council and declared the petitions sufficient. Each of the two city councils then appointed two members of a charter commission and the Coos County judge appointed two members for the "no man's land." The commission called on the University's Bureau of Municipal Research and Service for information and assistance in drafting a charter. On August 18 the commission adopted the charter prepared in coöperation with the Bureau and on August 23 presented it to the two councils.

The charter provides for the council-manager form, under which the only elected officials would be seven councilmen, chosen by proportional representation. The consolidation, if effected, would be the first under the new law and the first consolidation of any two cities in Oregon in thirty years. The charter would make Coos Bay the first city in Oregon under proportional representation.

Urban Redevelopment Bills before Congress

Among proposals now before Congress for postwar—or immediate—urban planning are the urban redevelopment bills of Senators Wagner and Thomas.

The Wagner bill, backed by private real estate interests represented by the Urban Land Institute, would establish the administrator of the National Housing Agency as the chief official in charge of federally-aided local planning and rebuilding. The NHA would be authorized "to make loans to cities, or appropriate instrumentalities of cities, for the purchase of land and improvements thereon in areas that are designated in a development plan for development or redevelopment by private enterprise and by public improvement; for the clearance of land so acquired; for the installation, construction, or reconstruction of streets and utility improvements essential to the preparation of sites for neighborhood rebuilding." The bill would authorize a billion dollars in the ensuing year for 99-year loans to cities and their planning agencies at rates prescribed by the NHA and secured by the land acquired. Having cleared the land the cities would sell it to private builders for modern neighborhood development, or to appropriate municipal agencies. The city must have an adequate city plan. Grants for preparation of development plans are authorized.

The Thomas bill would establish a new agency—the Urban Redevelopment Agency—in charge of federally-aided urban rebuilding. The administrator of the agency would be authorized to make loans to municipalities for the acquisition of real estate for development or redevelopment of cities or urban areas of which such cities are a part, or for reservation of areas for future planning and development; he may also make grants to planning agencies. The Thomas bill requires more meticulous planning and control than the Wagner bill, and provides for leasing rather than outright sale of land to private interests.

AMA Aids Municipal Postwar Planning

The Special Committee on Planning of the American Municipal Association has published a statement in pamphlet form entitled *Municipalities and the Postwar,* intended to assist municipal officials in planning for the postwar period. It has been sent to the state leagues of municipalities for distribution to city officials.

Los Angeles and Milwaukee Seek Planners from Entire Nation

In order to obtain the best qualified persons available in the nation to start immediately on the plan for the vast postwar development of Los Angeles, California, the municipal Civil Service Commission waived the usual requirement of residency and held examinations in August open to candidates from any part of the United States.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, similarly held an examination in September for planning research technicians, open to citizens of the United States wherever domiciled.

Unicameral Government Sought for Richmond

A bill proposing a referendum on a unicameral council for Richmond, Virginia, has been in process of drafting by Legislator B. E. Stallard for introduction in the General Assembly in January 1944. Mayor Ambler of Richmond has endorsed the proposal. The city council has twice turned down the mayor's proposal for a referendum on the subject.

Wisconsin League Legislation Successful

The legislature of Wisconsin recently recessed until January 12, 1944, at which time it is expected that only emergency legislation will be dealt with.

According to the American Municipal Association the legislative program backed by the League of Wisconsin Municipalities was very successful, every measure proposed by the League being enacted into law. Among these were measures of the following character: authorizing municipal taxation of certain federal property; providing a flexible scheme for the installment payment of real estate taxes; creating a sound optional statewide retirement system for municipal employees; requiring liberal court interpretation of municipal zoning ordinances; completely revising the statutes relating to the financing of special assessments; requiring the state to construct and reconstruct city and village streets over which are routed state trunk highways;

and allocating to municipal treasuries 75 per cent of drivers' license fees when examinations are conducted locally. The two latter measures were passed over the Governor's veto.

Supported by the League, although not on its official program, were various other proposals that became law, including the following: broadening the power of condemnation for airports; authorizing cities to issue general obligation bonds for municipal parking lots; authorizing a thorough investigation of present allocation of state highway aid; and compelling the state to reconstruct streets when damaged because of state trunk highway detours. It is reported that no objectionable proposals against which the League appeared in opposition were enacted; bills failing included several dealing with tax limitation, several containing unsound pension proposals for municipal employees, several reducing municipal revenue from certain taxes and aids, and numerous proposals interfering in the organization of local government.

State and Municipal Employment Trends

The United States Bureau of the Census has just published[1] the results of its quarterly survey of state and municipal employment for the month of April 1943.

State employees (other than school employees) were fewer than, in any other reported month, except January 1943, since the quarterly survey was started in January 1940. The estimated total number of state employees in April 1943 was 475,000 (one per cent more than in January 1943) as compared with 529,000 in April 1942, 534,000 in April 1941, and 535,000 in April 1940. April payrolls in the four years remained about the same—about $60,000,000—indicating higher average earnings in April 1943.

Municipal employment in cities of 25,000 or more—415 in number, including Arlington County, Virginia, and four Connecticut towns because of their municipal or urban character—was about 5 per cent greater than in January 1943, but this was because of temporary employees, particularly in connection with elections. There was hardly any net change between January and April in the number of permanent full-time employees; April was slightly less, showing the lowest number for any month covered since the beginning of the quarterly survey in January 1940. Aggregate payrolls, however, were higher in April 1943 than in any previously reported month except July 1942. The average salary increase was indicated as less in percentage than the increase in cost of living shown by Bureau of Labor Statistics indexes. The estimated number of employees in April 1943 was 525,000 and the payroll $94,900,000.

Ohio Salary Survey Ordered; School Law Codified

The General Assembly of the state of Ohio, which adjourned later than most of the state legislatures, created a commission of nine members to study and consider salary problems of all public officials and employees in the state and to report back its findings and recommendations, according to Abraham Gertner of Columbus, our Ohio correspondent.

Another achievement was the recodification of the entire body of school law, pursuant to the recommendations of the Ohio School Survey Commission, the life of which was extended for an additional two years. Because of many absences of students caused by labor shortage, high schools were authorized to count students who are absent for work on farms or in industry not more than thirty days in a school year, in computing attendance as a basis for state contributions; and an additional one and one-half million dollars was provided for financially weak school districts.

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[1] *State and Local Government Quarterly Employment Survey,* Vol. 4, No. 7; August 1943.

In contrast to an ambitious welfare program sponsored before the legislature, little was accomplished; recodification of child welfare laws, sponsored by the Ohio Children's Code Commission, and of local relief laws, were among measures that failed of passage.

Committee Studies Minnesota Government and Spending

The 1943 Minnesota legislature authorized an interim committee of the House of Representatives which is making a detailed study of the state government and its expenditures, gathering factual data and analyzing the functioning of state departments so as to make recommendations for improvements to the 1945 session of the legislature.

Certificates for Public Employee Training Personnel

The Bureau of Public Service Training of the New York State Education Department is now prepared to issue certificates of service in recognition of instructors or administrators of state and local employee training programs. The Bureau has issued for many years Regents' public service training certificates to state and local employees completing training courses successfully. These certificates have been recognized by the State Civil Service Commission and local civil service commissions for credit in promotion examinations.

Certificates of service are granted only to those who are officers or employees of the state or its subdivisions, or who administer for public or quasi-public agencies training programs for officers and employees of the state or its subdivisions. They must have had satisfactory training and adequate experience in teaching or administration as to a public service subject or project.

Albert H. Hall, *Director*
New York State Office
of War Training

Hatch Act Given Broad Construction

The United States Civil Service Commission, in a recent application of the Hatch Act (prohibiting political activity by federal employees and state employees whose principal employment is in connection with projects wholly or partly paid from federal funds) has interpreted it broadly in ordering the dismissal of two employees of the Illinois Division of Highways. The Commission declared that any employee of a state or local agency is subject to the act "if as a normal and intended incident to his principal position or job he performs duties in connection with an activity financed in whole or in part by federal loans or grants."

Senate Weakens Civil Service Safeguards

By a rider to the Labor Department–Federal Security Agency appropriation bill the United States Senate has prevented the Social Security Board and the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor from withholding funds from states where employees of the state agencies are appointed in disregard of the merit system standards set up by the Social Security Board. The Social Security Board and other federal agencies formerly had such power. Now, as to the two agencies mentioned, it will merely be required that a merit system be in operation.

Citizen Action

Tyranny of Boss Rule Inspires New Group

Political Quarrel Responsible for Augusta Citizens Union

ALL the credit for the founding of the **Augusta (Georgia) Citizens Union** belongs to the "boss" of the local political machine.

On a Friday night last November, at a football game in the high school stadium, there was some disturbance and no police to take charge. Several people wanted to know where the police were. One citizen stood up and blamed their absence on the political machine. The wife of a councilman told him that he should not talk like that about the Cracker party. Whereupon the citizen said that this was a free country and he would talk about the Cracker party as he pleased. He added, furthermore, "To hell with the Cracker party!"

He was not arrested at the scene of the crime, but sixty-four hours later, on Monday morning, the police came to his place of business. They had no warrant for his arrest, but they said he had better come along quietly anyhow. He was put in jail, incommunicado. He was fingerprinted, photographed. What was the charge? "Disorderly conduct—cursing in the presence of ladies." After about five hours he was taken before the "boss" and asked if he wanted to make this a "personal matter." The citizen said, no there was nothing personal about it. So he was given a thorough "dressing down" and allowed to deposit $52 bail and depart.

Not many hours later twelve citizens met at the house of one of them. "Let's call a mass meeting and form a citizens union." "Let's form a citizens union right now." So, without more ado, they called themselves the Augusta Citizens Union, elected a temporary chairman, appointed a temporary executive committee of four to draw up a full-page advertisement for both newspapers calling for members to support a program of good government in general, and the resignation of the "boss" from his job as safety commissioner in particular.

There were some five hundred replies, from citizens in all parts of town and in all walks of life and in most income brackets, the most conspicuous absences being in the upper.

Ward Organization

These names were classified according to wards and it was found that all wards were represented. With this as a basis the organization of ward committees was begun; volunteers got in touch with the names in one ward at a time, by telephone or letter, and a meeting was called in the ward.

The process of holding these meetings occupied the better part of two months. The attendance was usually small, and even among those present there was great reluctance to accepting the job of chairman of the ward committee. A compromise was usually made by electing a temporary chairman and calling another meeting.

But after about two months there were committees in five of the seven wards, some better organized than others but all with enough of a nucleus to be expanded later. These committees were asked to elect two delegates to an executive committee which would replace the temporary one and would be in charge of the policy and the functioning of the ACU as a whole.

When these delegates had been elected, the executive committee met and elected officers—none of them professional politicians and most of them with no political experience at all: the president was an author, the vice president a conscientious business man, the secretary a lawyer, the treasurer a real estate man.

Program Planned

The immediate job seemed to be to raise some money and to increase the membership. The program of calling for the resignation of the "boss" had to be abandoned in the stage of "calling for"; the Civil Service Commission, which theoretically appointed the "boss" to the position of safety commissioner, declined to take any action, and in the meantime the citizen who had been arrested without a warrant had been persuaded by his learned counsel to drop all charges in return for his photograph and his fingerprints and his $52.

So the ACU set itself to the long and uphill task of creating better government by nominating and if possible electing better public officials.

Its immediate program is to elect its five nominees for City Council and to continue to put forward responsible citizens as nominees in all elections.

Its intermediate program calls for a purging of the registry list of the city and the registry list of the county; this matter was taken before the mayor, who has power to appoint a committee to purge the city list. He stated publicly in the newspapers that he was too busy with war work to bother with politics at the moment, but he has since appointed this committee.

The long-term program calls for passing a bill in the State Assembly providing for a system of identifying voters at the polls by a comparison of signatures, as is done in New York, Detroit, and elsewhere.

The Augusta Citizens Union now numbers some 1,200 members. Its expenses are small and are taken care of by voluntary contributions. The success of the organization is in the balance, owing to the refusal of so many citizens to "meddle in politics." Among the members, however, there is spirit and energy and a strong determination that the "boss" shall not have made his arrest in vain.

Berry Fleming, *President*
Augusta, Georgia, Citizens Union

The Home Front: Community Service

War following closely upon depression has accelerated personal and group disorganization. The aftermath undoubtedly will place tremendous demands upon community organization.

Specialists in community organization and public welfare have already developed formulas predicated upon operating budgets and the services of specialists. However, these plans are best adapted to large urban communities.

But throughout America a majority of our urban communities are small, precluding substantial budgets and the services of a staff of technicians, thus posing the question of how to muster the resources of a small community to meet its war and postwar needs.

The job will demand coöperation between amateurs and trained workers who though too few can nevertheless provide useful guidance. The amateurs with their sincerity and whole-hearted interest must accept the guidance of the specialists, who in turn must develop a philosophy which admits the services of coöperative lay leaders.

The typical American community already has its host of organizations which exist avowedly for the purpose of doing good. In the depression the resources of these various groups were taxed beyond capacity while problems multiplied daily. The writer's own community—Columbus, Mississippi—is typical.

Facing the facts, representatives of a score of organizations prepared plans for a council of welfare groups to serve as a clearing house and coördinating center. These plans were not carried through at the time but later, when war brought its many problems to the community, they were revived.

Groups Cooperate

A coördinating council for public and private agencies was formed. Membership was opened to all organized groups and to citizens interested in welfare activities in this county of 40,000 population—contrary to the social workers' theory that such an organization should be restricted to professional social service agencies. It was felt that in a typical community like the Columbus area, which includes a county seat and some small towns or villages, the community rather than the social workers' profession should be the basis for organization.

Groups participating included various organizations within the churches, the Associated Charities, Salvation Army, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., lodges, Parent-Teachers' Association, American Legion and its Auxiliary, the Rotary and other service clubs, and numerous others.

The coördinating group is called the **Lowndes County Welfare Council.** In view of the fact that it is impossible for such a large group to function effectively as a body, full meetings of the council are held quarterly, chiefly to hear reports and receive information regarding achievements and problems which confront the community. The real work is carried on through the case committee, consisting of a chairman and nine members, which acts as an executive and clearing committee for the member organizations. The committee meets monthly; three members are empowered to act between meetings in emergencies.

Quite frequently individual organizations deal with specific cases; such procedure raises again the problem of duplication. A solution has been worked out, however, through a confidential Social Service Exchange to which all member agencies promptly report cases handled.

A simple case is usually handled by the agency which first becomes aware of it. Problems such as direct family assistance, employment, and health fall under this heading. When a member agency handles a case, it reports the transaction to the Social Service Exchange; and in the event that the same person appeals to another agency for aid, the two decide whether it is a duplicate appeal or one requiring supplementary aid.

Emergency cases sometimes arise when an appeal for aid is brought directly to the attention of some individual belonging to a member group. If this organization does not have means, the applicant is directed to the case committee which can give assistance from the Council's modest treasury.

The Council now is giving especial attention to the trend in juvenile delinquency reflected in our locality. It sponsored a meeting on the problem which brought a frank and open discussion of conditions in the community. Meeting later with the case committee of the Council, interested persons set up a Committee on Youth Problems and Guidance which is serving currently as the planning and steering agency on juvenile delinquency.

All of us must recognize that our small communities cannot support extensive professional welfare services. We must approach the problem in the spirit of true community service and coöperation which the coördinating council in this community has so successfully fostered.

David W. Knepper
Mississippi State College
for Women

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Gas Tax Collections Analyzed

First Six Months of 1943 Continue Downward Trend

WHEN rubber and gasoline restrictions were first imposed, widespread estimates of the probable decline in state gasoline tax revenues were made, ranging up to an anticipated drop of 50 per cent or more. Happily, the more gloomy predictions have yet to be realized, but nevertheless there has been a considerable decline, approaching 50 per cent in some states.

One of the most useful studies of gas tax collection trends is that prepared by Dr. Edna Trull, of the Municipal Service division of Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.,[1] which converts monthly and cumulative revenues into index numbers based on 1941 as 100. This index shows that median collections for the first six months of 1943 for forty-seven states—Indiana did not report—were 73.2 per cent. The range was from a high of 95.2 per cent to a low of 53.9 per cent. The data for the forty-seven states are given below.

As Dr. Trull points out, this period covering the first half of 1943 provides a clear indication of the inroads of war on state revenues from the gasoline tax, since during this time all the states were under rationing, although rationing still fell with greatest severity on the eastern states.

Naturally the cumulative figures smooth out the month-to-month downward trend, but it is significant that the month-to-month change for 1943 has been relatively slight. Where the six months cumulative median stood at 73.2, the median index for June was 69.7 as compared with 72.1 for January.

The gradual decline in collections, as indicated by the movement of the monthly median, is shown in the table on page 510. To be especially noted is the fact that for the first half of 1943 relatively little fluctuation was shown

Gasoline Tax Collections, Forty-Seven States
First Six Months, 1943, Compared with Six Months 1941

South Dakota	95.2	Colorado	75.9	Vermont	67.7
Utah	95.1	Massachusetts	75.4	Georgia	67.7
Oklahoma	88.6[*]	Mississippi	75.0	Montana	67.6
Tennessee	84.3	New Mexico	74.7	Illinois	67.5
Minnesota	81.6[*]	Kansas	74.7	North Carolina	66.9
Nebraska	81.5	Louisiana	73.9	Wisconsin	66.7
Nevada	80.3	Wyoming	73.5	South Carolina	66.5
Alabama	80.0	Arizona	73.2	Michigan	65.6
Arkansas	79.4	California	73.1	Delaware	63.3
Kentucky	79.2	Iowa	72.4	North Dakota	59.2
Idaho	78.9	Maryland	72.2	New Hampshire	59.0
Oregon	78.5	Ohio	71.7	Florida	58.9
Texas	78.3	Missouri	70.8	Rhode Island	58.0
Washington	77.8	West Virginia	69.9	New Jersey	57.9
Connecticut	77.1	Virginia	69.6	New York	53.9
Pennsylvania	75.9	Maine	68.1		

[*] Not strictly comparable due to change in rate in 1941.

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[1] *Trend of Highway Revenues.* Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 290 Broadway, New York City. Data is from Bulletin No. 7, Series 1943.

from month to month, the 1943 record contrasting with that of 1942 when a steady monthly decline in the median was shown until August. As in the preceding table, the corresponding 1941 period is the base 100.

Monthly Median Index, Gasoline Tax Collections Forty-Seven States

Month	*1942*	*1943*
Jan.	113.0	72.1
Feb.	107.7	71.5
Mar.	96.5	72.3
Apr.	94.1	78.1
May	90.9	72.4
June	85.1	69.7
July	80.7	
Aug.	82.7	
Sept.	77.4	
Oct.	78.8	
Nov.	85.5	
Dec.	84.9	

Minnesota Suspends Ad Valorem Tax on Intangibles

Among the acts of the 1943 Minnesota legislature was one suspending for two years that state's tax on "money and credits." These intangibles, taxed at a uniform rate of three mills since the first tax was imposed in 1911, yield but little and the complete abolition of the tax has been urged frequently since enactment of the state's personal income tax law. The suspension will mean that the assessments as of May 1, 1943 and 1944, will be omitted, resulting in no money and credits levies collectible in 1944 and 1945.

The three-mill levy has been divided to go one-third to the city, village, or town in which the property is located, one-third to the school district, and one-sixth each to county and state. According to the Minnesota Taxpayers' Association, yields from the tax throughout the state have been negligible. In only six counties—Hennepin (Minneapolis), Ramsey (St. Paul), St. Louis, Winona, Washington, and Olmsted—did the tax levied in 1941 exceed $20,000. In each of fifty-eight counties the amount was less than $10,000. Administration of the money and credits tax—like administration of nearly all personalty taxes—has been troublesome, only a fraction of the taxable property has been gotten on the rolls in most instances, and complete abolition of the tax would not sorrow many local officials nor tax authorities.

Amarillo Revises Budget Set-Up

City Manager Austin P. Hancock of Amarillo, Texas, has revised that city's budget document to bring it into conformity in all major respects with the recommendations of the National Committee on Municipal Accounting. This is the second Texas city to make the change, Port Arthur's Manager Bill N. Taylor having two years ago altered his city's budget and accounting procedures to follow the National Committee's format.

The Amarillo budget uses papers of different colors to set off the sections dealing with the various funds, a procedure which, so far as this department knows, is a Texas innovation. Summary statements and detailed schedules are presented in well organized style for the four major funds through which the city operates—general fund, general debt service fund, water works fund, and water works debt service fund—while the minor accounts, mostly capital, are detailed in a fifth statistical section.

Full comparative data are provided, schedules setting up the current year's estimates parallel to preliminary figures for the year ending as the budget was prepared, and for the last completed fiscal year. In addition, trend data are provided on tax collections and assessed valuations and tax rates, and detailed schedules are included on the city's general purpose and water debt. The statistical tables and schedules are preceded by the budget message, in which the city manager discusses the program to be financed by the budget and highlights the significant financial features of the year's plan.

Cities Establish Postwar Reserves

Budgets for fiscal years beginning July 1, 1943, and financial reports for fiscal years ended June 30, 1943, now beginning to appear, show that a number of cities are actually starting to make provision for the postwar reserves of which there has been much discussion.

Phoenix, Arizona, set up $60,000 from its general fund surplus for 1942-43 for a postwar public works fund, and Maricopa County, which overlaps the city, established a reserve for postwar highway improvements of $50,000 during the same period. The city hopes to raise the ante to $250,000 during 1943-44, while the county has budgeted an additional $50,000 for the period just begun.

Dallas, Texas, set aside $130,000 of general fund cash in U. S. securities at the beginning of the 1942-43 fiscal period, and expects to transfer at least as much more from the same fund before September 30, 1943, the end of the current year. So far this year, $400,000 of water fund cash has been set aside and invested to provide for improvements which the department has been unable to make because of war conditions.

Texas Fiscal Officers Cooperate

The annual financial report issued jointly by the State Comptroller of Public Accounts and the State Auditor of Texas demonstrates a commendable degree of coöperation between two state officials. This report is for the state fiscal year ended August 31, 1942.

In the past separate reports, containing essentially the same information and taken from the comptroller's accounts, have been issued. This coöperative effort saved several hundred dollars in addition to reducing the work of both offices.

Each official inserted a brief letter of transmittal. That of the State Auditor is quoted below—as evidence of the spirit in which the work was carried out.

"The figures herein are taken entirely from the records of the Comptroller and the compilation of the report has been by the staffs of both departments, but our checking and test checking has been of a sufficiently detailed nature that in our opinion this report correctly presents the receipts and disbursements handled through the State Comptroller's office, as recorded.

"When used with the State Auditor's *Biennial Estimates* (to the Governor) for State of Texas Budget purposes (under date of October 1, 1942), we believe this Annual Report of the State Comptroller of Public Accounts, with this certificate, meets all statutory requirements. At the same time we feel that combining our efforts with those of the Comptroller is a contribution to economy and improved governmental service—heretofore the two offices have presented separate reports containing the same facts and figures.

"We wish to state also that we consider the Comptroller's general records to be very good and efficiently handled."

As a further coöperative venture the Comptroller omitted the schedule of bonded indebtedness, because the "State Auditor's report on local units of government contains that information along with other data on local taxes."

H. C. Bradshaw
Agricultural and Mechanical College
of Texas

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Ohio Legislates County Salary Increases

Provides for County Welfare Departments at Option of Commissioners

TO ANY close observer of Ohio's first war legislature, it was apparent that the 95th General Assembly made more peacetime changes than did many prior assemblies in laws dealing with local government.[1] Numerous acts affected county and township government.

The salary formula of county engineers was changed so as to give substantial increases particularly to the smaller counties. The maximum annual salary remains at $6,000, but a minimum salary of $2,100 was provided regardless of the formula.

An exception to the maximum annual salary of $5,500 paid to prosecuting attorneys was made by providing that in counties having a population over one million the annual salary should be $7,500. There is only one such county in Ohio, Cuyahoga County (Cleveland). Without questioning the merits of this legislation and with all due respect to the ability of the incumbent, it may be well to point out that seldom does the conservative and budget-balancing Ohio legislature grant salary increases to public officials in the upper monetary brackets. The Cuyahoga County prosecutor, however, like the Ohio attorney general, is in the peculiar position of paying his appointed first assistant, whose salary has no legislative limitation, a greater compensation than he receives himself.

These salary increases were made permanent as a part of the general law. A temporary makeshift was also provided for the benefit of county clerks of courts, county sheriffs, county recorders, and county prosecuting attorneys whose annual salary is less than $4,000. This legislation provided for percentage increases over existing law ranging from 15 per cent in the lowest salaries to 7½ per cent in the higher ones under $4,000. But in no event are these increases to bring the salaries over $4,000.

The reason for such temporary legislation is to provide some relief to the poorer paid local officials who will take office before the next session of the legislature has time to consider the report of the salary study commission provided for at this year's session. It was the universally expressed belief that the next session would make substantial permanent increases in salaries.

Fees paid to probate judges in inheritance tax cases were abolished and a population formula of compensation substituted. Since this legislation was sponsored by the probate judges themselves, it will no doubt result in increases in compensation over what was received on a fee basis.

In one instance alone was the compensation of local officials reduced. This was the repeal of the ditch fees paid to county commissioners. Needless to say, this three-line statute was enacted only after the most bitter opposition.

In regard to all legislative changes of salary it should be carefully noted that no existing officials can be affected. Only after taking office, by election or re-election, subsequent to the effective dates of the enactments, can officials benefit by the new salary schedules.

The "temporary" legislation permitting local subdivisions to refund any outstanding bonds which have matured or are about to mature was extended for an additional two years.

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[1] See also p. 504, this issue.

County commissioners were authorized to procure insurance against personal and property damage incurred by motor vehicles owned or operated by the county.

In contrast to an ambitious welfare program sponsored before the legislature, little was actually accomplished. One of the acts to survive provides for the establishment of a county welfare department to administer aid to the needy blind, aid to dependent children, poor relief and burials. In the mutilated form in which this legislation finally emerged, the county welfare departments are made optional upon the unanimous approval of the three county commissioners.

The utilities excise tax was permanently allocated for poor relief and the "temporary" 65/100 per cent utilities excise tax was extended for an additional two years, its funds also allocated for poor relief. Pre-audit of poor relief expenditures was abolished. The county budget commission was authorized to continue for an additional two years the earmarking of surplus taxes for poor relief. The legislative body of a township or municipal corporation operating a public utility was authorized, during the years 1944 and 1945, to transfer not to exceed 3 per cent of the gross receipts for poor relief.

The state assumed the entire expense of maintaining in state institutions needy persons whose responsible relatives are unable to pay for such care, thus saving the various counties approximately one million dollars per year.

ABRAHAM GERTNER
Legislative Representative
Gongwer Service,
Columbus, Ohio

Pennsylvania Studies Rural Health

In a recent issue of its *Supplement to the Borough Bulletin,* the Pennsylvania Government Administration Service recommends improvements in rural health administration in Pennsylvania. It points out that the war not only has enlarged the health problem by stimulating industrial growth in the state, but simultaneously it has drained away the available supply of doctors. It believes that some improvements in administration could be very effective in meeting the crisis.

Five chief weaknesses of the present system are listed:

1. There is no uniformity in the variety and quality of services rendered by local health boards. Some units provide only the very minimum of health services, while others provide no services, relying entirely on the State Department of Health to provide minimum essential services.

2. The local health officers are generally poorly paid, part-time employees who have had little or no training in public health work. Not more than a third hold the state certificate required by law.

3. Local units spend a pitifully small amount for local health administration. Most of them spend much less than the one dollar per capita generally considered the minimum for an adequate local health program.

4. The health laws are not administered uniformly, and in some instances they are flagrantly violated.

5. Because of insufficient appropriations the State Department of Health cannot provide regular or continuous supervision for local units.

It is recommended that the state, through district and county medical officers, assume full responsibility for health services in boroughs and townships under 5,000 population. Larger units should be obliged to undertake the minimum program under state supervision, but the state should provide all service above such minimum. Only persons duly certified by the state should be appointed as local health officers, and they should serve in a full-time capacity.

Abolition of County Coroner Recommended in Milwaukee

In a special study the Committee on County Affairs of the City Club of Milwaukee recommends that the state constitution be amended to permit Milwaukee County to abolish the elective office of coroner. With it should be abolished the entire system of inquests and coroner's juries. The coroner should be replaced by an appointive medical examiner.

Until such constitutional change is made, the committee recommends that a part-time medical examiner be appointed under civil service rules to assist the coroner and district attorney in the investigation of crime. The committee recommends also pooling and consolidation of administrative staffs of the coroner's, sheriff's, and district attorney's offices and reduction of the coroner's salary.

San Antonio-Bexar County Consolidation Supported

The San Antonio Express, advocating consolidation of San Antonio and Bexar County, Texas, recently commented editorially on the growing sentiment for consolidation among citizen groups. The Council of Presidents, representing most of the community's service clubs, social welfare, and other civic groups, is sponsoring the movement. Says the *Express*: "Doing away with duplicate functions, abolishing surplus offices, would mean more economical government—and hence lower taxes. At the same time the people would be getting more and better service for less money."

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Proposed Oregon Charter Provides P. R.

The Record in Cambridge Developments in Britain

OREGON, the only state whose constitution specifically mentions and authorizes proportional representation, may be about to make its first actual application of the system. An official charter commission, representing the cities of Marshfield and North Bend (1940 populations 5,259 and 4,262 respectively) and a small strip of unincorporated territory separating them, has approved a P. R.–city manager charter for a proposed consolidated city of Coos Bay for this territory.

The charter was drafted for the commission by the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon. It provides for a city council of seven elected at large by the Hare system of P. R. on a nonpartisan ballot. If the charter is adopted the council will choose a ceremonial mayor from its own number, a city manager, and a city judge, all for indefinite terms and removable at the will of the council. The P. R. election of the council every second year will be the only municipal election.

The charter was approved by the charter commission on August 18. It will now be submitted to the people of the territory concerned for their approval at an election to be called by the councils of the two cities. If a majority of the votes cast are favorable, the council of the larger city will call an election to choose the first city council. When the councilmen take office the new city will come into existence and the two present cities will cease to exist.

The proposed charter is based on an exhaustive study of the problems of consolidation in the area made in 1936 under the direction of Herman Kehrli, director of the Bureau which drafted it.

Proportional representation presents special advantages in connection with a consolidation of this kind because it prevents any one part of the new city from monopolizing representation without any need for arbitrary geographical districts which would tend to preserve a spirit of sectionalism.

Two Successful Years in Cambridge

The following editorial, summarizing the happy experience of Cambridge, Massachusetts, in its first two years under "Plan E," the combination of P. R. and the city manager plan, was carried in the *Boston Herald* of June 17 under the title "Plan E Makes Good."

"The Cambridge tax rate was $46.30 in 1941 and $43.90 in 1942. This year it will be $39.90. a reduction of $6.40 in two years. In that period the bonded debt has been cut down by more than $3,000,000, with a saving in interest charges of about one-fourth. The city is operating at last on a cash basis. The budget this year is nearly $1,000,000 lower than in 1941, although there is an increase of $45,000 in the school budget over that of 1942. The schools are operated outside the jurisdiction of the city manager.

"These savings have been made in the face of a drop of $1,427,000 in valuations, an amount equivalent to thirty cents in the tax rate. What is particularly significant, the borrowings in anticipation of taxes have been reduced from an average of $6,500,000 under the old regime to about $3,000,000. For the first time in twenty-five years the Cambridge banks are willing to accept the credit of the city on short-term notes, at an interest of 4/10 of 1 per cent. That is probably as low a rate as any municipality in the state enjoys.

"Cambridge has been living for years on borrowed money. If it had continued to borrow at the rate which prevailed in 'the good old days' the tax rate for 1943 would have been about $8 less than the rate now announced. But the day of reckoning would have come, and those who recall the situation of only a few years ago know that the accounting could not have been postponed long.

"Good management, the application of sound business principles, and the elimination of politics and favoritism account for these achievements. A policy of no firing is in effect, and of no hiring except for essential positions. Transfers are freely made to care for vacancies. Much work that used to be done by outside contractors is now performed by city employees. Taxes that have been overdue for as long as ten years have been collected, only 4 per cent of the 1942 property tax remaining uncollected at present. All bills are paid on a cash basis whenever possible. Boards have been reorganized and some consolidations made. The whole story would include a long list of such particulars.

"Plan E, which was evolved by the most intelligent and conscientious people of Cambridge, was a controversial subject from the first. The professional politicians detested the arrangement, carried their hatred to the authors, tried in every way to prevent the adoption of it, and still think that it was the devil's own work. Even today, they would like to have the people scrap it and allow a return to the free-and-easy old way.

"Plan E has justified itself time and

again. It has done so in terms of dollars and cents, the tax rate, better administration generally and things which everybody can understand."

A Proposal in the British House of Commons

The following account of a significant move for electoral reform in Great Britain is taken from the annual report of the British Proportional Representation Society published in June:

"On the 11th May, 1943, the following motion was placed upon the Order Paper of the House of Commons, by Mr. G. W. Rickards, M.P., Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Proportional Representation Society:

> "That this House is of opinion that a representative conference should be set up to consider the question of electoral reform and to report at the earliest possible date.

"The terms of the motion are such as to admit of the examination of all aspects of our electoral system, including election expenses, redistribution of seats and methods of voting. The motion received the support of 114 members of the House of Commons, some of whom intimated that, whilst approving of the examination of all aspects of the electoral system, they were not themselves personally in favour of proportional representation."

The members who put down their names in support of the motion include forty-seven Conservatives, twenty-eight Labourites, eleven Liberals, eleven National Liberals, four National Labourites, two of the Common Wealth party, one Communist, and ten independents.

"On the postwar Parliament will fall grave tasks of national and international reconstruction. This is a more than sufficient reason for the present Parliament to take such steps as are within its power to ensure that the postwar House of Commons shall be representative of the nation, and shall contain within it the highest political ability and leadership available in all the parties.

"If Parliament is to pass a measure of reform for use in the postwar election, it is desirable to appoint the conference asked for in the motion at an early date. The Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform, which met during the last war, was appointed in 1916. It took five months to prepare its report, and the Representation of the People Bill, in which the recommendations of the conference were embodied, did not become law until 1918.

Case For New Conference

"His Majesty's Government has been asked to give favourable consideration to the motion on the following grounds:

"1. That the Vivian Committee on Electoral Machinery was precluded by its terms of reference from considering electoral reform.

"A proposal that would have simplified the problem of redistribution was submitted to the Committee by the Secretary of the Proportional Representation Society. The Vivian Committee's report is not hostile to this proposal, but points out (par. 138) that 'in view of the dependence of this plan upon the adoption of the single transferable vote system, it does not appear to be one which it is possible for us to take into consideration for the purposes of our recommendations.'

"2. That the Home Secretary, in moving the second reading of the Prolongation of Parliament Bill in September 1942 said: 'It will be recalled that, in 1940 and 1941, points were raised as to the possible discussion and consideration of our electoral system and rather important and large scale electoral reforms in this country, including the fundamental method of electing Parliament. . . . The Government gave an undertaking which I now repeat, that we should provide facilities for suitable parliamentary discussion of the electoral system, so that the House, between the time when we can see that the life of this Parliament must end and the occurrence of a general election, will have a reasonable and proper opportunity of discussing any electoral reforms or changes which Hon. Members may think desirable.'

"The opportunity which the Government has offered to Parliament should, it would seem, be preceded by the enquiry asked for in the motion, so that Parliament may be able to discuss and consider electoral reforms in a fuller light.

"3. That the Cabinet's plan for India, which Sir Stafford Cripps submitted in 1942 to the leaders of the Indian parties, contained the provision that the 'entire membership of the lower houses of the provincial legislatures of India shall . . . proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation.'

"This plan was broadcast throughout the world. Doubtless proportional repsentation was selected because the Government wanted to ensure that representation on the constitution-making body should be as fair and complete as possible. Although, in this case, proportional representation was selected for a special election, it seems desirable, in order to avoid any misinterpretation of the intentions of the Cabinet, that Great Britain should examine how far representation in the postwar House of Commons should be made as fair and as complete as possible.

"4. That the Prime Minister's broadcast on the 22nd March, 1943, in which he stated that a Four Years' Plan would be presented to the electors 'either by a National Government formally representative, as this one is, of the three parties in the state, or by a National Government comprising the best men in all parties who are willing to serve,' has made more urgent the consideration of the electoral conditions under which the postwar election will be fought.

"Fears have been expressed that there will be a new 'coupon' election in which the Conservative, Labour, and Liberal Party organisations will determine what constituencies shall be allotted to the respective parties. Whether the word 'coupon' or some other word is used, it would seem that the Coalition leaders, in order to make sure of victory at the polls, would have to arrange that there shall be only one recognised National Government candidate in each of the constituencies.

"Such electoral arrangements may well give rise to serious dissatisfaction and distrust. It is, accordingly, of high importance, not only to Great Britain but to the world, that Parliament should examine how far electoral reform would avoid the interparty arrangements inherent in a 'coupon' election, and how far it would facilitate the coöperation of parties in postwar tasks, whilst allowing them to retain their freedom to state in the election campaign their own distinctive points of view, to nominate such candidates as they wish, and to secure that share of the representation to which their voting strength in the country entitles them.

"The Four Years' Plan, even if generally accepted, would have the benefit of criticism, and the final word on the requisite legislation would rest with a freely elected and truly representative Parliament."

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Revenue Administration, 1942. Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Conference of the National Association of Tax Administrators. Chicago, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1943. 66 pp. $1.50.

Recent Trends in State Revenues. Edited by Margaret Ermarth and George H. Watson. Chicago, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1943. xxi, 34 pp. $1.50.

Administrators and other persons concerned with the day-to-day operations of the public revenue machinery have become accustomed during the past decade to expect good things from the proceedings of the annual conferences. *Revenue Administration, 1942,* the current publication in the series, is concerned largely with the issues confronted by tax administrators, and indirectly by taxpayers, in wartime, among them the following queries. What are the effects of the war on tax revenues? What are the current developments, and the desirable ones, in intergovernmental tax coördination? How is taxation related to the inflationary movement? How is gasoline rationing going to bear on motor fuel tax revenues (the conference was held about the time rationing became effective)? How are state tax administrators to do their field jobs in the light of tire and gasoline rationing? How are particularly difficult collections of certain classes to be made in a time of emergency such as the war poses? What are the legal developments which most insistently affect tax administration? What are the tendencies in the state governments for organizing tax administration activities?

Recent Trends in State Revenues, published July 9, 1943, introduces a new periodical of the Federation of Tax Administrators which, it is contemplated, will appear annually. This report presents a workmanlike examination of the current statistics of state tax collections and appends the supporting statistics. The measures most fully examined in the thirty-four pages of text (uniform with *Tax Administrator's News*) include income, sales, gasoline, tobacco, and alcoholic beverage taxes.

The report closes with an estimate of the outlook in the case of each of these revenue areas and in the case of miscellaneous other revenues. As compared with other estimates, it appears that the present one is a trifle optimistic. The authors appear to have examined the available data regarding sales experience in addition to the revenue figures as such. They have placed less emphasis than have some other writers on the cumulative scarcities in the commodity markets and in transportation, and they have not stressed the influence of federal taxes and loans as much as some guessers would say they might have done. At that, the presentation is thoroughly reasonable; one might almost say it is conservative.

No table of contents or index is contained in *Recent Trends.* As a consequence, the report is a trifle awkward for a busy administrator's use. This omission is not too serious in view of the total of but fifty-five pages.

JAMES W. MARTIN
University of Kentucky

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Standard Practice in Municipal Accounting and Financial Procedure. Officially Adopted by the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United

States and Canada on June 17, 1943. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1943. 26 pp. 50 cents.

Budgets

Suggestions for 1944 Budgets. By Chester Biesen. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, in coöperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, 1943. 12 pp.

Housing

Housing Yearbook 1943. Edited by Hugh R. Pomeroy and Edmond H. Hoben. Chicago, National Association of Housing Officials, 1943. vii, 159 pp. $3.

The Improvement of Local Housing Regulations under the Law. An Exploration of Essential Principles. By Subcommittee on Housing Regulation of the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing. New Haven, Connecticut, American Public Health Association, 1942. 15 pp. 25 cents.

Judicial Functions of Administrative Agencies

The Judicial Function of Federal Administrative Agencies. By Joseph P. Chamberlain, Noel T. Dowling, Paul R. Hays. New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1942. xii, 258 pp. $3.

Land Use

Land Subdivision in the New Jersey Pines. By Joseph F. Hauck and Alvin T. M. Lee. New Brunswick, New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, Rutgers University, 1942. 52 pp.

Public Land Acquisition for Highway Purposes. By David R. Levin. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Libraries

Post-War Standards for Public Libraries. By Committee on Post-War Planning. Chicago, American Library Association, 1943. 92 pp. $1.50.

Municipalities

City of St. Petersburg, Florida, Departmental Operations. St. Petersburg, *The Times,* 1943. 27 pp.

1943 Laws Affecting Cities. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, in Coöperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, 1943. 58 pp.

Municipal Problems 1943. Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York, June 9, 10, and 11, 1943. Albany, The Conference, 1943. 122 pp. $1.25.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Citizen Action in Phoenix

Editorial

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Citizen Action in Phoenix

THE Citizens' Good Government Council of Phoenix, Arizona, whose success in ousting a "do nothing" city administration was described in the September REVIEW,[1] has provided another refreshing lesson in the democratic process of forcing official action to catch up with public opinion.

As in many cities which are the hearts of military concentrations or have experienced great wartime industrial expansion, the juvenile delinquency problem in Phoenix became serious. But there was little indication of official concern even when the situation was emphasized by the appointment of a youth betterment committee of responsible citizen members of the Good Government Council to study the problem.

Instead of following the all too usual practice of making a leisurely "study" of conditions which were obvious to anyone who looked, members of the committee promptly made a late evening tour of the city's "hot spots" and wrote strong letters to the city attorney, chief of police, and other city officials. The letters asked whether there were not curfew and other laws which needed enforcing and whether police lacked authority or desire to act; they closed with a demand for action.

A news account of the committee's letter appeared in the Saturday morning newspaper. The results were immediate. That night and on into Sunday morning many young people and some of their parents were brought before the judge of the juvenile court. Just before he adjourned court at 3:15 A.M., after hours of advising, warning, and committing, the judge still had the patient wisdom to conclude the unprecedented session with this statement:

"There's no use of our men fighting and dying out there to save this country if we let it go to pot in the meantime."

To make sure this would not be just a momentary sop to an aroused public opinion, the judge directed all peace officers in the county to repeat the performance every Saturday night.

This is a striking demonstration of what organized citizens can do to dramatize evils, force action, and thus make their communities better places in which to live. It also shows the need for civic organizations which do more than grumble about high taxes. It is not a question of bad officials either in Phoenix or elsewhere. The recent successful reform movement led by the Citizens' Good Government Council presumably installed a good administration. Our democratic system simply needs the participation of an enlightened citizenry to work properly, and this is one of the ways to enlighten citizens and to challenge them to participate.

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[1] See "Phoenix Citizens Clean Up City, Win Army Praise," p. 456.

Visitor from China

IN RECENT months a member of the Chinese Parliament, Yulin Hsi, has been quietly visiting cities of the United States to study their basic organization and administrative systems.

His assignment, received directly from China's great leader, Chiang Kai-shek, was to discover what could be learned from our experience to help in the reconstruction and operation of Chinese cities after the war.

Before starting home to Chungking recently, Mr. Hsi had visited fifty or more cities and had talked with many of our authorities on public administration. Some of these, incidentally, were left wondering whether we might not have at least as much to learn from Mr. Hsi and his penetrating observations as he and his compatriots might have to learn from our long struggle to improve our cities.

Mr. Hsi is no "impractical idealist." A banker in Shanghai, he is also a public-spirited citizen who was proud to render unselfish, unpaid public service. He served nine years, for example, as a member of the city council. Even after the Japanese took over the city completely, he remained there in the hope of helping his people. He slipped away to Chungking only when it became apparent that his greatest opportunities for service were at the wartime capital.

This was Mr. Hsi's first visit to the United States. He was educated in Chinese universities. He was in an ideal position, therefore, to view our ways and works with complete objectivity, without a preconditioned mind.

One thing which surprised him, as it does many keen observers from other lands, is the way a supposedly enlightened and progressive people tamely endure the waste and confusion of overlapping, duplicate governments—165,000 of them, according to the most recent survey by William Anderson.[1] Another was the frequency with which our people vote out experienced officials and elect others who know little or nothing about running a government. "I visited one large city," he remarked, "where all the department heads had been elected only a few weeks earlier. No one seemed able to tell me anything I wanted to know so I left in an hour or two for the next city."

The thing which puzzled him most, however, was the number of cities, particularly large ones, without the council-manager form of government. The "manager plan," he felt, seemed to be the most logical and workable he had found.

"I gained the impression," he sagely remarked, "that the chief reason is political opposition. The politicians seem to be afraid of it."

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[1] *The Units of Government in the United States.* Public Administration Service, 1943.

What a Soldier Talks About in a London Flat

You would have been interested in a conversation the other night in a flat in Berkeley Square, with eight or ten Britishers and I discussing proportional representation with as much enthusiasm as a similar group of Americans would have discussed the latest Hollywood movie. I wondered in how many living rooms in the United States a similar group could spend half an hour as intelligently on this important topic.

From a letter from Lieutenant Colonel KARL DETZER, member of the Council of the National Municipal League and former roving editor for *Reader's Digest.*

Small Political Parties Casualties of War?

Fear of alien influences, "isms," fifth column activities leads to agitation for legislation aimed at keeping more than two parties off ballot.

By **HUGH A. BONE**
Queens College, New York City

MINOR political parties are on the road to becoming one of the casualties on the home front. Since the beginning of international tensions a decade ago they have found it increasingly difficult to obtain funds and to secure a place on the ballot. With the outbreak of the European war in 1939 their position has been rendered even more precarious. In the November 1942 elections there were fewer third party candidates for U. S. senator, representative, governor or other statewide offices than in 1940—a total of 293 against 375 two years before. Together with independent nominees they polled in the Congressional elections of 1942 only 563,018 votes, or 2 per cent of the total. This may be compared with the 1938 Congressional vote wherein minor parties cast 1,334,222 or 3.7 per cent of the votes.

Minor party candidates appeared in only twenty states in 1942 and there was a proportionately greater decline in nominations for state over federal offices. The Communist party put forward only eleven candidates in 1942 as compared with fifty-nine in 1940 while Socialist nominees dropped from seventy to fifty-one. The Prohibitionists showed the smallest drop —from ninety-two to eighty-three. The Communists were unable to muster the necessary 50,000 votes for their gubernatorial nominee in New York in order to retain a position on the ballot.

Two local parties, however, made a creditable showing in 1942. The Progressives in Wisconsin elected a governor and the American Labor party in New York polled well over 400,000 votes for its gubernatorial nominee. In many Congressional districts, however, the party supported Democratic candidates.

Reasons for Decline

There are many reasons for the decline of minor parties. A convenient explanation is public apathy, an apathy which affected the major parties as well in 1942. But this hardly explains the difference between the Socialist vote of 590,400 in 1916 and of 117,000 in 1940, particularly in view of the smaller electorate in 1916.

Undoubtedly the various Socialist and Farmer-Labor parties have, in recent years, lost many former "protest votes" to the Democrats because of the social program of the New Deal. Many of the reforms advocated by minority parties have seen enactment into federal and state law during the past decade. As a result these groups are badly in need of rehabilitation and revitalization. The postwar issues now on the horizon will give the lesser parties an opportunity to champion new programs of political action.

More serious, however, is the fact that even before the outbreak of war in 1939, the American public was becoming increasingly suspicious of alien influences, "isms," and fifth column activity. There has been a tendency to associate subversive influences with minor political groups and this in turn has led to agitation to keep their names off the ballot. State legislatures have resorted to extraordinary devices to make minor party nominations more difficult.[1]

These have been of three types: (1) financial restrictions, (2) amendment of laws relating to nominating petitions, and (3) prohibition by statute or administrative ruling of "un-American" parties, or those which have "international connections", or advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence. The first two methods were well established before 1939, but since that time they have been extended and made more stringent. The third is largely an outgrowth of unfavorable reaction to the Russo-German pact of 1939.

Restrictions on Nominations

Arkansas requires a fee of fifty cents for each presidential elector in each of the counties of the state. This amounts to $327.50 for the nine presidential electors—an obvious hardship on the smaller parties.

The Maryland General Assembly in 1941 passed a law which provides a means whereby the names of candidates can be placed on the ballot by a certificate of nomination. This law requires a notary signature (usually twenty-five cents) for each name signed on nominating petitions, the number of signers varying according to the importance of the office. Thus, an independent, new, or minor party candidate for a state office would have to pay $500 in addition to the regular filing fees. A full legislative ticket would cost thousands of dollars. Furthermore, the act requires that the names of all signers of such petitions shall be published in the newspapers. In Indiana each signature must also be notarized and a similar rule has been established by administrative order in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

The most popular method of keeping third parties off the ballot is the requirement of a prohibitive number of signatures together with strict requirements for accepting names. Illinois has one of the most stringent laws in this respect. It requires 25,000 names on a nominating petition for statewide offices with not less than 200 signers from each of fifty counties. This has the effect of excluding both workers' parties whose main support lies in the cities, and farmers' parties whose strength is found almost exclusively in rural areas. This law kept Communist candidates off the ballot both in 1938 and in 1940 though they secured 25,000 signers, mostly in Cook County.

California requires approximately 175,000 signatures for a nominating petition and Ohio requires 15 per cent of the vote cast in the last election in order for a minority party to place its candidates on the ballot under its own label. The Florida election code makes no provision for independent or new party nominations. Candidates are nominated by primaries and a political party is defined as one having registered as members thereof at least 5 per cent of the state's total registered voters.

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[1] For a summary of some of these devices together with a note on the various state laws in this connection see *Minority Parties on the Ballot* (mimeograph) American Civil Liberties Union, New York, 1943.

Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, attempted in the spring of 1940 to arouse public sentiment against what he termed "petition tricks" designed to work a hardship on his and other minor parties. Among the more cumbersome of the laws he found were those requiring such parties to "file their petitions at an absurdly early date. Among the worst offenders in this respect is California in which recently a New Deal legislature made it impossible for a new or minority party to get on the ballot unless by February 15 — more than eight months before the election — a petition should be filed containing the signatures of 10 per cent of the vote cast at the last election—a plainly impossible requirement. In Pennsylvania the filing date was April 3, Oklahoma May 3, Michigan May 5, and West Virginia May 13. Kansas, Kentucky, and Nevada are among the other states requiring the filing of petitions at dates before July 1, that is, before the Democratic Convention will have been held."[2]

Mr. Thomas also called attention to North Carolina, "where in 1936 the Attorney-General ruled that each of the necessary 10,000 signers of nominating petitions would be guilty of fraud unless they actually join the Socialist party, not merely desire that the party should get the benefits of a place on the ballot." Minnesota prohibits the collection of signatures prior to the day of the primary so that a small party is allowed less than thirty days in which to collect the required 2,000 signatures.

Outlawry of Subversive Parties

Prior to 1939 the laws of Arkansas, Delaware, Indiana, and Tennessee excluded from their ballots the candidates of parties which advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence. In spite of the fact that the Communist party as early as 1938 disavowed the use of violence and came out "unqualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country," the laws of Arkansas and Indiana were invoked to deny the Communists an opportunity to present a ticket. The California legislature in 1940 barred from the ballot political candidates using the word "Communist" as a part of their party designation. A ruling from the Attorney-General and/or the Secretary of State barred Communists in 1940 from the ballot in Arizona, Georgia, Kentucky, and New Mexico.[3] Meanwhile in 1940 the official severance of the American Communist party from the Communist International was completed. Yet between the signing of the Russo-German pact in 1939 and the German attack on Russia in June 1941, nine more states enacted legislation barring Communist candidates from the ballot. These were Illinois, Kansas, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma, Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Arkansas strengthened its existing laws in this respect. Similar legislation was considered but failed of passage in Colorado, Idaho, Massachusetts, and Michigan.

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[2] "Undemocratic Tendencies of Election Laws Against Minority Parties," delivered over NBC, May 25, 1940.

[3] See "The Communist Party and the Ballot," (mimeographed) Council of State Governments, Chicago, 1941.

In May 1942 a special committee in Pennsylvania, headed by the Governor, ruled the Communists off the ballot as a party advocating the overthrow of government by force. The Secretary of State in Ohio banned the Communist ticket on similar grounds. In the meantime some substance was given to these rulings by the decision of Attorney-General Biddle in the case of Harry Bridges to the effect that the Communists advocated the use of force.

Evils of Restrictive Legislation

Regardless of the motives prompting state assemblies to reduce the number of minor party nominees or to keep a party off the ballot, such action seems short-sighted for several reasons. In the first place, restrictive legislation amounts in many cases to a denial of effective political expression to minorities, a policy hardly in keeping with the professed ideals for which the nation is fighting.

Secondly, these laws work a hardship on independent nominees and on new parties as well as on the established minor parties. Moreover, such parties as the Farmer-Labor, Prohibition, Progressive, and Socialist have contributed many constructive ideas to the American system of government. Though many of their adherents were strongly isolationist before Pearl Harbor, they have pledged full support to the war effort and have worked zealously to preserve civil liberties during the war period.

In numerous cities local third parties have been reformist in character and have put to rout boss rule and rehabilitated the city's government. Should citizen movements of this character desire to place a slate of nominees before the electorate they would find themselves, in a number of states, seriously frustrated by law.

Finally, the wisdom of prohibiting so-called "subversive" or "un-American" parties may be questioned. Such laws are obviously directed at the Communist party. But it should be recalled that the Communists today constitute some of the most vigorous workers for all-out war against the Axis. When Mr. Browder's prison sentence was commuted by President Roosevelt on May 12, 1942, the former promised "to intensify every effort to weld unbreakable national unity under the Commander-in-Chief for victory in the war."

For those unconvinced of the professed good intentions of the Communists it may be pointed out that to refuse their candidates an opportunity to run for public office is apt merely to drive the activities of the organization underground. When a group places the names of its nominees and officials before the public and submits nominating petitions with hundreds of names and addresses of its followers, an important part of the party's personnel and activities is brought into the open.

Remedies

Where the law or an administrative officer rules Communists off the ballot because of their "international connections" or as a party advocating violence, some relief may be had from the courts. The California Supreme Court, in July 1942, declared the law of that state unconstitutional on the ground that it was discriminatory. The Court did not say that the legislature lacked the power to deny the use of election machinery "to particular groups of dangerous citizens," but held that inadequate proof had been submitted that the Communist party fell within such a category. In the fall of 1942 a United States District Court invalidated a similar law in Illinois.

In complimenting the California court on its decision the *Baltimore Sun* on July 23, 1942, summarized the situation in these words: "It can be argued, of course, that the California court could have referred to several decisions in federal district courts and to Attorney-General Biddle's ruling in the Bridges case in support of the proposition that the Communist party does advocate such a policy. But the Supreme Court of the United States has not yet supplied any final verdict on that point or on the question of barring a party on such grounds. Until it does, the sensible course would seem to be that chosen by the California justices, to resolve all reasonable doubts in favor of full freedom of the ballot."

On the other hand, the Supreme Court has consistently avoided a declaration in the matter. In a decision on June 21, 1943, in the case of William Schneiderman, Russian-born California Communist leader, the Court again specifically declined to pass upon the question of whether the Communist party at the present time advocates the use of violence to obtain political control. The majority decision, however, declared that "the party in 1927 desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means and as a theoretical matter justified the use of force and violence only as a method of preventing an attempted forcible counter-overthrow once the party had obtained control in a peaceful manner, or as a method of last resort to enforce the majority will if at some indefinite future time because of peculiar circumstances constitutional or peaceful channels were no longer open."

It is also possible that the Communist party may be able to bolster its case in the courts by pointing to the recent dissolution of the Comintern and successfully argue that both legally and actually it no longer has "international connections."

So far as minor parties in general are concerned a uniform federal law governing federal elections is desirable. With the furor raised against such proposals as the federal soldiers vote and anti-poll tax laws, the possibility of enactment seems highly remote. Citizen organizations and political parties must, for the present at least, look largely to remedial legislation and to the removal of onerous restrictions in each state.

The American Civil Liberties Union has prepared a model law for nominations other than by primaries which seems to guard against the various petition hardships and at the same time guarantees that the ballot will not be cluttered with irresponsible candidates.[4] This proposed law

(Continued on Page 565)

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[4] See *Minority Parties on the Ballot,* pp. 11-16. This law is based upon a Wisconsin statute.

State Executive Departments Play Growing Part in Lawmaking

Over three-fourths of program advanced by New York's administrative agencies accepted by 1943 legislative session.

By **ELISABETH McK. SCOTT**
Director of the New York Legislative Service

WE HAVE for some time recognized the growing part administrative agencies play in state and federal lawmaking.[1] Whether we wish to accept this change in our democratic form of government or to attempt to counteract it, we must recognize the whole substructure of legislative machinery which the change has produced. Clerks' manuals describing a legislative procedure handed down from generation to generation offer the public only a part-picture of the present-day pattern of lawmaking.

The departments of our state governments have gradually, one by one, adopted the procedure not only of making recommendations in reports to the legislature, but of drafting those recommendations as bills and sending them, with a request for their passage, to the chairmen of the committees of each house to which they would be referred.

The handful of legislative representatives and counsel who watch legislation most closely take full cognizance of the attitude of administrative agencies on legislation, but they do so through personal contact and correspondence, rather than through channels of general public information. To these men, and to members of the legislature, the paths to the State Office Building are as well known as are the rules of the Senate and the Assembly. The policies and procedure of the various departments and other agencies of the state government are gathered by them by experience, and are passed on by word of mouth. They form the unwritten law of the lobbyist, the technical equipment of the legislative expert. He knows, for instance, that all department proposals are introduced, with hardly an exception, by the chairmen of the committees to which the bills are referred, and that bills sponsored by departments stand a better chance of enactment than do those sponsored by private agencies.

The legislator or lobbyist with experience in modern methods of lawmaking asks before reading a bill: "Who is behind it? What support does it have?" He avoids the main obstacle to the public's watching legislation, that is, the necessity of reading every bill, and does not even attempt what the average citizen complains he has no time for. The legislative representative gives serious consideration only to those bills with important organized support, particularly with administrative support.

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[1] See O. Douglas Weeks, "Recent Developments in the State Legislative Process," *State Government,* July 1943; Elisabeth McK. Scott and Belle Zeller, "State Agencies and Lawmaking," *Public Administration Review,* Summer 1942.

In this way he not only saves a great deal of time and effort but, by concentrating on the proposals of the administrative agencies—and of the major private organizations—he is able to anticipate and understand legislative trends.

In New York State, out of 712 bills enacted in the 1943 session, departments of the state government were responsible for 141 of the new laws—three-fourths of their proposals:[2]

Department	*No. Bills Proposed*	*No. Bills Enacted*
Agriculture & Markets	6	3
Audit & Control	2	2
Banking	6	6
Civil Service	7	7
Conservation	31	24
Correction	0	0
Education	13	10
Executive	19	15
Health	6	6
Insurance	3	3
Labor	8	7
Law	3	3
Mental Hygiene	0	0
Public Service	8	4
Public Works	20	14
Social Welfare	5	3
State	4	3
Taxation & Finance	41	31
	182	141

The second question asked by those legislatively "in the know" is: "What's the purpose of the bill? Why is it wanted?" Bills, like icebergs, are five-sixths under the surface, and their size, shape, and significance are not always seen by looking at the surface of the legislative waters—at the printed bill alone. It is necessary to go to the sponsoring agency to find out what court decision, what need or problem gave rise to the proposal.

Most of the bills referred to the legislature by a department of the state government are accompanied by supporting or explanatory memoranda ending with a request for the bill's enactment. These are what the busy legislator asks for before, or instead of, reading the bill itself. Bills without such explanations are often impossible to understand.

Many of the seemingly dull administrative measures indicate important trends in departmental policy, or are significant in their effect on the efficiency and economy of state government. While taxpayer groups direct their attention to a few spectacular tax measures or appropriation bills, they miss many an opportunity buried in proposals like the recent Health Department bill to permit a county to abolish the county hospital, or that of the Department of Public Works to provide for construction of certain local highways by the state.

Public Relations

The legislative work of the departments, varying greatly as it does, can perhaps be better understood as part of departmental public relations. Considered from this viewpoint, departments fall generally into three groups, according to the fact and degree of relationship with the public.

Of the eighteen New York State departments, the Departments of

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[2] In recording the legislative output of state departments in 1943, the first year of Governor Dewey's administration, it must be remembered that about half the departments were functioning under holdover commissioners during the legislative session, so that they were far less active in formulating legislative proposals than usual. A record of the departmental output of the two preceding sessions, the last two years of Governor Lehman's administration during which the departments were functioning more normally, showed: in 1941, departments responsible for 240 of 955 laws enacted; in 1942, departments responsible for about 200 of 943 new laws.

Audit and Control and of Law have little or no direct contact with the public, acting chiefly as an agency for other departments. Although the formal opinions which the Attorney-General renders to departments are always available to the public, the memoranda these two departments prepare in support of their legislative recommendations are usually held to be confidential, available only to the Governor or to the department concerned.

Two of the others, Banking and Insurance, deal chiefly in their legislative work with highly organized groups representing the private interests in these fields. These groups, although invariably consulting with the departments in connection with legislative proposals, employ counsel well able to draft bills themselves. Department influence may often cause such groups to refrain from introducing or to modify proposals to which the department is opposed.[3] Since the period of banking reform, the Banking Department has confined its legislative program to comparatively few technical proposals, usually considerably less in number than the proposals sponsored by private banking associations. The Insurance Department in recent years has been much more active, sponsoring proposals involving considerable social and economic change.

Other departments, such as Agriculture, Education, Health, and Labor, maintain the widest public relations and do a great deal to assist individuals and groups who find difficulties in the present provisions of the law and who suggest what seem to the departments reasonable changes. In some cases the entire program of a department originates in the suggestions of trade associations and other private organizations, modified by the department's own views.

Department counsel hold conferences with those interested in the contemplated changes in the law in order to secure general agreement; draft the bills, referring them to the legislature with a request for passage. The Labor Department has for years held regular conferences in the fall, of which no public announcement is made, but to which certain lawyers and employer and employee representatives are invited. Suggestions for change, both from within the department and from outside groups, are considered and those accepted by the Department are drafted for introduction during the coming session.

Private Groups Assisted

The Department, as part of its legislative work, gives assistance, for instance, to the State Federation of Labor in preparing legislation, at times offering it the opportunity of sponsoring a departmental bill. Departments, unlike private groups, seek no credit for legislative achievement. They are interested in making the law they administer as workable as possible rather than in making a legislative record and usually prefer to remain as much in the background as possible. For this reason departmental influence is greater than an actual table of department bills indicates, as department counsel so often modify, if not actually draft, bills sponsored by others.

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[3] For example, during the 1943 session a bill was introduced to permit savings banks to invest in low-cost housing. The State Savings Bank Association denied sponsorship of the bill, stating that, though it had prepared it, it would not recommend passage until the Banking Commissioner had had time to study and to approve it.

Although the State Federation of Labor sponsors annually a program of fifty or more bills, made up chiefly of the resolutions of its member unions submitted at the annual fall convention, it is rare that these requests succeed in being enacted. On the other hand, its less extensive program of what are known as "agreed" bills, offered by the Federation on consultation with the Department of Labor and legislative leaders, fares well at the hands of the legislature.

Work of Private Groups

Department counsel may be approached at any time of year with proposals for change in the law, but the intensity of the Department's work depends not only on the problems to be met, but on how far the work of private groups in the field is meeting them. The Department of Social Welfare, for instance, is less active in influencing legislation than is the State Charities Aid Association, a semi-private organization which for years has advised governors and legislatures in the formulation of welfare legislation.

In this first year of a Republican administration and a Republican-controlled legislature, the Department of Audit and Control has taken a part comparable to that of other departments in formulating legislation in its field, after being overshadowed by the State Conference of Mayors and the Association of Towns during the years of Democratic administration.

From department memoranda the public could learn much of the methods used in preparing legislation for a smooth passage through the legislature. A 1943 memorandum of the New York State Labor Department in support of a State Federation of Labor proposal says:

> Shortly after the enactment of Chapter 824 of the Laws of 1942 adding a new section 202 to the Labor Law (relating to the protection of persons engaged in window cleaning), the Board of Standards received a considerable volume of correspondence from building owners throughout the state requesting interpretations of the law and seeking information as to its application and as to the content of prospective industrial code rules requested to supplement the statute. . .
>
> In recognition of the responsibilities of writing new rules supplementing the law the Board convened a representative Advisory Committee to assist in the preparation of these rules. This Committee consisted of representatives of organized labor in the window cleaning industry, employer groups engaged in the business of window cleaning, together with representatives of real estate and hotel interests in New York City. For the information of this Committee the Board prepared a factual background tracing the history of Section 202. . .

Or, in connection with a bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Law, to make it unnecessary for a workman injured in the employment of a non-insured employer to prove negligence of the employer in an action for damages, the State Labor Department memorandum closes with:

> The proposal has been agreed to by representatives of labor, insurance carriers, and employers in conference with representatives of the Department of Labor.

As few bills are debated on the floor of the legislature and as no record of the meetings of committees —except of public hearings—is kept, it is often difficult for the public to understand the reasoning of the legislature in taking action on bills. In view of this lack of legislative record, the memoranda issued by departments and other government agencies are the best available evidence of legislative intent. In them the student will learn legislative history, as in:

> This subdivision (subdivision 10, Labor Law) was enacted at a time when the memory of such disasters as the Triangle Waist Company and the Diamond Candy Company fires was still fresh in the minds of the legislature. It was intended then to make the law limiting the number of workers permitted to be employed in new factory buildings as rigid and inflexible as possible.—Labor Department Memo in re Chapter 416.

Others discuss basic theories of government:

> The review procedure established under this bill, being essentially quasi-judicial in character, is properly lodged in the Board of Standards and Appeals inasmuch as the subject matter of the legislation, viz. the registration of union labels and devices, is entrusted to the Department of Labor.
>
> In addition to the appellate functions enumerated above the Board possesses quasi-judicial powers of an original type, such as the approval of certificate of incorporation of certain labor organizations. . . The requisites of a fair hearing and notice are properly provided for in the bill in keeping with sound administrative law procedure.—Labor Department Memo in re Chapter 474 of 1943.

Publicizing department legislative documents might do much to decrease the mass of legislation introduced annually and thus facilitate public watching of the process. It is probable that many of the "perennials" reappearing regularly only to die in committee would be withheld or modified if those interested in the bills knew the reasons of administrative agencies for disapproving them. A bill seeking to set up a fur authority in the Labor Department has been introduced several successive sessions in the legislature, but has never been reported out of committee. The Conservation Department issued a memorandum stating in part:

> There are in the state approximately 125,000 persons who engage in trapping fur-bearing animals . . . for the most part made up of farm youths in school who through their trapping efforts make about sufficient funds to pay for their text books, keep themselves in pocket change, and contribute something toward the cost of their clothing. . .
>
> It definitely is necessary that the department have regulation and control over the groups who harvest the fur-bearing animals of the state if it is to carry out its mandate to manage these resources in ways that scientific research indicate are calculated best to do the job. There should be no division of control over these groups; and their activities are too well tied in with the Conservation Department to make it desirable to shift to another department any measure of control over them.

At present only two of the New York State departments prepare their legislative memoranda in mimeographed form so that copies are available to more than a few officials—the Department of Conservation and the newest of the Labor Department's divisions, the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance. Other department memoranda are typewritten and are sent, for the most part, to about a dozen officials, usually the bill's introducers, committee chairmen, party leaders, the Governor's counsel, etc. Occasionally a department takes the position that its legislative memoranda are confidential to the legislature and the Governor; that its arguments, if publicized, might be used against the administration in another connection. Only two of the departments prepare no memoranda until the bills are before the Governor, preferring to be free to negotiate and to modify their proposals during the legislative session.

Other Agencies' Programs

Comparable to departments in the importance of their legislative proposals and in the careful preparation of their supporting arguments, are the Judicial Council, the Law Revision Commission, and the temporary legislative committees or commissions set up by the legislature for work in a particular field. The Moffat Municipal Finance Commission and the Ives Committee on Industrial and Labor Relations, continued annually over a period of several years and working continuously in collaboration with the administration and with interested private groups, initiate legislation comparable in importance to that of the departments. Like the departments, such committees submit explanatory arguments in support of their proposals, including them in the annual report which they are required to submit to the legislature. As these reports are usually not available in printed form until near or after the close of the session they are often made available earlier in mimeographed form. The Law Revision Commission has an abstract of its supporting memorandum printed at the end of each bill it recommends. It also provides a limited number of mimeographed copies of its full memos, printed copies a short time later, and reprints them in full in its annual report. The Commission's unusual record in securing enactment of its recommendations—fifteen out of a twenty-four-bill program having become law this year—is undoubtedly in part due to its excellent work of publicizing its supporting memoranda.

Availability of department documents with their factual, informative discussion of administrative issues and general governmental policies involved in proposals under consideration would be of tremendous value in building an informed public opinion on state legislative issues, as well as in training citizens for participation in lawmaking. Senator Langer's recent proposal to Congress to provide for additional senators to advise their states with respect to matters before the federal departments and other agencies is an evidence of the difficulty felt even in official groups of following legislative measures. Old rules which no longer function, new practices, both of the legislature and of the administration, need to be clearly restated and appraised.

In clearing away dead wood from the legislative process and in bringing into light present-day procedures, a more direct relationship between the public and the legislature could be established. Failure to recognize legislative realities and to utilize existing aids makes participation difficult and tends to turn the public to methods of law evasion rather than of law reform.

East Cleveland Celebrates 25 Years of Council-Manager Government

City reduces debt 83 per cent despite millions spent for major improvements; rated third best governed city in its population group.

By **PATRICIA KNOWLTON**
Life

"THE political situation in East Cleveland is about as breathtaking as the annual financial statement submitted by your insurance company," editorialized the *Cleveland News* in 1939. "The municipal budget is healthy, as usual."

The municipal budget, in 1943, is so healthy that it shows an 83 per cent net debt reduction since 1927, from $3,079,008 to $529,609, in serial bonds.

And East Cleveland's politics, since an abortive restlessness in the deep depression, have been nothing to enliven a dull day. Candidates for city commissioner are unopposed this fall, as they were two years ago. The city manager who was appointed in October of 1922 seems in a fair way to hold office for another twenty years.

The Citizens Manager Plan Committee, through whose efforts East Cleveland adopted a council-manager charter twenty-five years ago, still functions; some of the same business, professional, and public-minded people who cajoled candidates into the hundred-dollar-a-year job of commissioner in 1917 are still guiding campaigns.

The city's first Commission (council) comprised a hotel manager, a department store executive, an industrial executive, a prominent lawyer, and the head of a large supply business. Today's commissioners are an industrial credit manager, an electrical engineer, an industrial executive, an insurance man, and a railroad comptroller. Once, for several terms, there was a lady commissioner.

Charles A. Carran, the city manager, and former president of the International City Managers' Association, came to East Cleveland as finance director after serving as assistant state examiner of public offices. A lean, quiet gentleman with a background of accounting and law, he became manager in January 1923, and has pleased a varying population, if a not-so-variable Commission, ever since.

While city administration has remained stable, nonpartisan, and efficient, the city itself has changed over a quarter of a century. In 1917 East Cleveland's three square miles supported a maturely elegant suburb, given over on the whole to substantial frame houses with anterior verandas and polygonal cupolas.

The homes still stand, painted gray and yellow on the outside and full of dark woodwork within. But one third of the population is now housed in apartments, and a third in double houses. From a town of 25,000 East Cleveland, in the same area, has grown to more than 42,000, with a population shift of 50 per cent in the last ten years.

It maintains itself, as the Lions Club says, as a "Place to Live," although per capita property valuation is now equal to that of Cleveland proper or of Lakewood, considerably below the newer suburban levels.

The middle of the middle income brackets, whose average income is estimated at the Cuyahoga County average, live in East Cleveland now. There are some twenty Negro residents in the city, a corner of "Little Italy," a hillside where new suburban homes have gone up lately. There are sixteen churches of several denominations, and one Catholic on the Commission.

Industry has been most unwelcome, relegated by a zoning plan inaugurated as early as 1919 to the region of the Nickel Plate and New York Central Railroad tracks.

A few big industries, the Austin Engineering Company, General Electric's befountained Nela Park Research Institute, have grown up with the community. A recent growth of temporary war plants has taken place along the railroad tracks. For goods and services the suburb relies mainly on Cleveland, apart from the grocery stores and little shops along a few main streets. Eighty-five per cent of the city property valuation is broken down as real estate, 10 per cent as public utilities, and 5 per cent intangible property.

The civic interest of East Clevelanders runs high on matters of improvement, low on politics. A Community Council, representing fifty-five organized groups and the community at large, meets once a month and carries home the current city news.

The Citizens Manager Plan Committee is open to all public-spirited persons, and includes among its hundred-odd names many business leaders, the ministry, the professions, women's groups, from all sections of the city.

This is the committee which has made survival of the manager plan its business, has recruited candidates and issued literature. Once, in the depression, an opposition developed—there was dissatisfaction with the manager plan—and East Cleveland acquired two partisan commissioners. They were not re-elected.

Excellent Financial Management

One reason for East Cleveland's high degree of content is the financial management which saw it through the depression years with bi-weekly garbage collections and no deficiency bond issues, which provided for the three hundred families on relief, and paid all salaries on the day due.

The city last year allotted two-thirds of its revenue to operation, the rest to debt and service.

Financially as conservative as possible, East Cleveland has nevertheless shown a progressive spirit in its $10,500,000 worth of public improvements over the last twenty-five years. It is admirably equipped with playgrounds and street lights, swimming pool, and the 180-acre estate which John D. Rockefeller presented to East Cleveland and Cleveland Heights for development into a park. Its paving and sewering are nearly impeccable, and annual per capita fire loss was 77 cents in 1942.

In 1925 the city established a baby dispensary aimed at preventive medicine. With the issuance of a birth certificate goes a memorandum on the dispensary which offers free service to children under three years. The city has also worked out a plan for using the tuberculosis clinic at Huron Road Hospital in Cleveland.

The Police Department installed a two-way radio system in 1939, and its current pet is the lie detector, which, the city management says, "We use for just about everything."

Postwar Plans

Looking forward, the citizens will vote in November on a $200,000 street improvement bond issue, to be used for postwar improvement.

"If we're going to do all the things we hope for after the war," Finance Director Grant Apthorp said as he left in September for a military government school, "we'll have to have something to do it with.

"Whenever people complain about taxes—the city tax rate is .79—I just show them the 1918 annual report."

The 1918 report, one of the first of the statements which East Cleveland has distributed to every citizen each year, reads, under Police Department:

> The Department is equipped with a motorcycle. The automobile owned by the department in 1917 was turned over to the Water Department at the first of the year, and automobile service was had by hiring a taxi. . . . However, the latter part of the year, some trouble was experienced in getting a taxi just when one was needed. . . .

In the City Hall a secretary or a law director might still be loaned, with a minimum of ceremony, to another department. "We are functionally organized," was the way Manager Carran put it. "There is no hewing to department lines."

East Cleveland, in a university survey held in 1938, was rated the third best governed city under 50,000 population in the United States.

City Employee Survey

HAVING voted unanimously for a survey of Indianapolis city government, the city council has assumed responsibility for having the work done by a competent and disinterested agency. The National Municipal League is in a position to render this service, as are various other agencies.

The study of Indianapolis governmental operations is intended to show how many persons work for the city, their salaries, the nature of their services and the manner whereby they are chosen. Equally valuable will be a professional appraisal of each job's importance. Councilmen are hopeful that although the report may recommend higher pay in key positions, it will propose the elimination of needless employees and functions to bring about a saving in the cost of government. The mayor has indicated that he may order a survey of his own.

If Indianapolis had the city manager form, conducted in the same manner as a successful business venture, there would be no necessity for counting noses because nobody would be hired unless needed. The movement to obtain a constitutional amendment enabling cities to choose the manager form of government was defeated at the 1943 session of the Indiana general assembly. This, however, is regarded as no more than a temporary delay in the fight to divorce city government from partisan control. Editorial, *Indianapolis News*

More Services for Less Money with Janesville Manager

Wisconsin city well pleased with its twenty years of council-manager plan; city affairs long free from politics.

By **PERRY O'BRIEN**
Janesville (Wisconsin) Daily Gazette

HAVING established a record of efficiency and economy second to none in his field and having brought national recognition to himself and the city which he manages, Henry Traxler is observing his twentieth anniversary as city manager of Janesville, Wisconsin.

Following the banquet at the Chicago conference of the International City Managers Association on September 13, Mr. Traxler was presented a certificate of honor "for his contribution to the proficiency of his fellow managers and his achievements in advancing municipal administration."

One of three city managers in the nation to have completed twenty-five years in that capacity, Mr. Traxler came to Janesville from Clarinda, Iowa, September 15, 1923, after serving the Iowa municipality for five years.

During that period ward politics and other evils known to municipal operations were alarming the voters of Janesville and in 1922 citizens voted to try the city manager type of government and Henry Traxler was "stolen" from Clarinda to tackle the job here.

The record he has made here in his twenty years of service has provided reams of copy for newspapers, magazines, political and municipal publications over the entire nation because of the efficient and economical manner in which the city has been operated.

The low rate of taxation and surprising solvency of the Janesville city government, even during the base of the depression, resulted in wide publicity for the city and its manager and the same story remains true today with cash balances in the face of a long list of public improvements, the envy of all cities in the nation the size of Janesville and many much larger in size.

Path of Continued Progress

With only a few minor political flareups, all of which were easily weathered by the veteran city official, Mr. Traxler can look back over his twenty years of service to Janesville with pride in the fact that cash balances have provided one of the finest park and recreational programs, an exceptional network of paved streets, outstanding efficiency in city offices, fire and police departments, a most modern school system, including a number of new school buildings, and a host of other improvements in beauty and efficiency not to be found in cities of this size which are as free of bonded indebtedness.

Since voters discarded the aldermanic system of government here and put Henry Traxler at the helm the city treasury has been taking less money from Janesville citizens and giving them more services.

Today Janesville has the lowest tax rate and provides as much essential service as any city its size in the state. It has a very small bonded debt and for years has ended its annual fiscal operations with money in the bank. During the depression, when most cities were raising taxes, Janesville reduced its levies and covered the difference with cash reserves.

There is no sleight-of-hand involved in the methods Traxler and his aides use to accomplish more with less money. Viewed separately most of them seem almost inconsequential but add them up and you get the difference between exceptional and only fair business practices.

For example, under the old regime each city department requiring hose bought and cared for its own. Each department used its hose only part of the time and cared for it indifferently. Now the fire department purchases and cares for all hose needed by the city and loans it to other departments when needed. This method has reduced city hose purchases by one-third.

Although a centralized system of purchasing of city supplies has long been in practice here, it was only recently that another state city was praised nationally for adopting such a plan.

Although given little credit for developing scores of new methods of municipal efficiency the city manager says he is expected to produce and must expect public comment only when things are not running smoothly.

Under his directorship fire, police and street departments were mechanized, enabling them to operate more efficiently with less personnel and expense. Better trained police officers in radio cars, a motorized fire department centralized under one roof and a mechanized street cleaning department, with weekly rubbish pickups, are only some of the efficiency programs adopted in civic government here.

Free of Petty Politics

It is generally agreed in Janesville that the city for the past twenty years has enjoyed a continuity in government it had never before known. Its official life has been free of petty politics. Its city employees have been men and women hired and kept for their honest and efficient service. Its city council has constantly kept the best interests of the city at heart and above small group prejudices, acting wisely and without interference.

Twenty years ago Janesville had only the beginning of a Riverside Park, no municipal beach, no Palmer Park, no Jeffris Park, and no Monterey Park.

Today Janesville citizens point with pride to the regular improvements being made at beautiful Riverside Park with its fine road system and recreational advantages, including its new eighteen-hole municipal golf course. They also point to Monterey stadium and recall that only a few years ago refuse was dumped on that site.

The Goose Island development has produced a park completely made by dredging and filling. The beautiful wooded area that now constitutes Palmer Park has been improved with roads, storm sewers, comfort stations, tennis and shuffleboard courts, picnic areas, wading pool, playground apparatus, and fireplaces. Many improvements are contemplated at Jeffris Park and all of this work accomplished without bond issues but with careful handling of city and federal funds.

Well located and equipped playgrounds are operated ten weeks each summer under the direction of capable recreational instructors.

The city's recreational park system of 460 acres was started from scratch in 1924 and had cost the municipality $617,371 up to the first of this year. The previous administration bought the land for Riverside Park in 1922 but no improvements were made until 1924.

During the twenty-year period many miles of water mains have been built until today practically every part of the city is serviced. The department has paid for its improvements out of its earnings.

Other tangible evidence of material progress under the Traxler management includes:

The improved city garage adjacent to the city hall, remodeling of the upper floor of the city hall for use of patriotic societies. Remodeling of the old high school into a modern vocational school and the erection of a new vocational work shop. Remodeling of the upper floor of the public library into an auditorium. Erection of the Monterey bridge by the state and the city's share paid for in cash.

A new armory was built. Five new schools were constructed and a large addition was built at the Grant School. A $206,000 sewage disposal plant was built at a cost to the city of $104,000 and the remainder from federal funds. A complete system of storm sewers has been put into operation.

A new pumping station and a nine-million-gallon reservoir was provided assuring the city of a three-day supply of water in case of pump failure.

Editor's Note.—From the *Janesville Daily Gazette* for September 15, 1943.

Commission Government

About the time Beatrice changed from the mayor-and-council form of city government to the commission form in 1912, the latter plan was hailed as an improvement.

Today no cities are going into the commission form, the defects of which have been clearly demonstrated. Chief of these is the fact that it combines the legislative authority with the administrative function. The same three men who hold the executive offices also pass ordinances, levy taxes, make appropriations.

Beatrice citizens recognized the defect after the commission plan had been in operation for six years. They tried and failed to elect three commissioners who agreed to use their salaries to hire a city manager.

This time, the proposal is to establish the council-manager plan according to the statute for that purpose. The idea is the same, improving administration of the city's business affairs.

Editorial, *Beatrice, Nebraska, Sun*

Contributors in Review

A MEMBER of the political science faculties of two universities, **Hugh A. Bone** (*Small Political Parties Casualties of War?*) has given much thought to governmental operations in this country. His brochure, *Smear Politics: An Analysis of 1940 Campaign Literature,* was published in 1941; his latest book, written jointly with L. V. Howard and titled *Current American Government: Wartime Developments,* is just off the press. Mr. Bone has contributed various articles to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW as well as to other publications in the field. From 1937 to 1942 he was with the University of Maryland; more recently he joined the staff of the Political Science Department of New York City's Queens College where he devotes part of his time to teaching in the Army Specialized Training Program.

A NATIVE of Cleveland, **Patricia Knowlton** (*East Cleveland Celebrates 25 Years of Council-Manager Government*) has had a lifelong opportunity to observe the successful operation of the council-manager plan in suburban East Cleveland and to be aware of the praise which Cleveland newspapers heaped on its neighboring community on the occasion of each annual report of progress. Now a researcher for *Life*, Miss Knowlton recently completed a year of reporting for the *Cleveland Press.* Graduated last year from Radcliffe College, where she studied English, anthropology, and assorted social sciences, as well as serving as business manager and president of a literary magazine, she was also an interested observer and minor participant in the Cambridge campaigns to throw off political machine domination through the adoption of "Plan E."

FOR the past six months **Perry O'Brien** (*More Services for Less Money with Janesville Manager*) has covered the Janesville, Wisconsin, City Hall beat for the *Janesville Gazette.* Previously he had covered the Court House beats in Walworth and Rock Counties for the same newspaper. Mr. O'Brien is a product of Wisconsin education. Graduating from Elkhorn schools, he proceeded to Marquette University's College of Journalism, following which he did newspaper work on Wisconsin weekly papers until he joined the editorial staff of the *Gazette* in 1938.

AS DIRECTOR of the New York State Legislative Service since 1935 **Elisabeth McK. Scott** (*State Executive Departments Play Growing Part in Lawmaking*) has had ample opportunity to watch the wheels go round in that state's legislative halls. Previously Miss Scott had given much of her time to international affairs. With an educational background which included a year at the Sorbonne, she became director of the program bureau of the Foreign Policy Association, which office she held for two years, planning discussions on foreign affairs, directing management of speakers, and arranging programs for educational institutions and other groups interested in foreign policy. Miss Scott spent a vacation of several months organizing a branch of Zonta in Berlin and visited branches of that organization in Prague and Vienna. Previous to her work with the New York Legislative Service, she joined the National Municipal League's staff as a volunteer, doing Citizens Council organization work in New York State.

Researcher's Digest: November

Employment in the postwar period as viewed by Minneapolis and Washington Bureaus; standards for fire department administrators; effect of the war on Alabama; sponsors instead of petitions.

THE research bureaus are thinking about postwar problems, which is an encouraging rift through the war clouds. The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington** and the **Minneapolis Research Bureau,** an affiliate of the Minneapolis Civic Council, have simultaneously looked into the question of postwar employment as affecting the entire welfare of a city, governmental and otherwise.

The reports of the two agencies complement each other. The one—three issues on "Postwar Minneapolis" in *fact,* the publication of the Minneapolis Bureau—looks into the prospects for postwar unemployment in Minneapolis and then into the mitigating prospects for reabsorption of the expected 50,000 job seekers into private employment. The other—*A Municipal Program for Post-Victory Employment,* Information Bulletin No. 87 of the Washington Bureau—gives complete directions for making a survey of municipal resources with a view to planning in advance a comprehensive program of postwar public works.

Minneapolis' technique for estimating the number of after-the-war unemployed is an interesting and exacting one. The Bureau has listed pre-war and present employment totals for every type of enterprise in the city, has estimated the various stresses and strains upon the employment market after the war, and has gone thoroughly into the industrial winds which may play upon this scene to affect employment totals.

This painstaking attention to detail is matched by the Washington Bureau, which has departed from the usual polemic type of plea for public works in general, and has gotten down to cases, citing lists of possible public works projects and giving complete and varied questionnaires for determining the resources, needs, and desires of the city.

Recommended is the word for both these publications.

Measuring Fire Losses

Another in the three-year program of Administrative Measurement Studies, *Fire Losses and Fire Risks,* has now been issued by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California.** The first in the series was *Determining Work Loads for Professional Staff in a Public Welfare Agency* and a third on *Fiscal Aspects of Metropolitan Consolidation* is expected soon.

The same meticulously scholarly approach which characterized the welfare study is evident in the new work on fire losses. Messrs. Simon, Shephard and Sharp classified all burnable property in the cities of Oakland and Berkeley, California, and have made searching analyses into the relationships between fire loss and type of occupancy, value of property, area, and all other factors which might possibly be associated with fire risk. The aim was to develop a classification and record-keeping method which would be of use in other cities which have the laudable desire to distinguish between their administrative efficiency in fire prevention and fire control and the natural risks inherent in the nature of the buildings and industries in the city.

The result of the study has been to suggest two alternative methods of maintaining classifications—the periodic survey method and the continuous record method—and to show that certain types of classification are clearly related to fire loss, while others are not. To a layman it appears that the surveyors have made a distinct contribution to the field of administrative measurement, one which deserves study by those who are faced with the problem of trying their own strength in public administration.

Mailed Fist on Alabama

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** had an interesting idea when it asked selected public officials in Alabama to write down their estimates of what the war has done to Alabama. The result is *War Comes to Alabama,* a small book jacketed attractively, as is usual with the Bureau's material, by a black and red paper cover showing a mailed fist coming down upon a map of the state. There are fifteen chapters discussing the impact of war upon population, public welfare, crime, public health, and all the rest of a state's governmental aspects. This will be a historical document when it is all over; at the moment it is a highly interesting excursion into Americana as well as into the problems of state government.

What's Wrong with the Primary?

An interesting proposal is advanced by James K. Pollock in *The Direct Primary in Michigan, 1909-1935* as a partial cure for the infirmities displayed by the primary system. He suggests, in this new publication of the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan,** that the fraud-inviting petition system be replaced by a sponsor system, whereby persons who want to run in the primary would have to present a small number of formal oaths by prominent citizens who were willing to aver, in so many words, that "in my opinion, my knowledge of the said candidate is sufficient to warrant my urging his election." The idea behind it is that quantity, represented by the signatories of the familiar petition, would be replaced by quality and that voters could then be guided by the solemn testimony of persons in whom they have confidence.

Professor Pollock also favors a shorter ballot as a step toward improving the direct primary but his examination of the workings of the system in Michigan leads him to the conclusion that the primary has only the defects of any democratic instrument, and he finds against a return to the convention system.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Fire

Fire Losses and Fire Risks. By Herbert A. Simon, Ronald W. Shephard, and Frederick W. Sharp. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California, 1943. x, 65 pp.

Postwar Planning

A Municipal Program for Post-Victory Employment. Seattle, Association of Cities and Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington, 1943. 18 pp.

Postwar Minneapolis. Parts I, II, and III. Minneapolis, Minneapolis Research Bureau, *fact* for July, August, and September, 1943. 8, 5, and 5 pp. respectively.

Primaries

The Direct Primary in Michigan, 1909-1935. By James K. Pollock. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan, 1943. 81 pp.

State Government

War Comes to Alabama. University, Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama, 1943. vi, 141 pp.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Charles P. Taft, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

'Teen Age and the War

PROBABLY few communities in the nation have failed to experience some evidence of the increase in juvenile delinquency which lately has occupied so much space in the public press. Those concerned with the welfare of children are generally aware of the reasons for this increase. The uprooting of families, the glamour of war adventure, the often unconscious sense that the uncertain future gives license to grab whatever satisfactions can be found today without counting cost or danger—all enter into the psychology of war.

The 'teen age is the hardest hit by this kind of pressure. At the very time when psychic and social "growing pains" are most acute, they find themselves lost in a kind of emotional No-man's Land. They are no longer children. Boys barely their elders have been called to man's estate and are under arms. More of their contemporaries are getting married. Still more are getting jobs. Even the best adjusted young people, with stable, sympathetic homes behind them, may feel lost in this high-speed, war-dizzy world.

All over the country, towns and cities are waking up to their responsibilities to these junior citizens. Activities of the Office of Community War Services of the Federal Security Agency present a cross-section of this nation-wide concern and activity. Coordinating functions of this Office keep it in touch with other federal agencies dealing with problems of child and youth welfare and education. It has operating responsibility for two programs which are closely related to the problem of protecting the welfare of young people in wartime. These programs are recreation and social protection.

The number of 'teen-age boys and girls throughout the nation who are getting into trouble of one sort or another cannot be accurately determined. The Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, estimates that juvenile courts dispose of about 200,000 cases a year—even in ordinary times. An outstanding trend in the mounting rates of juvenile delinquency is the increasing number of girls involved. Ordinarily, according to Children's Bureau reports, the ratio of boys and girls coming into children's courts is five to one. But the Bureau's estimates show that "whereas boys' cases increased in 1942 about 8 per cent over 1941, the girls' cases increased 31 per cent." Estimates from other sources indicate that among boys the most frequent charges are assault or other outbreaks of violence; among girls the increase seems to be linked with promiscuity or with behavior leading dangerously in that direction.

Like any estimate, these percentages based on juvenile court figures are simply indications of a general trend. They do not include any count of boys and girls who are in difficulties but do not reach the court — either because they are helped by some other means or because they are not helped at all. They do not allow for the varying grounds on which children may be brought into juvenile courts—depending on the laws and the law enforcement and child welfare facilities, and the social and moral climate of the particular community. They do not reveal the wide differences in the experiences of different communities: there are actually some places where — because pressures on young people have not been so great or community safeguards have been unusually effective—the rate of delinquency has not gone up. But these are undoubtedly the exception rather than the rule.

Although accurate statistical data are not available, there is unmistakable evidence that the increasing number of young girls who are engaging in indiscriminate sex promiscuity constitutes a major problem in the spread of venereal disease—a menace to men in military service as well as to the young girls themselves.

Towns and cities all over the country are tackling it, and federal and state agencies are doing everything they can to help them.

On the law enforcement side the Social Protection Division of the Office of Community War Services works with the duly constituted local authorities and with their representatives in the Federal Security Administrator's National Advisory Police Committee. In much the same way, this office has the fullest coöperation of national officials representing such business groups as the hotel and taxicab and liquor industries. The National Police Committee has recently issued a new law enforcement manual which was discussed with and approved by the National Sheriffs' Association, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and by the various industries concerned such as hotels and taxicabs.

The section of this manual devoted to the problem of the 'teen-age girl represents the practical experience of local communities who have found constructive ways of dealing with this problem. One point repeatedly emphasized in the manual is that a hard-boiled "cracking-down" policy defeats its own ends. Experienced law enforcement officials do not make the mistake of some over-anxious citizens who think the way to handle young offenders is "to scare them to death."

Need Right Direction

Constructive methods are offered for directing delinquent young people in the right direction at the turning point in their lives when they come to police attention—methods which will provide them with the best supporting influences which our civilization offers.

It is pointed out that an experienced officer will not rush a young girl picked up for delinquency to the police station or sheriff's office without considering other alternatives, and calling upon all the help he can get in the community to prevent the neccessity of police or court action—that from the very outset, or better still in advance, such a case calls for the closest kind of working relationship between all the community services available. Police officers, social workers, school authorities, job training and job placement agencies, health departments, citizens' associations, churches, and military authorities in communities near Army and Navy posts—all of these are mentioned as agencies who can help, and who should be organized to help quickly, effectively, and in the interest of protecting youth.

Cited as the first resource to be looked into is, of course, the girl's own home—where perhaps if they realize what is at stake, her parents can help her redirect her interests. If so, she can be taken home without even entering her name on the police or juvenile court record.

Police have broken up red light districts because they were breeding spots for crime and disease. It is equally necessary to clean up places and conditions that are breeding spots for delinquency. In protecting girls from exploitation, special attention must be given to places of employment which violate age, wage, and hour laws—eating places which employ minors as "car hops," waitresses, hostesses, or cigarette and hat-check girls, bowling alleys employing pin girls, and the like. The same sort of supervision should be given to commercial amusement places —"juke" joints or taverns which permit frequenting and patronage by minors; unsupervised public dance halls, particularly so-called "taxi" dance halls; movies which do not separate unattended children from adults, especially those which fail to "police" balconies and galleries, or admit unescorted children to late or midnight shows.

Community Must Help

The law enforcement official has first-hand knowledge of these places and of the whole delinquency problem. Without his help, no community can get very far. But he is not a miracle man. Neither law enforcement officials nor community social agencies can make a preventive program work without community understanding and active, intelligent community support.

The next answer is to provide places where young people can have the right kind of good times. The work of the Recreation Division of the Federal Security Agency has included encouragement and help to communities in developing such places.

After-hours use of school buildings for social gathering, full utilization of such community resources as church parlors and civic club rooms, in season and out, have been encouraged.

Cities all over the country have been considering such 'teen-age needs. Many places are providing the boys and girls with "a place of their own." These differ in management and auspices, but all the successful ones have a lot in common: the kids help to run their own show; it has a "come hither" name—"Teen Town" and "School Door Canteen" are fair examples; it isn't stiff and formal; it offers a "bar" that serves soft drinks and milk, a good dance floor and a tireless nickel-free juke box; and it is crowded.

For boys and girls whose lives are in the main on a fairly even keel, this one simple opportunity for normal social contacts may be all that's needed to round out the picture. For others, adjustment to the business of growing up in wartime may include a new slant on school with a more realistic chance of participating in or preparing for some sort of war service. For still others, help in getting a job or in adjusting to the new freedom and responsibility of working and having a pay envelope may be a necessary part of the answer.

And now, as always, for those who have somehow missed the stability that a good home builds in childhood, the community must do its best to provide skilled, sympathetic redirection and rehabilitation.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

War Places Heavy Strain on Civil Service

New Recruitment Methods of Permanent Value

THE general manpower shortage in most of the country continues to create new problems for state and local governments as to retaining necessary personnel and obtaining new employees to replace men going into the armed services or to fill new jobs where expansion of activities becomes imperative. Salaries have been increased and new procedures have been developed to attract men and women into governmental service, both temporary and permanent.

Police and fire departments have presented special difficulties, and their strategic importance has intensified efforts of members in various cities to obtain more favorable treatment than municipal authorities have been willing to grant.

Wartime Pay Adjustments

Substantial wage and salary increases for most civil service workers are shown to have occurred during the war by a Civil Service Assembly survey of adjustments made by 133 federal, state, and local civil service agencies since December 1941. Increases were given usually by one or more of three methods—sliding scale increases generally with larger increases for lower paid employees, cost of living increases, and flat percentage increases.

Sliding scale methods, either with sliding amounts or sliding percentages, were used by 27 per cent of the agencies. Amounts of increases varied from $2.50 to $25 a month, and percentage changes were largely in a range of 5 to 10 per cent. Many agencies showed increases of flat monthly amounts to all employees—in effect a form of sliding scale increase since it results in a decreasing percentage as the rate of compensation rises.

Cost-of-living increases were made by about 14 per cent of the agencies, including three states—Louisiana, Maine, and Tennessee. Flat percentage increases granted by 13 per cent of the agencies ranged from 5 per cent to 25 per cent, with limiting maximum amounts in some instances.

Replies of 19 per cent of the agencies showed either a combination of these methods or some other form of adjustment, including increases merely in the minimum rates in the various classifications.

Recruiting Techniques

In order to learn the extent to which the war has caused changes in recruitment policies and practices of civil service agencies, and to determine whether such changes will be temporary or permanent, the Civil Service Assembly has recently made a survey of 136 such agencies. It was ascertained that recruiting procedures of permanent value have been developed by local, state, and federal personnel agencies. The wartime practices that appear to have the greatest chance of becoming permanent, according to the Assembly, are listed below. Most of them are closely related to existing procedures, rather than being radical departures. They indicate, however, that wartime conditions will have lasting effects on public personnel programs with respect to recruitment and maximum use of manpower.

1. Greater use of advertising through press, radio, posters, etc., to attract workers;
2. Scheduling examinations outside

regular working hours for convenience of applicants;

3. Making more liberal use of transfers to fill vacancies;

4. Development of records of employee skills to facilitate transfers and promotions;

5. Greater use of training programs for new workers, and to prepare employees for promotion;

6. Controlling absenteeism by checking on sick leave and other employee absences.

Several practices were to be abandoned when conditions permit, according to the survey report. Only four of the eighty-three agencies employing women in jobs filled previously by men, and three of the sixty-seven agencies permitting employees to take additional part-time jobs plan to make these provisions permanent. One agency now modifying physical standards reports this will be continued after the war; all of the agencies reporting they had lengthened the work day or work week plan to abandon this practice after the war. Waiving of residence requirements, relaxing of both upper and lower age limits, lowering or abolishing of training and experience requirements and use of continually open examination and eligible lists will be dropped as soon as possible by most of the agencies that had adopted these measures.

A large number of agencies indicated their interest in employee service programs but stated their inability to undertake them because of financial limitations. Smaller agencies were found to show a definite trend toward temporary adoption of recruitment of workers for part-time services, while the larger agencies indicated a similar trend with respect to employment of physically handicapped workers.

The Police Situation

Police qualifications have been relaxed by many state legislatures this year so that cities may make temporary appointments under reduced physical and educational standards, according to the American Municipal Association. In general the legislation excludes such temporary appointees from pension rights and civil service status.

Age limits were increased and mental and physical requirements decreased in many cities. For example, Louisville lowered educational requirements for policemen from one year of high school to eighth grade graduation. The starting age limit was raised from thirty-five to fifty and the health director was given power to lower minimum weight and age requirements.

To secure new men in Memphis, police salaries were raised, physical requirements lowered, and age limits changed. A grave situation recently arose, nevertheless, in the threat of a police strike to force reinstatement of two suspended patrolmen, coupled with demands for salary increases, shorter working hours, and restoration of a civil service law that was repealed in 1935. On October 20 the City Commission granted a further increase of fifteen dollars per month to all policemen and firemen, as well as certain other benefits.

In New York City the police and firemen were successful in obtaining enough signatures to petitions calling for a public referendum on the granting of yearly bonuses of $450 per man, because of increased work without added pay, for the duration of the war and six months after the signing of a peace treaty. The city government had not acceded to this demand. It was opposed by various civic groups, pointing out that a peace treaty might not be signed until long after the war, if ever; that the police and firemen are well paid compared to various other groups of employees, and that if the bonus, to cost $12,000,000 per annum, were approved the other groups might well demand much higher total compensation than the city's strained budget could meet. On October 15 the Commerce and Industry Association obtained a court order restraining the placing of the question on the November 2 ballot, it being argued that the proposed local law establishing the bonus was not legally a matter for initiative and referendum. The organized police and firemen lost an appeal from the order.

Merit Systems Cover Some Employees of 48 States

In all of the forty-eight states certain employees are given merit system protection through departmental programs, and in twenty states all or a substantial portion of state employees are under formal merit system programs, the Civil Service Assembly reports. These are Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wisconsin. Though their laws are similar in general principles, they differ in structure, powers, and duties of the administering agency and the number of positions covered. In six of the service-wide system states, the program is based in whole or in part on provisions in the state constitution.

New York State Civil Service Commission Revamped

The new president of the New York State Civil Service Commission announced on October 5 that the Civil Service Department would be streamlined by the combining of more than a dozen loosely knit units and the creation of the office of administrative director.

A new investigating staff will be formed to check on the reliability of statements by applicants for examinations, to follow up complaints, and to trace criminal records.

Missouri Constitutional Convention Gets Under Way

With the election of a president on the first ballot, adoption of rules for organization and procedure, and appointment of twenty-six committees, the Missouri Constitutional Convention has gotten off to a good start, according to Stratford Lee Morton, a delegate and chairman of the convention's Library, Information and Research Committee. Mr. Morton anticipates little partisanship in the work of the convention. He has supplied all delegates with copies of the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League.

There is a separate Committee on Local Government for the city of St. Louis, St. Louis County, and Jackson County, because of the special problems of those metropolitan areas; it is headed by Professor William L. Bradshaw of the University of Missouri.

Indiana-Kentucky Boundary Fixed by Interstate Cooperation

An ancient dispute as to the boundary between the states of Indiana and Kentucky, near the city of Evansville, Indiana, was settled this year as a result of efforts of the Commissions on Interstate Coöperation of the two states. The dispute centered on an area known as Green River Island, formerly an actual island in the Ohio River. It was claimed by Kentucky, but because of the shifting of the river's course, the island became attached to the north shore—the Indiana side.

Following a conference of the two state commissions in 1939 special two-man commissions, appointed by the governors of the two states, carried on negotiations through which a boundary was determined by a joint survey. The Kentucky legislature in 1942 and the Indiana General Assembly in 1943 passed similar acts establishing the boundary. The interstate compact was approved by Congress and signed by President Roosevelt June 29.

The valuable Evansville Water Works is on the "island," and as recently as 1935 had been the subject of a suit by Kentucky claiming that the plant was in that state and subject to tax assessment. The suit was unsuccessful. The newly established boundary places the water works in Indiana. The problem of proper policing for the two parts of the island remains to be met.

Missouri River Basin Studied by Interstate Committee

Composed of representatives of the governors of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana and Wyoming, the Missouri River States Committee, Governor M. Q. Sharpe of South Dakota, chairman, held a series of meetings during the summer to secure information and ideas for the future development of this river basin of 600,000 square miles, according to *State Government,* organ of the Council of State Governments. Flood control, irrigation, power, navigation, recreation, and pollution abatement were discussed at gatherings where public officials, Congressional delegations, business groups, and others were present. The Committee was organized in June following disastrous floods. It is expected that a more permanent organization and work program will soon develop.

State of New York Issues Labor Textbook

A textbook on labor and industrial relations for use in high schools has been sponsored by the State of New York, constituting an innovation in its political history. Use of the book is optional, but those local school systems that adopt it will use it in a mandatory social studies course. The book was conceived and prepared by the Ives Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions, headed by Irving M. Ives, majority leader of the Assembly; this committee has actively functioned for the last five years in efforts to promote labor peace.

The book was prepared under the direction of William B. Groat, Jr., the committee counsel, with the aid of Dr. Phillips Bradley of Queens College, director of research, Dwyer W. Shugrue, chief assistant counsel, and others on the committee staff. It is reported to have been informally approved by the State Board of Regents.

Council Manager Plan News

At a general election on October 4 the town of **Bloomfield, Connecticut**, retained the town manager form of government under which it has operated for nearly three years. Votes in favor of the manager form were 465 and those opposed, 402. The issue had aroused much controversy. A pro-manager committee had sent to all voters a statement of many favorable results of the operation of the manager plan in Bloomfield, and the opponents likewise distributed a contrary statement. A campaign by word of mouth was also conducted by each side. Two newspapers of near-by Hartford supported the manager plan. Last year a majority of votes on a similar question were anti-manager, but the election on that issue was declared invalid on technical grounds. The opposition expected the manager plan to be defeated this time. A movement is now under way for organization of a town charter committee to draft a modern manager (or other) charter for submission to the state legislature, as it is felt that the present system, under a general statute, fails to define authority clearly.

Beatrice, Nebraska, on November 16 will vote on adopting the manager plan.

Berkley, Michigan, voted on September 14 to revise its charter to provide for a manager, and elected a charter commission. The vote was 433 to 202.

A proposal for placing the question of adopting the council-manager plan before the voters of **Lansing, Michigan,** at the November election, was defeated by the Council of that city in September by a vote of twelve to two. The proposal was sponsored by Alderman Arthur E. Stoppel, who also advocated the formation of a nine-member charter commission if the voters favor the change.

In **Crystal City, Texas,** an ordinance establishing the manager plan was passed on August 12.

The **Marysville, California,** League of Women Voters has placed before the Chamber of Commerce a draft of a proposed city manager ordinance.

In **Midland, Michigan,** the question of drafting a new charter will be voted on at the February 21 primary. Petitions asking the vote were filed on October 5.

Alderman James B. Waller of **Chicago** has introduced in the city council a proposal to authorize an assistant to the mayor to be designed "city manager."

Home Rule Sought in Southern States

Municipal leagues in three southern states have had the question of home rule brought forcibly to their attention, according to *Southern City*.

In Louisiana Senator James J. Bailey, legislative member from East Baton Rouge, suggested to the Louisiana Municipal Association that a constitutional convention be called to clarify the status of home rule and local self-government in that state.

In North Carolina State Treasurer Charles M. Johnson, chairman of that state's Local Government Commission, urged the North Carolina League of Municipalities to revive the question of home rule, saying that the legislative hoppers are cluttered with local bills concerning everything from salaries of janitors to extension of city limits.

In Tennessee Judge W. C. Cherry, city attorney of Nashville, emphasized to the Tennessee Municipal League the need of a constitutional amendment providing for home rule charters for cities.

Prineville, Oregon, Solves Urban-Rural Fire Problem

After disastrous fires on industrial and residential property just outside the city limits of Prineville, Oregon, the city council of which refused to extend fire protection beyond the city except to property for which financial arrangements had been made in advance, the fire problem as to territory adjoining the city was met by annexation of part of the area and by a five-year contract between the city and the county, obligating the latter to pay the city a fixed sum for fire service, to be defrayed by a special tax on a fire protection zone that was established. Consultants of the League of Oregon Cities, writing in the October *Western City,* point out that a six-pronged approach to the problem was involved. Besides the annexation, the city-county arrangement, with some participation by the state fire marshall, has the aspects of a special or *ad hoc* district, intermunicipal coöperation, extraterritorial city administration, county administration, and state administration.

Intercity Cooperation Accelerated by War

In the fields of police and fire protection, and in the performance of certain other essential public services, coöperation between cities has been augmented by the war, according to a survey of 1943 state legislation by the American Municipal Association. New laws of some twenty states make it possible for neighboring cities to take joint action in solving health, personnel, planning, police and fire protection, and other problems of common interest.

Minnesota and Pennsylvania adopted the most significant laws this year in the field of intermunicipal coöperation; they allow any two or more governmental units—cities, counties, school districts, etc.—to make agreements for joint exercise of powers common to the contracting parties.

California amended its law authorizing intercity coöperation to allow local governmental units to coöperate with the federal and state governments and their departments and agencies.

Municipalities are permitted to coöperate in fire and police protection in fourteen states under 1943 legislation which provided, as a rule, for the transfer of firemen and fire-fighting equipment from one community to another.

Postwar Reserves of Municipalities

The American City has been conducting a symposium on "Postwar Planning for Municipal Improvement" in nine issues from November 1942 to September 1943, in which 369 municipalities in all parts of the United States have reported that they have begun to plan for postwar public works or other municipal improvements to be undertaken when men and materials are available. One hundred and forty of the municipalities state that they are setting up reserves, in war bonds or otherwise, for postwar projects. This is shown by population groups as follows:

Population	*Replies Published*	*Municipalities With Postwar Reserves*
50,000 and over	98	9
25,000 - 50,000	77	23
15,000 - 25,000	64	27
10,000 - 15,000	130	71
	——	——
	369	140

Municipal Priority Ratings Made More Automatic

The War Production Board has adopted the policy of assigning automatically priority ratings for maintenance, repair, and operating materials and supplies for municipal use, instead of cities being required to obtain specific authorization, according to the *Washington News Letter* of the American Municipal Association. This involves the shelving of the Governmental Requirements Plan under which about three-fourths of the dollar value of such materials and supplies purchased by all cities are said to have been obtained. The enormous amount of work entailed on the part of GRP personnel in handling the growing number of applications is reported to have proved too much for the WPB and the discontinuance of the GRP procedure solves the administrative problem caused by the existence of two distinct methods of assigning ratings for municipal supplies, i.e., directly and individually through GRP, or automatically under Regulation 5-A of the Controlled Materials Plan.

Governmental requirements in general are being assigned automatic ratings under CMP Regulation 5-A as follows: AA-1 for sanitary sewerage facilities, hospitals, refuse and garbage disposal, police and fire protection, and disease control; AA-2 for streets providing immediate access to military or war production facilities and strategic thoroughfares, airports, storm sewers, street lighting (by cities that buy power), administrative facilities and educational institutions; AA-5 for facilities not listed in Regulation 5-A. Public sanitary sewerage facilities may also obtain automatic AA-1 ratings under Preference Rating Order P-141, and water, gas, electric, steam, and communication utilities serving the general public obtain them under Utilities Order U-1.

Citizen Action

San Antonio Civic Group Endorses City-County Consolidation

Conducts Educational Campaign Before Placing Plan in Ballot

RECENTLY the **San Antonio Council of Presidents,** composed of presidents and immediate past presidents of eighty-six civic organizations in San Antonio and Bexar County, Texas, unanimously endorsed the proposal of its president, Howard W. Davis, to set the consolidation of the city and county governments of San Antonio and Bexar County, Texas, as its prime objective for the ensuing year.

Bexar County, like some 350 other metropolitan counties in the United States, finds itself burdened with a complexity of confusing and overlapping local governments. The original city limits of San Antonio have been extended only twice, in two small areas, during the past three hundred years, when the king of Spain made the original six-mile square grant for the city of San Antonio. The city growth is positively strangled by the various municipalities, towns, incorporated villages, and military reservations immediately adjacent to its present limits.

In Bexar County there are sixty-four independent school districts, more than twenty water districts, thirteen post offices, five law enforcement groups, two conflicting health departments, six tax-assessing agencies, seven tax-spending agencies, and a multiplicity of other duplications and conflicting authorities too numerous to mention.

The proposal is to consolidate the city and the county into the city and county of San Antonio, under the legal method set up by the Texas enabling act of 1933 providing for simple procedure in the selection of a charter drafting committee and the subsequent adoption of a suitable charter for future operations.

To accomplish these ends, a direct selling campaign is being carried to every precinct of Bexar County by the various members of the San Antonio Council of Presidents. President Davis has been accompanied on his speaking tour by County Judge Charles W. Anderson. Judge Anderson explains the legal method—the HOW of the plan; President Davis explains in detail the WHY of the proposal. City and county officials, including Mayor Gus B. Mauermann, Park Commissioner Henry F. Hein, City Tax Commissioner Alfred Callahan, and others, have publicly endorsed the movement as a result of the speaking activity.

Civic Groups Endorse Plan

The San Antonio Breakfast Club endorsed the proposal unanimously, the San Antonio Kiwanis Board of Directors unanimously approved; as have also the Lion's Club, the Executives Association, the San Antonio Manufacturer's Association, the San Antonio System of Public Accountants, the Lion's Club of Alamo Heights, the Council of Pan-American Relations, and various other civic groups.

The Executive Board of the City Federation of Women's Clubs has publicly endorsed the movement, and Mrs. Charles S. Fowler, its president, is personally presenting the proposal to each of its sixty-five member clubs.

Programs will be presented in all the outlying rural areas of Bexar County explaining the triple tax plan proposed by President Davis. For tax assessment purposes property in Bexar County will be divided into three classifications—business property, residential property, and rural property.

It is anticipated that the total tax burden will be reduced by this consolidation from 20 to 40 per cent and the service rendered increased.

In addition to these tangible objectives, such a consolidation will again establish San Antonio as the first city in Texas in population, and will unify all the people of Bexar County under one local government and enable the metropolitan area to achieve many accomplishments heretofore rendered impossible by virtue of disunity, inaction, indecision, and a lack of centralized authority.

The present Bexar County budget is $1,950,000 annually; the present San Antonio budget $3,550,000. A total of $5,500,000—plus the less impressive budgets of the outlying incorporated areas. Competent local authorities deem it quite reasonable to expect a saving of one or two million dollars annually as a result of this consolidation.

The greatest hazard to be overcome in this selling campaign is the hazard of fear of increased taxation due to misinformation and the natural American fear of making a change.

After a thorough campaign of public meetings an election will be called early in 1944.

Citizens Care—at Home and Abroad

Because the war has distracted even the people at home from thoughts of local government the **Citizens Union of New York City** has been working harder than ever at its job of keeping people informed and watching local government. It believes that if people lose interest in what is going on in their home town the people who run their home town may lose all incentive to run it well. And if home towns all over the country are not well run the boys who are fighting to preserve our kind of government may think it is not worth preserving.

So the Citizens Union is doing its best to make New York a good example of the kind of democracy we want to keep. And its dogged perseverance has been well rewarded. In addition to the usual thousands of orders for *Voters Directories* to be delivered in New York, requests came this year from Washington, from across the Pacific, from Alaska, and from army camps from Massachusetts to New Mexico. The *Voters Directory* is the pamphlet the Union issues every year containing the records of all candidates and nonpartisan recommendations on candidates and issues. People start asking for copies in July and requests pour in until Election Day. A naval lieutenant "somewhere in the Pacific" wrote in September for advance information on candidates. He said he was applying for a war ballot and was urging his men to do so also. They wanted to be sure to vote for the right people. Fearing that the *Directory* would not be ready in time one of the staff members compiled some material and sent it across.

Legislative Activities

The Union does a year-round job of trying to improve the city's government in other ways than advising the voters to elect the right public servants. It has a practical program of legislation which its representatives at City Hall and Albany, where the legislature meets, do their best to have adopted. At this year's election, the results of which are not known as this is being written, the Union had the satisfaction of seeing one of the measures it has long been pushing on the ballot for the voters to approve or defeat. The state constitution has always required a citizen, in order to vote, to have lived four months in the county in which he is voting. Every year this disfranchises hundreds of New York City residents who move from one to another of the five counties within New York City on the October moving day. The amendment would permit a person to vote if he has lived four months in the county, city, or village. This amendment also affects five upstate villages which are in more than one county.

The need for another reform in which the Union is interested was shown sharply in connection with this election. A candidate for Supreme Court Justice, nominated by the judicial conventions of both the Democratic and Republican parties, was found to be indebted for his nomination to a notorious underworld character. The discovery of this connection came too late for the parties to withdraw their nominations and still conform to the election law. Bar and civic organizations came to the conclusion that a change is needed in the method of making all judicial nominations. The Union's committee on courts is investigating various suggestions and will prepare bills which the secretary will try to have introduced and passed at the next session of the legislature.

These bills will carry out one of about twenty items on the Citizens Union's program of legislation for 1944. Ten of the Union's program items were passed by the 1943 legislature. Six were signed by the Governor and one, the constitutional amendment mentioned above, went to the voters. At least one or two of those vetoed by the Governor will be included in the 1944 program—the Union is always ready to try again.

By the demands for the *Voters Directory* in what was commonly called an "off-year election" the Union is convinced that not only people at home but also those serving the federal government in Washington and those serving with the armed forces here and abroad want to see honest elections and reforms and economies in their city government. The Union is continuing to carry out their wishes by watching the legislature, watching the City Council and Board of Estimate, studying budgets, and keeping up all the other day-to-day jobs it has been doing in war and in peace for forty-six years.

Eleanor C. Tanzer,
Assistant Secretary
Citizens Union of New York City

Chicago Civic Federation Continues City, County Surveys

During 1943 considerable progress has been made in the **Chicago Civic Federation's** studies of Chicago governments.

Recent work relative to the city has been concentrated on a comprehensive study of the city's inspectional services which is nearing completion.

As a result of the Sanitary District survey a new budget and financial reporting law was enacted at the recent session of the General Assembly and will go into effect with the 1944 budget.

The Cook County survey resulted in the passage of several new laws concerning the administration of county government. Mandatory legislation was passed setting up a new purchasing department and permissive legislation was enacted making possible the creation of a department of central services, a department of maintenance and operation, and a compensation-classification agency covering all county employees. Staff work has been largely devoted to aiding the county install a new purchasing system. Progress to date includes the following points:

1. Installed a system of records where none were maintained heretofore, consisting of a purchase record and a perpetual inventory record. This is now 30 per cent complete.
2. Preparing standard specifications, 10 per cent complete.
3. Provided a complete change in office procedure to expedite payment of invoices to obtain discounts.
4. Prepared a manual of rules and regulations and step-by-step pro-

cedure together with a section explaining the important points of good purchasing practice.

5. Prepared and installed new and improved forms covering purchase orders, receiving reports, supplemental orders, storeroom orders, and invoices.
6. Provided for the issuing of an annual report on purchasing activities.
7. Consolidating small orders into bulk orders to obtain better prices.
8. Obtaining contracts for commodities heretofore purchased frequently in open market in small lots.
9. Obtained control over all storerooms and storeroom personnel for the purchasing agent.

These activities were in addition to the regular work of The Civic Federation both in Springfield and in Chicago.

Douglas Sutherland
Harland C. Stockwell
Civic Federation of Chicago

Here and There

Many citizen groups have been active in pre-election work in their communities. The **Citizens Union of New York City** has issued its annual *Voters Directory* evaluating candidates in the fall election. In the same city the **Citizens Non-Partisan Committee** has gone a step further and brought out its own slate for council for which it will campaign.

Cleveland's Citizens League reported on primary candidates for city offices in its publication *Greater Cleveland*, as did the **Detroit Citizens League** in its *Civic Searchlight.*

In evaluating candidates these organizations use such labels as endorsed, preferred, qualified, not qualified, not recommended.

Another type of *Voters' Directory* is that issued by the **Civic Club of Allegheny County** (Pittsburgh) in which the "information regarding candidates was obtained from the candidates themselves. The Civic Club . . . aims to give information only and does not make recommendations with respect to any candidate."

The **Cambridge Plan E Committee, Yonkers City Manager League, Cincinnati City Charter League,** and numerous other citizen groups in council-manager plan cities have announced slates of "charter" candidates for which they will campaign.

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** in its monthly *Taxegram,* lists all major candidates for governor and the legislature to be voted on November 2. The Association strongly urges passage of the constitutional revision referendum on the ballot the same day.

* * *

Lack of participation in local government is concerning many citizen organizations. Says the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** in its *Civic Affairs*: "LIVES + BLOOD + TEARS + SWEAT + DOLLARS is the price we are paying to guarantee to every American that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall be preserved. *Do we have government by the people if 74 per cent of our qualified voters refuse to go to the polls on election day?"*

The **New York City League of Women Voters** worked actively for a large registration of voters with the slogan: "Bullets fight for freedom, ballots preserve it." Its members manned election information booths in all the city's large department stores. The League has issued a "Proportional Representation Quiz" as part of its educational campaign preceding the election of city councilmen by P. R.

In its campaign for 100 per cent participation in elections the **New York State League of Women Voters** has secured many signatures to its pledge card, "I will be a 100% voter."

* * *

According to the *Bulletin* of the **Massachusetts League of Women Voters** forty representatives of local leagues met recently to discuss the technique of effective leadership. The League offers help by way of leaflets to its local leagues in organizing leadership training groups.

The Citizenship School of the **Connecticut League of Women Voters** was held on October 26 in Hartford. Topic discussed was "Does the existing relationship between the executive and legislative branches of government lead to effective execution of public policy?"

* * *

The **Indiana Taxpayers Association** has issued a "Taxpayer's Calendar for 1943," based on an act by the 1943 legislature, in order that the taxpayer may know meeting schedules for the adoption of city, county, and school budgets, and for county boards of tax adjustment. In many communities these dates pass unnoticed with the result that protests on the part of taxpayers are too late.

* * *

The **Statewide Committee for Revision of the Missouri Constitution** has made a number of studies on questions coming before the Constitutional Convention now in session. The committee appealed to political scientists in the state's universities, governmental research bureaus, and bar associations to lend their aid. Studies include rural government, the executive department, the legislature, the Bill of Rights, suffrage and elections, financial problems, and local problems.

* * *

Plans for uniting state taxpayers organizations on a nation-wide scale were made at a meeting of representatives of thirty-four state taxpayer organizations held recently in Chicago. Norman MacDonald, executive director of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, and chairman of the Coordinating Committee of the Conference of State Taxpayer Organization Executives, presided at the three-day session at which Governor Saltonstall of Massachusetts was one of the principal speakers.

The **Chicago City Club** held its first weekly forum luncheon of the season on October 4. The forums, which cover subjects ranging from local government problems to international affairs, will continue until June. In order to increase attendance seven forum teams have been organized. These teams will serve in turn, each being responsible for five forums during the season. Each will promote attendance and fellowship at its meetings and have general responsibility for their success. In a recent *Bulletin* the Club asked its members to indicate their preference as to the two committees on which they would like to serve. The list of committees—city planning and housing, civil rights, constitutional revision, education, election, local transportation, money and currency, noise abatement, postwar planning and progress, public health, public personnel, social welfare, taxation, war effort—indicates the scope of the Club's civic interests.

* * *

The **Seattle Municipal League's** budget committee has recently reported on the city's preliminary budget. The chairman of the committee, David Levine, commended the city council on its first balanced budget in many years. Previous to making the report members of the committee met with the various city department heads to discuss their estimated expenditures for 1944.

* * *

The **Long Beach, New York, Citizens Union**, which is conducting a campaign for adoption of a charter amendment providing the manager plan with proportional representation, has issued a number of interesting flyers pointing out the present condition of the city and comparing it to that of other communities which have the council-manager plan.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Sweden and France—An Instructive Contrast

This Fall's P. R. Elections

IN SPITE of the fact that such stable countries as Switzerland, Eire, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia have used forms of proportional representation for their national elections for upwards of twenty years, there are some who hesitate to support the principle of justice in constituting legislative bodies because they have been told that it makes government more difficult. To those who want the truth on this vital question the following study in contrast, taken from the last annual report of the British Proportional Representation Society, may prove illuminating:

"To apply the principles of freedom and justice to elections is not taking a leap in the dark. Man has now a considerable body of experience, an experience that justifies faith in the value of these principles.

"Space limits us to one example only, Sweden, whose Parliament was founded more than five hundred years ago. Sweden has used a proportional system for all elections, municipal and parliamentary, for thirty-two years. This system, says Dr. Gunnar Gyllander of Stockholm, a well known writer on political questions, is now 'accepted as part of the normal life of democratic Sweden.'

"Sweden, like Great Britain, has a coalition government, the Prime Minister being Hr. Hansson, the leader of the Social Democratic party. A general election took place during the war in September 1940. The coalition continued in office before, during, and after the election. Under the proportional system the constituencies returned several members each. Accordingly each party was able to nominate such candidates as it wished in each of the constituencies. The *American Political Science Review* (February 1941) states that the election 'was remarkably free from vituperation and mud-slinging. Each political party campaigned in a dignified manner for electoral support for its respective candidates.'

Political Opinion Expressed

"There was a movement in political opinion, and because of the freedom enjoyed by the political parties, this movement in opinion found true expression in the electoral results. The Social Democrats gained seats. For the first time they obtained a majority of the seats in both Houses of Parliament. The sequel is instructive. The Social Democrats did not take advantage of their absolute majority to fill all the Ministerial posts. The coalition was maintained. This action is in keeping with the views expressed in an interview published in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1937. Hr. Hansson, the Swedish Prime Minister, then said: 'I find that I can work as Prime Minister with Conservatives and Socialists who have the common interest of the whole nation at heart. In this sense I believe that all governments of democratic countries should try to be National Governments.'

"What has been the effect of this coöperation of parties based on freedom and justice? Mr. Herbert Agar of the American Embassy, in *A Time for Greatness*, writes: 'For thirty years the Swedes trained themselves to ask of any plan the matter-of-fact question: Will it work? Will it make the majority better off, and, if so, what is the price in freedom or in interference with business enterprise? In a short while Sweden, in relation to its resources, had the most widely distributed well-being in the world.'

"After thirty-two years of just representation, no Swedish statesman proposes to substitute for it either an electoral gamble or a 'coupon' election; he would regard these as inferior from the point of view of democratic and moral principles and also from the point of view of practical value in the government of the nation.

Two Systems Contrasted

"We can contrast the stable progressive government enjoyed by Sweden with the political chaos in France, which used single-member constituencies. In so far as the method of electing the Chamber of Deputies contributed to the political chaos and bitter divisions of France, the single-member constituency must be held responsible.

"Distinguished Frenchmen have directed attention to the weaknesses and dangers of this method of election. M. Briand referred to the single-member constituencies as 'stagnant pools.' Mr. Alexander Werth in *The Twilight of France*, in his account of the general election of 1936, vividly portrays their limitations. To escape from these limitations, the great socialist and internationalist, Jean Jaurès, who attached great value to ethical principles, passionately urged the adoption of proportional representation. The work of French reformers bore fruit, but unfortunately twenty years too late. In 1939 the French Chamber of Deputies passed a genuine measure of proportional representation, a measure supported by both Conservatives and Socialists. The advent of war prevented the bill reaching the Senate.

"The contrast between Sweden and France, from among many examples which could be given, should receive the most careful consideration."

Eight P. R. Elections

On November 2 eight American cities will elect their city councils by P. R. Two of them will elect P. R. school committees also.

Lowell, Massachusetts, will be using P. R. for the first time. As so often happens when a new method is first used, a large number of aspirants have appeared in the hope that the new form of lightning may strike in their direction. Although only twenty have filed petitions for the six places on the school committee, ninety-seven have filed for the nine-man council. The experience of Wheeling, which had 123 candidates the first time under P. R., and of Brooklyn, which had ninety-nine, shows that such a multiplicity of candidates need not be cause for too great alarm, and that the tide may be expected to recede after the first election. Even with a long ballot there is little difficulty in picking out the few names that any one voter is likely to know, and most voters succeed in getting representation by helping to elect one of those they do know and favor.

In New York's fourth P. R. election this fall, Brooklyn has only twenty-five candidates. Manhattan has thirteen, Queens sixteen, the Bronx nine, and Richmond (which elects only one member, by majority preferential voting) two. The number to be elected in each of the five boroughs is determined by the number of valid ballots cast. Because of absences in the armed forces and the lack of any spectacular contest for mayor, governor, or president, the registration has fallen off heavily (though not so much as expected) and the next Council will be reduced in size from twenty-six to perhaps nineteen.

New York City and Yonkers will have their final P. R. results delayed this year by a new state law which provides for the sending of ballots to soldiers overseas and for their return at any time up to December 10.

The other P. R. elections will be held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, for council and school committee; in Cincinnati, Toledo and Hamilton, Ohio; and in Boulder, Colorado.

Four questions involving P.R. will be voted on in two New York cities. In Long Beach votes are scheduled on adoption of P.R. with the manager plan and on a rival proposal to set up a charter commission. In Yonkers two changes in the P. R. count will be voted on.

Philip Randolph Joins P. R. Council

The trustees of the Proportional Representation League, Inc., now operating as a department of the National Municipal League, take pleasure in announcing the acceptance of A. Philip Randolph of a place on the P. R. League's Advisory Council. Mr. Randolph is international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He is one of the most widely known and respected Negro leaders in the country and a prominent figure in the ranks of organized labor. He has been a consistent supporter of P. R. in New York City and a member of the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, which has put forward a Fusion ticket of well qualified candidates for every one of the city's P. R. elections.

Mr. Randolph was elected to fill a vacancy in the Advisory Council caused by the death of William J. Locke, former secretary of the League of California Municipalities. Mr. Locke had been very helpful in spreading interest in P. R. among California cities and in the almost successful effort to get the ban on its use removed by legislative action and popular vote after it had been declared unconstitutional in Sacramento.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

War-Boom City Strengthens Finances

Wilmington, N. C., Surpluses Reserved for Postwar Needs

WARTIME increases in local revenues have by now become a commonplace in the United States, but few communities have shown the significant fiscal changes that the last two years have brought to Wilmington, North Carolina. Although the war has nearly tripled the city's population, and necessitated an increase of nearly one million dollars in the gross bonded debt, increased revenues have permitted the elimination of a long-standing sinking fund deficiency, the setting aside of a postwar capital reserve, and the easy balancing of annual budgets.

For the two decades ending 1940 Wilmington's population held close to 33,000. Then in 1941 a subsidiary of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company began operations here, employment at the shipyards and in other war jobs bringing the population to a present locally estimated 90,000. Perhaps equally significant, the city at about the same time adopted North Carolina's Plan D for a council-manager form of government, effective with the fiscal year 1941-42. The first city manager was James G. Wallace, formerly manager at Bangor, Maine; he was followed in 1942 by A. C. Nichols, formerly manager at Greenwood, South Carolina.

War Increases City Debt

Wilmington had more or less steadily reduced its bonded debt during the 1930's, but the influx of new residents required new facilities and in March

1942 the city sold $635,000 of new bonds, followed by an additional $300,000 in October 1943. Of this $935,000 of new bonds, $825,000 was for water improvements and extensions, $75,000 for storm sewers, and $35,000 for sanitary sewers, purposes pretty well indicative of the most pressing needs imposed by the new population.

Despite the increases, the load of tax-supported debt in the community is not excessive, amounting—together with the city's share of county obligations—to about $78 per capita and a little less than 7 per cent of the estimated true value of taxable property—figures comparing favorably with the medians for cities of this size.

Operating costs in the city have also been increased by the influx of new residents. General fund expenditures for general purposes rose from about $524,000 in 1939-40 to $663,000 for 1941-42 and a preliminary $788,000 for 1942-43.

Boom Brings Added Revenues

Wilmington's added costs have been more than offset by increases in revenues, however, so that the net change in the city's position is on the credit side of the ledger.

The improvement in property tax collections has been impressive. Year-end current tax delinquency had stood at 18.7 per cent of the year's ad valorem levy in 1929-30, rising to a peak of 33.6 per cent for 1932-33, and falling gradually to 22.2 per cent for 1940-41. The 1940-41 median year-end delinquency for 150 representative cities had been 6.8 per cent. Wilmington rapidly bettered its prior record as the war boosted local incomes, year-end delinquency falling to 16.0 per cent for 1941-42—when the 150-city median was 6.0 per cent—and to 12.3 per cent for 1942-43. Furthermore, where during the 1930's back taxes were collected only twice in sufficient volume to bring total current and delinquent collections to 100 per cent of the year's levy, for 1941-42 total collections reached 105 per cent of the levy and for 1942-43 about 120 per cent was shown.

Revenues other than the property tax also increased. Water department collections—which go into the general fund—were up 50 per cent from the 1939-40 level for 1942-43, and minor charges also rose. More important, a sharp advance occurred in the state's allocation to the city from Alcoholic Beverage Control Board revenues. This item amounted to but $66,000 in 1939-40, and for 1941-42 it was $145,000. For the year just closed it went up to $410,000, however, a figure comparing with $150,000 anticipated in the budget.

The net result of 1942-43 operations was that where the budget had been drawn to anticipate revenues of $1,148,000, actual revenues were approximately $1,529,000. For general and water operations and for debt charges a total of $1,236,000 had been appropriated, but actual expenditures were held to $1,196,000, or about $333,000 less than actual revenues. Since in 1941-42 an operating surplus had been shown of about $74,000, entirely liquidating a small cash deficiency which had been carried for some years, it is evident that the wartime rise in Wilmington's revenues has sufficed to very radically strengthen the city's fiscal position.

Surplus Not Diverted

The surplus of 1941-42 was allowed to stand, since it left the city at the year-end with a small cumulative cash surplus of approximately $56,000, a comfortable working cash balance. The $333,000 surplus from 1942-43 operations was earmarked, however: $200,000 for an extraordinary addition to the city sinking funds and $100,000 for a capital reserve for postwar use.

The $200,000 addition to the sinking fund placed the city's debt account on a sound basis, and will permit moderate annual budget savings in the future. It appears that in earlier years the rate of sinking fund accumulations had not been fully sufficient to permit retirement of the $1,000,000 term bonds outstanding, and last year the rate of annual payments was doubled to help overcome the deficiency. The payment made from the year's operating surplus practically wipes out the old deficit, and will permit a lowering of the annual sinking fund payment, if the city desires, to but little over the former amount.

Capital Planning Recommended

An excellent study for local officials interested in postwar public works is presented by the Local Government Board of the New Jersey Department of Local Government. Much of the Board's fourth annual report, published in September, deals with postwar planning, and the Board urges the necessity first of all of a capital budget.

Recommending that "a general program be prepared which is designed to cover postwar projects in their relative order of importance to the municipality," the Board states that the following factors must be borne in mind:

"a. The practical need for the project. The time has passed when any and every project, regardless of its value, need, or importance, is sought after and acceptable.

"b. The cost involved with some reasonably accurate estimates, based on such data as may be available. Where the data [are] not available, a detailed outline of the project should be prepared, upon which estimates can be based.

"c. Capacity of the municipality to pay for the projects, including its ability to make funds available whether by borrowing or otherwise. This would involve an analysis of the current financial position of the municipality based upon tax collection history, population, future prospects, and other related current factors.

"d. The annual recurring cost of the project. All too frequently, too much attention is paid to the initial cost of the project and too little to the annual operating cost which adds to the total operating expenditures appearing in each annual budget."

Chicago-Area Tax Collections Improve

The war is bringing a noteworthy improvement in ad valorem property tax collections to the Chicago community, according to figures shown by the most recent statement of Cook County Collector Victor L. Schlager. For the first nine months of 1943 collections by the county—which acts as the tax collection agency for Chicago and all other local units within the county—were 91.1 per cent of the current levy, 3.8 percentage points ahead of the showing for the corresponding 1942 period. Current collections alone for the 1943 period were equal to 86.8 per cent of this year's levy, as compared with 82.9 per cent collected on the levy last year for the corresponding period.

The unsatisfactory tax collection situation in Cook County has long been a cause for concern, since not only have collections lagged rather sadly behind trends in the other major metropolitan areas, but there have also been indications that ultimate losses due to uncollectibility would be high.

An important factor has been that the levies included a rather large amount of personalty taxes, which have been very poorly collected. As recently as 1940 the full year's current collections of such taxes amounted to but little more than half the personalty levy, and total personalty collections including arrears to only 57.3 per cent. In 1941 personalty collections increased to 55.6 per cent of the levy for current taxes while arrears brought total collections to 69.2 per cent. Last year two-thirds of the levy was collected currently while back tax receipts swelled the total to 71.3 per cent.

This improvement in personalty collections, together with gradual improvement in the collection of real estate taxes and railroad taxes (the collection record for which is relatively satisfactory) sufficed to raise total current and back tax collections from 86.0 per cent of the levy in 1940 to 90.74 per cent in 1941 and 90.71 per cent last year. This year, nine months current collections of personalty taxes are at 80.3 per cent of the levy and inclusion of back personalty tax receipts brings the total to 84.99 per cent.

The following tables, based on statements of the county collector, permit comparison of collections for the nine-months periods this year and last with collections for the full year 1942. The first table is for current collections alone, the second for combined current and back tax collections, expressed in each case as a percentage of the respective current levies.

Current Tax Collections

	9 Months		*12 Months*
	1943	*1942*	*1942*
Realty Taxes	87.9%	87.5%	90.2%
Railroad Taxes	99.9%	99.8%	99.8%
Personalty Taxes	80.3%	65.9%	66.6%
All Taxes	86.8%	82.9%	85.0%

Total Tax Collections

	9 Months		*12 Months*
	1943	*1942*	*1942*
Realty Taxes	92.3%	92.4%	96.5%
Railroad Taxes	99.9%	102.3%	102.8%
Personalty Taxes	84.99%	69.4%	71.3%
All Taxes	91.1%	87.3%	90.7%

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Pennsylvania Counties and Townships May Plan Postwar Projects

Have Ample Unused Legal Borrowing Capacity

MUCH is being written at present of the desirability of local plans for postwar public works programs, but mention is rarely made of whether the units doing the planning have the legal capacity to incur the financial obligations necessary to carry out the plans. Hence a series of studies now being made by the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs is of unusual interest.

According to a series of articles in the Department's *Bulletin*, by Henry W. Van Pelt, director of the Bureau of Statistics, comprehensive data on the legal borrowing capacity of Pennsylvania municipalities is being tabulated. The reports covering counties and townships are encouraging.

Excluding Philadelphia, which is classed as a consolidated city-county, the state's sixty-six counties have an unused legal borrowing capacity of more than $406,000,000. Of this amount $91,000,000 may be borrowed by the county commissioners without a vote of the electorate under the constitutional authorization for the incurrence of a debt up to 2 per cent of assessed valuation in this manner. The remaining $315,000,000 is unused borrowing capacity within the 5 per cent granted by the constitution dependent on electoral approval.

Especially significant is that each of the sixty-six counties shares in this unused credit reserve. The largest unused borrowing capacity is that of

Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) with $88,000,000, the smallest Forest County with $126,424. In all, twenty-two counties show unused margins of more than $5,000,000.

The study of first class townships in the state reveals that they have reduced their bonded indebtedness almost 18 per cent in the past seven years, thus making them quite capable of bearing the burden of public works projects anticipated as essential when war hostilities cease.

Such postwar planning is encouraged by a law enacted by the 1943 legislature[1] under which townships and municipalities can create a special capital reserve fund for this purpose. Surplus moneys from various sources accumulated up to six months after cessation of hostilities may be transferred to the fund. Such moneys can then be spent only during the postwar period and only for construction of capital improvements or for their repair or replacement.

Townships are urged by the Department to initiate such long-term postwar planning immediately. W. S. S.

Knoxville and Knox County Consolidate Health Services

A merger of the Knoxville Bureau of Health and the Knox County Health Department took place July 1 through a written contract entered into by city, county, and state officials. The contract can be terminated by any of the parties at the end of any fiscal year provided the terminating party gives sixty days notice. Under the contract the city must appropriate to the consolidated department at least $110,000 annually, the county a minimum of $14,000, and the state must furnish in cash, materials, and service a minimum of $70,000 a year.

Director of the combined department is the former Knoxville public health officer; associate director is the former County Department of Health director. The personnel of the city and county health departments were retained in the new department, and classification and compensation for these employees will be established and maintained in accordance with a program approved jointly by the state and city civil service. Compensation of employees is not to be reduced below the salary schedule submitted to the State Health Department last May. New employees are to be selected subject to qualifications required under state and city civil service programs.

Prior to consolidation the city was spending approximately $1.30 per capita for public health activities, and the county was spending approximately 30 cents per capita. The consolidation has resulted in marked increases in expenditure and expansion of services, particularly in the rural areas where health services had been wholly inadequate.

Macon County, Illinois, May Vote on Township Abandonment

The legislative committee of the Macon County, Illinois, Board of Supervisors is considering the question of submitting the form of county government to popular referendum. The proposal would be adoption of the so-called "commission" form which would abolish the present township system.

The referendum would be initiated by a petition signed by 20 per cent of the voters of the county. The county board would then place the question on the ballot at the next general election. If a majority of the votes were cast against continuance of township organization, a special election would be held the first Monday of January next following to elect three commissioners for staggered terms. The laws relating to counties not under township organization then would become applicable, with the commissioners taking office the first Monday in February following election. The county would assume the township functions, debts, etc.

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[1] Act No. 73.

If Macon County adopts this form, it will become the eighteenth Illinois county to do so.

Wisconsin Counties Conserve Forests

The *Wisconsin Taxpayer* reports that the counties of Wisconsin are the state's largest timber growers, now owning nearly 2,000,000 acres under the county forest reserve law.

These county-owned forest reserves are maintained in part as a result of state encouragement to counties to engage in best conservation practices. The state allows grants-in-aid for forestry purposes amounting to ten cents per acre on such reserves, and the severance tax for county-owned timber is 50 per cent of the value of the timber cut.

SMALL POLITICAL PARTIES

(Continued from Page 528)

guards against the requirement of an excessive number of signatures, heavy filing fees, unreasonably early filing dates, and makes all nominating petitions presumptively valid except after judicial proceedings.

Though not specifically designed to aid small parties, improvements in election procedures as embodied in the model election administration law prepared by the Committee on Election Administration of the National Municipal League would help to secure more equitable treatment for nominees. It is possible also that the Committee's recommendation to permit candidates to go on the ballot through a sponsor system would help.[5]

The use of the convention method of nomination and resort to the "write-in" of names may afford some relief to local parties but by and large these methods are of little help. Only about fifteen states permit new or small parties to gain a place on the ballot by the convention method. In some states such as in Kentucky and Utah the party must file a petition in addition to holding a convention at its own expense.

Since the outbreak of the war considerable concern has been shown in the preservation of the "two-party" system. This same concern ought to be expressed for the protection of bona fide new and established small parties. Voters leagues, citizens associations, and the press should scrutinize existing and pending legislation which seems to have the object of keeping all but Republican and Democratic tickets off the ballot. At the same time some discussion of the role of minor parties and of non-party groups in the war effort might well be added to the imposing list of subjects now being discussed in the press, over the radio, and in the forum.

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[5] For a discussion of the Committee's election administration law see, National Municipal League, *A Model Election Administration System,* New York, 1930.

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Wartime Problems of State and Local Finance. Symposium conducted by the Tax Institute, November 27-28, 1942, New York City. Tax Institute, New York City, 1943. ix, 267 pp. $2.50.

The subject of this symposium—the seventh in the series sponsored by the Tax Institute—is both timely and important. And the fact that the New York City meetings were supplemented by regional round tables has made it possible to present the problems of areas as widely scattered as the Pacific Coast, Florida, and New England.

Moreover, the participants in the New York conference represented federal, state, and local governments, private business, private organizations for government research, and university authorities in the field of finance. In spite of wide regional differences in state and local economies and financial systems, the more urgent financial problems appear to be much the same throughout the country.

The chief problems that emerge are (1) loss of revenues, especially motor vehicle revenues, resulting from rationing; (2) reduced property tax bases resulting from increases in federally owned real estate, and reduced sales tax bases resulting from exemption of government transactions; (3) growing demands on state and local budgets in defense areas because of rapidly growing population; and (4) the need for reserves for postwar public works programs.

Although exceptions are noted, it is apparent that for the first year of the war, at least, losses in revenue and increased expenditures resulting from rising prices were largely compensated for by smaller tax delinquencies and reduced expenditures for welfare and permanent improvements. Only those communities with large war industries were faced with real difficulties.

The most controversial issues appear to concern the desirability of building up reserves for postwar works programs, the appropriate method of compensating state and local governments for losses in the tax base resulting from federal ownership of property, and federal taxation of interest on state and local bonds.

There is general agreement that state and local governments should reduce indebtedness as far as possible, but wide differences of opinion as to the extent to which surpluses are feasible or desirable.

There is some consensus that federal payments in lieu have not been adequate, although the tendency to increase them is noted. There is less agreement as to whether the appropriate form of compensation is payments in lieu of taxes or the submission of federal property to regular local levies. One of the most informing articles in the volume is Charles S. Rhyne's summary of legislation and court decisions dealing with this problem. He concludes that payments in lieu are the best solution of the difficulty, and notes a trend toward larger and more equitable payments.

The sharpest difference of opinion concerns the exemption of government securities from income taxes. Paul Studenski's case for federal taxation of state and local securities is an exceptionally clear and convincing presentation of the arguments for taxation. Robert S. Ford's case for exemption suffers, by comparison, because he deals largely with the question of revenue gains and losses and fails to consider adequately the problem of equitable taxation of income. Moreover, although he notes that estimates of the differential in interest rates vary, he accepts one of the highest of these without attempting to defend it, or even calling attention to the fact that it is higher than most.

Considering the volume as a whole, it easily lives up to the standards of timeliness, and more-than-transitory usefulness set by the earlier volumes in the series. The program committee is to be congratulated in achieving a coherent development of the subject, without serious overlapping or omissions. It presents a stimulating discussion of current problems in this field, and one that all who are concerned with these problems will profit by reading.

MABEL NEWCOMER

Vassar College

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Administration

How to Make and Interpret Functional Organization Charts. By John J. Furia. New York City, Graduate Division for Training in Public Service, New York University, 1943. xv, 64 pp. Fifty cents. (Apply New York University Bookstore.)

Administrative Districts and Field Offices of the Minnesota State Government. By Ivan Hinderaker. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1943. xiv, 143 pp., maps, charts. $3.

Courts

A History of Community Interest in a Juvenile Court. Positive and Negative Manifestations During the Period 1885-1942 in Multnomah County, Oregon. By Allan East. Portland, Oregon Probation Association, 1943. iii, 32 pp.

Democracy

Making Democracy and the World Mutually Safe. By Arthur Graham Glasgow. Norfolk, Virginia, The Author (1900 Monticello Avenue), 1943. 44 pp.

Libraries

Classification and Pay Plans for Libraries in Institutions of Higher Education. Vol. I: Non-degree-conferring Institutions; Vol. II: Degree-conferring Four-year Institutions; Vol. III: Universities. Chicago, American Library Association, 1943. 96, 157, and 204 pp. $1.25, $1.75, and $2.50 respectively.

The State Library Agency—Its Functions and Organization. Chicago, American Library Association, 1943. 38 pp. 75 cents.

Municipalities

Dallas Meets a Challenge. A Series of Interpretive Articles and Comments Reprinted from *The Dallas Morning News*. Dallas, Texas, *The Morning News*, 1943. 30 pp.

The Economic Basis of the Wealth and Welfare of New York City. By Ivan Wright and Arthur M. Wolkiser. Brooklyn, New York, Brooklyn College Press, 1943. iv, 73 pp.

Municipal Legislation of 1943. A Review of State Legislation of Special Interest and Significance to Municipal Government. By G. M. Morris. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1943. 32 pp. $1.

Planning

A Decade of Regional Planning in New England. Boston, New England Regional Planning Commission and National Resources Planning Board Region 1, 1943. 31 pp.

The Education of Planners. With Special Reference to the Graduate School of Design of Harvard University. Cambridge, The Graduate School of Design, 1943. 50 pp.

Poll Tax

The Anti-Poll Tax Bill Is Constitutional. Washington 4, D. C., National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, 1943. 18 pp.

Why the Poll Tax Is a National Issue. The Poll Tax Repeal Handbook. Washington 4, D. C., National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, 1943. 57 pp.

Political Parties

The Socialist Movement in Reading, Pennsylvania, 1896-1936. A Study in Social Change. By Henry G. Stetler. Storrs, Connecticut, The Author, 1943. vii, 197 pp. $2.

Postwar Planning

Plan Postwar Jobs—Now. Suggestions for Industrial Employers. Washington, D. C., Committee for Economic Development, 1943. 32 pp.

Retirement Systems

Retirement Systems for State and Local Government Employees. Summary Report. By Wylie Kilpatrick, etc. Washington, D. C., Division of State and Local Government, Bureau of the Census, 1943. 24 pp.

The Wisconsin Municipal Retirement Fund. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1943. 35 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Debts — Taxes — Assessments. Tenth Annual Study. Chicago, The Civic Federation, 1943. 24 pp.

Municipal Finance in the Postwar World. By Carl H. Chatters. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1943. 4 pp.

North American Gasoline Tax Conference. Houston, Texas, October 15-17, 1942. Chicago, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1943. v, 48 pp. $1.50.

State Tax Collections in 1943 (Preliminary). By V. J. Wyckoff. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 12 pp.

Summary of Finances of City Governments in 1942. By Governments Division. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 33 pp.

Summary of Finances of State Governments in 1942 (Preliminary). Washington, D. C., Division of State and Local Government, Bureau of the Census, 1943. 26 pp.

Wartime Conference Papers—1943. A Series of Addresses and Reports Delivered at the Association's Annual Conference in Pittsburgh, Penna., June 15-17, 1943. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1943. 32 pp. 50 cents.

World Taxes Between Wars. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1943. 11 pp. 25 cents.

Tort Liability

Contribution Among Joint Tortfeasors. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, Research Department, 1943. 21 pp.

Voting

The Soldier Vote in 1942. By the Governments Division, E. R. Gray, Chief. Analysis by Abe Blanar. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 9 pp.

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Governor Charles Edison

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Politicos Frustrate Knoxville
M. H. Satterfield

Tax Rates of American Cities
Rosina K. Mohaupt

New York's Fourth P. R. Election

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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

League to Celebrate Fiftieth Birthday

Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council of the National Municipal League, at the League's Office, 299 Broadway, New York, October 25, 1943.

Present: Richard S. Childs, presiding, George H. Gallup, Carl H. Pforzheimer, George Arents, Frederick L. Bird, Arnold Frye, John S. Linen, Lawson Purdy, and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary.

The executive secretary reported that due to wartime restrictions the League's staff and operating expenses have both been greatly reduced. Despite these reductions, demands for help in movements to improve local, county, and state governments in all sections of the country were more numerous than they had been for the last fifteen years. He described some of the more important of the approximately 185 situations in which the League is currently active and influential. He reported that a number of sections of the *Model State Constitution* had been presented for consideration by the convention now engaged in revising the Missouri constitution. There is urgent need, he said, to expand some of the League's facilities to meet the increasing calls for assistance.

Mr. Frye, chairman of the Committee on a Model Fiscal Program, reported that Mr. Henry Bruere had obtained contributions totalling $980 and Mr. John S. Linen obtained a contribution of $250 which together increased the Committee's funds to $4,558.39. The executive secretary was instructed to determine whether War Production Board restrictions on publishing would interfere with publication in the near future of the *Model Bond Law, Model Accrual Budget Law,* and *Model Cash Basis Budget Law,* all of which Mr. Frye reported approximately ready to be issued. In view of the fact that these models, in advance proof, have already been made use of in several states and are urgently needed elsewhere, it was agreed that they should be published promptly.

The Committee discussed the proposal of Dr. P. P. Womer that the League consider sponsoring the publication of his book *Citizenship and the Challenge of Today.*

Mr. Pforzheimer, treasurer, reported that the League will face a deficit unless, before the end of 1943, it is able to obtain the remainder ($2,200) of the $5,000 in contributions from new sources needed to match the conditional pledge of a like amount from the C. F. Taylor Trust of Philadelphia. The remaining $2,200, plus the resulting contribution from the Taylor Trust, he reported, would balance the 1943 budget.

Plans were considered for observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the League's founding in New York in May 1894 by a committee appointed in January of that year at the first "National Conference on Local Good Government" in Philadelphia.

After discussion of various phases of the question, Mr. Childs announced the agreement of the Committee on the following:

a. Observance of the fiftieth anniversary offers an opportunity to emphasize the League's past accomplishments, to re-think and re-state the League's program, and to plan for a continuance of the aid it has given to movements for governmental and civic improvement.

(Continued on Page 576)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

When Johnny Comes Marching Home

NOWADAYS when efforts are made to change city charters or state constitutions or to bring about other fundamental improvements, the entrenched political forces who never want any kind of change are quick to cry: "This is a stab in the back to our heroes who are fighting for democracy! When they come home they want to find things just as they were when they went away."

The November election offered some dramatic proof to the contrary. In New Jersey, for example, when the voters approved the idea of revising the state's century-old constitution by a margin of three to two, men in uniform, voting by mail, approved the proposition FOUR TO ONE! Even in Hudson County, which Boss Hague holds in the hollow of his hand, the soldier vote was two to one in favor, while the Hudson voters as a whole went three to one against.

This is especially significant when it is remembered that in 1942 Boss Hague blocked constitutional revision by trotting out a group of World War I veterans at the psychological moment to make a "patriotic" plea that nothing be done.

So what do the men in our armed forces REALLY want to come home to? Clearly, they want to come back to a better home town, in a better county, in a better state, in a better nation, in a better world.

Political Miracle

IN THE politics-ridden but physically charming seashore community of Long Beach, one hour out of New York on Long Island by commuters' train, it was the bursting of a water pipe one wintry Sunday that bids fair, at long last, to end the high-riding career of a "little Tammany."

The following day, when the New York manufacturer who owned the home in which the pipe had burst returned from a business trip, he felt outraged. Alone in the house with their children, his wife had called the five local plumbers in vain. Plumbers in neighboring towns declined to come because of a local ordinance which threatened them with heavy fines for invading the sacred precincts with their trade. What particularly irritated him was the refusal of the city's officials to send someone to turn off the water. "This is Sunday," his wife was told, and "We're not plumbers."

The typically American reaction of the manufacturer was that "there ought to be an organization." On further thought he reflected there might already be one. Sure enough, he learned of a taxpayers' association and attended its next meeting. He discovered immediately, however, that it was "owned" by the local "little Tammany"—the ultimate fate, he was told by a cynical friend, of every civic organization ever started in Long Beach.

More outraged by the minute, the manufacturer began talking to other business and professional men who disliked being mixed up in "politics." Finally twelve brave souls decided to risk political machine reprisals. When they met the big question was, "What can we do where everyone else has failed?"

A committee consulted the Citizens Union in nearby New York and the National Municipal League. The advice was, "Get your facts. Find out the things wrong in your community. Your program and issues will emerge naturally from the facts. Don't make the mistake of agitating on the basis of complaints."

An administrative and financial survey was made by the Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State. Public officials used desperate delaying tactics and had to be threatened with court action before they finally permitted a partial examination of the public records, which disclosed astonishing waste, fantastically high salaries for the political "big shots," incompetent book and record keeping, and a political spoils system that kept the machine in power. The report's final recommendation was that the city should secure a city manager–proportional representation charter.

After this start the state comptroller's office made an official investigation which revealed actual violations of the ordinances and state laws in handling the city's money. It showed jobs were let to the highest instead of the lowest bidder, and other improper practices.

Armed with facts, the men who had long since formally organized the Long Beach Citizens Union and recruited many more aroused citizens forced a budget reduction of more than $135,000—dramatic in a city of 10,000.

They followed quickly with the circulation of petitions calling for a popular vote on an amendment to the city charter which would provide an unpaid city council elected by proportional representation and for the appointment of a trained city manager. This was a "radical" proposal indeed where the part-time mayor, who also maintained a law practice in New York, had a salary of $7,500 a year and the members of the city council received $2,500 a year.

The city administration fought, unsuccessfully, to the highest court in the state to keep the charter amendment question off the ballot. To confuse the voters, the council voted to add another question to the ballot proposing a charter commission. The campaign waxed hot. The Citizens Union accused the mayor and his administration of using public funds and public employees to fight the proposed amendment. The mayor brazenly admitted this was true and held himself justified on the grounds that the proposal of the "theorists" would be bad for the city.

When the election was finally held, under the watchful eye of an assistant attorney-general especially assigned for the occasion, the reform forces won, 1,575 to 1,378.

A reporter for a New York newspaper, going through the routine of learning, as he thought, of the slaughter of one more group of starry-eyed Long Beach reformers, telephoned that night for the results. He couldn't believe his ears.

"What?" he exclaimed. "Teddy's machine licked? Why, that's a—a —a political miracle!"

Education in Politics

College graduates urged to overcome their political illiteracy and to make their influence felt for more democratic government in local and state affairs.

By CHARLES EDISON
Governor of New Jersey

AS A person who has been active in public life for some years, I am interested in the effect of higher education on the democratic processes, and also in the reverse—the effect of democratic processes on higher education. There is no longer any question that we can make both what we want them to be.

American democracy for its own good has, by and large, admitted its obligation to maintain higher education; how far it has fulfilled its obligation is another matter. The graduates of institutions of higher learning have generally admitted some obligation to the democracy that provided their education; how far *they* have fulfilled their obligation is another matter—the one I want to discuss.

There are said to be nearly a million men and women in the armed forces who have had some college training. A great many of them had their academic careers interrupted by the war. They are sacrificing some years of their lives for our country, and many have (and more unhappily will) give their very lives. The vast majority will return, however, and it is generally expected that those whose college careers were broken off will want to resume them. We may well wonder what the colleges will then teach them of their peacetime obligation to democracy.

The first obligation of every educated citizen is, in my opinion, to be politically literate. A recent survey made by the *New York Times* cast grave doubts upon our historical literacy. The American people apparently have a very scanty knowledge of their own history. I venture to guess that, if a similar survey could be made of our political knowledge, depths of ignorance equally wide, deep, and dark would be exposed.

It is unfortunately true that many a man and woman who is at home in the differential and integral calculus does not know what a county committeeman is, or how he is chosen. Many a citizen who knows a great deal about world literature cannot tell you whether he is represented by one state senator or by ten. A college graduate who can perform the most delicate experiment in quantitative analysis likely will not know who his congressman is.

No brainpower, no matter how high its voltage, is of any use to democratic government unless it has the facts on which to work. Democracy does not operate in a high vacuum tube; it is concerned with the very tangible and mundane things. And these things an educated man or woman must know before his or her vote or political activity can be made effective.

I know of no statistical evidence on the point, but it is probable that the amount of information about the processes of politics is actually higher among those who did not go to college than it is among college people. At least it seems clear that it is from among the non-college people that the precinct, ward, city, and county leaders tend to arise. They may think that Marcel Proust was the man who invented a way of waving hair, and that anthropology is the study of ants—but they know how the wheels of politics go, and they know who makes them go.

Before the obligation of higher education to politics can be fulfilled, then, college people must overcome their political illiteracy. But that is not enough. It is, in fact, only a beginning.

Democracy is not only a form of government—the best form, we think, yet devised—but it is also a set of standards for the conduct of our common affairs, a group of ethical principles covering the way in which government should work. A real democrat, for example, does not regard the control of the government as belonging to one leader, as the fascists do; nor to one party, as the communists do; nor to a royal family, as the Japanese do. But the control and, indeed, ownership of government is to the true democrat inherent in the people who are governed.

The ethical principles of democracy do not automatically descend upon a man as soon as he attains an office through the democratic processes. We have had legislators in Trenton who have acted as if they thought the state government was a private fishing pool for them and their friends. And we have a famous old political leader in this state who asserted that he was the law.

The level of political morality in America is said to be higher now than it was in the days when traction czars bought up city councils and when lumber barons and cattle kings purchased and sold legislatures. I hope so. But at any rate, the ethical standards of democracy need constantly to be guarded, improved, enhanced. Part of the obligation of higher education to our country is to infuse the processes of politics with better ethical standards, to hold democracy to its best.

More Political Leadership

Even this, however, is not enough. If our democracy is to fulfill its possibilities, there must be more political leadership by educated and honest men and women. There has almost been a cult of indifference to politics among educated Americans. They use the word *politician* only with obvious distaste. In their eagerness to make money or to get ahead in their professions, they have convinced themselves that politics is too tiresome and dirty for them. If it is tiresome, and if it is dirty, their disdainful indifference is greatly responsible.

There has never been any such tradition in England. There has been, rather, a tradition that no man or woman was too good or too busy to serve the King, that is, the nation. We need to build up in this country a custom of public service. Every man and woman—and especially every educated man and woman—should expect to give part of his or her time and energy to the public service.

Many able Americans have refused to enter politics because of the slanders and lies that are inevitably told about them. For their own peace of mind, as well as for the sake of their families, they decline to submit their reputations to the abuse that persons in public office generally receive. In the last three years I have been the target for enough vituperation so that I can understand such an attitude. I imagine that I care as little as the next man to have mud thrown at me and to have lies told about me. But someone must do the work of politics, and if I can advance even a little the cause of democracy, let the mud fly. As David Lloyd George once said, politics requires not so much a thick skin as a stout heart.

Service to Neighborhood

I am particularly concerned at the refusal of many able citizens to have anything to do with politics at the local and state level. They are willing to go to Washington, but they are not willing to go to the city council, to the county seat, or to the state capital. It is the recognized style to be a dollar-a-year man in Washington; it should be the style to stay home and mend your own backyard of democracy. And yet, if our democracy is to work, it cannot draw off the able and the intelligent to serve the central government, while leaving the incompetent and the corrupt to serve the localities and the states.

The woman citizen who wishes to make her influence felt for the benefit and progress of democracy will find in her own neighborhood ample opportunities for public service. The school board, the borough council, the township committee all need the alert suggestions of wide-awake citizens. If a woman citizen wants to attain an official position, let her break in wherever she can. She will probably find less opposition than she expects.

At the local level of politics, she will find many issues and problems that seem to appeal particularly to women: public health, wholesome recreation, city planning, education, the care for the sick and the unfortunate. And well she should take an interest! For does not the welfare of her home, her children, and her happiness depend on the quality of these subjects? It is not necessary to go to Washington to make democracy more effective—it can be done, and should be done, in one's own home town.

Women citizens can work in the established political parties. They can also work in organizations of women, such as the League of Women Voters. In our own state the league has been actively interested in promoting every measure to advance the cause of good government, and recently the league has been especially interested in constitutional revision. But every organization, association, league, or society—whether for men or for women or for men and women —is potentially an instrument for making every community a better democracy, for making this a better state, and for making our nation a better and greater nation. Opportunities for political action are everywhere.

At all levels of government we need new ideas. No one needs to have an official position to advance a good, fresh program for a community, or for a state. The college graduate should have ideas and should be especially willing and eager to assert his or her ideas for improving the welfare of democracy.

Democracy, like higher education, can be pretty much what we want it to be. If we have ideas, and if we want hard enough to see them adopted, sooner or later they will be. Our communities, our states, our nation may show to future generations a vitality of democracy we have never seen, the good life which we have only imagined. The opportunity to take part in this movement should tempt every college person.

Editor's Note. Address at Convocation, New Jersey College for Women, New Brunswick, N. J., October 9, 1943.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS—(Continued from Page 570)

b. The League shall publish a fiftieth anniversary issue of the National Municipal Review which will describe the accomplishments of the organization and acknowledge the services of many distinguished persons as officers and members of the Council.

c. A fiftieth anniversary National Conference on Government (of the kind held annually from 1894 through 1941 but suspended in 1942 because of the war) shall be held as soon as the war situation makes possible the development of an adequate program and relaxation of travel restrictions permits a large attendance. At that time a national program committee shall be appointed.

The Chairman of the Council was authorized to appoint a nominating committee to determine whether the League shall preserve the *status quo* with respect to officers and Council members for the duration of the war or whether nominations of officers and Council members to replace those whose terms would normally expire at the end of 1943 shall be presented to a meeting of the Council to be held in November or December of the current year.

The meeting adjourned at 5:30 P.M.

Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*

League Members in War Service

Charles P. Taft, a League Vice President and former member of the Council, has been appointed chairman of the Area Committee for Coördination of the Planning of United States Agencies in providing assistance in the economic rehabilitation of the East Indies and chairman of a similar committee for Malaya. Mr. Taft, for years a civic leader in Cincinnati, goes to the State Department from his position as director of the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency.

Brigadier General Robert W. Johnson, a member of the League's Council, has retired as chairman of the War Production Board's Smaller War Plants Corporation.

Two more of the Review's state correspondents—Arthur W. Bromage of the University of Michigan and Charles M. Kneier of the University of Illinois—are teaching at the School of Military Government. Major Bromage is at Fort Custer, Michigan, and Major Kneier at Charlottesville, Virginia. Lieutenant Colonel Stephen B. Story, state correspondent for New Hampshire, formerly that state's comptroller, is with AMG in Sicily.

Calling for New Ideas

Minnesota adapts industry's methods to encourage state employees to analyze jobs, suggest ways of gaining efficiency, improving public service methods.

By **HERBERT E. STATS**
Bureau of the Budget

SUGGESTIONS by state government employees may become an important source of ideas on methods of adjusting state government to war and postwar conditions.

That conclusion is indicated by the experience of the Minnesota Division of Administrative Management, both as a result of actual suggestions obtained in the various Division projects and of investigation as to ways in which an organized suggestion plan could be introduced.

Typical of the type of voluntary employee participation which ultimately led to the proposal for a formal suggestion plan are the following:

a. In a project which reduced the elapsed time of issuing birth certificates from a matter of weeks to forty-eight hours, the major ideas on procedural simplification originated with clerks in the department.

b. In a project directed toward the reduction of male employees in the state service, the employees themselves proved to be a major source of suggestion as to curtailment possibilities.

c. Efforts to consolidate state inspectional services were greatly facilitated by the development of proposals which originated with inspectional employees.

Impressed with the productivity of employee suggestions received on Division projects, the Administrative Management staff undertook its investigation of the possibility of establishing a formal system for recognizing ideas offered by employees. Key executives of those agencies employing the largest number of persons were interviewed to obtain their reactions as to the desirability of developing such a plan. With one exception, they were unanimous in approving the principle. All those who approved the idea said that, based on personal experience, they knew of numerous instances where rank and file employees had already contributed valuable suggestions. The one exception was a responsible personnel officer who questioned the likelihood of anyone being able to develop a practical approach to the problem.

Next came a series of interviews with employees selected at random from the state agencies with the largest number of workers. While they reacted unanimously in favor of an attempt to develop a method of recognizing constructive suggestions, most of them qualified their remarks by emphasizing the necessity of protecting those who made suggestions against possible recriminations by supervisors.

Following general clearance with executives and rank and file state employees, the utilization of suggestion systems in industry and in the federal government was investigated.

This article is based on a report entitled "Recognition of Constructive Suggestions by State Employees," published earlier this year by the Minnesota Division of Administrative Management, of which Mr. Stats was director.—EDITOR.

The history of the development and use of employees' suggestion systems was found to cover a relatively short period, the earliest known instances of definite suggestion plans being those of the William Denny Shipbuilding Concern in Scotland and of Yale and Towne in the United States, both in the 1880's.[1]

Suggestion Systems Increase

World War I appears to have produced a substantial increase in the use of suggestion systems and since the involvement of the United States in World War II, the movement is gaining considerable momentum. Labor-management committees regard the suggestion system as one of their most useful aids in solving production problems. The War Manpower Commission has established as one of the three phases of its training-within-industry program a highly specialized training method known as "job methods training" which has for its objective training employees and supervisory personnel to analyze their work for ways in which to improve methods.

In government the application of suggestion plans appears to be confined almost entirely to the federal level. In 1912 Congress authorized periodic offers of special cash awards under certain conditions to civilian ordnance employees of the War Department for the best suggestions "that will clearly effect a material economy in production or increased efficiency, or enhance the quality of the product in comparison with its cost."[2]

The Post Office Department took similar action a few years later. In 1932 a Navy Department suggestion program was inaugurated for civilian employees and is still operating effectively.[3] The Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, Social Security Board, and the Office of Price Administration have also used suggestion system techniques.

Industrial applications of suggestion plans are widespread. Many such private plans pay out thousands of dollars in awards and report the receipt of thousands of useful suggestions.[4]

The analysis of practices in the federal government and in private industry indicated, in summary, that a typical suggestion system should provide for: (1) an assignment of one or more persons to the specific task of receiving, recording, investigating, and reporting promptly on all suggestions volunteered by employees; (2) a committee which evaluates each suggestion and determines the reward, usually cash, to be given the author; (3) concealment of the identity of the author until the suggestion has been evaluated and the reward determined; and (4) an impressive and where practicable a dramatic method of making the reward by publicizing the author's identity and the importance of the suggestion.

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[1] "Suggestions from Employees," Z. Clark Dickinson, Michigan Business Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1927.

[2] United States Statutes at Large, Volume 37, pages 193, 545, 795; Volume 42, pages 655 and 1250.

[3] "Navy Employees Help Cut Red Tape," *Personnel Administration*, Volume 5, No. 5, pages 6 and 8, Society for Personnel Administration, Washington, D. C., 1943.

[4] "Analysis of 20 Suggestion System Plans, 1940-1941," *Recognition of Constructive Suggestions by State Employees*, page 24.

The plan developed for Minnesota includes the following statement of objectives:

1. To stimulate the personnel of all agencies to give analytical and constructive thought to their respective jobs;
2. To provide a method for coördinating and integrating state activities through increasing the knowledge of the state's activities among its entire personnel;
3. To improve the efficiency of state government and of the state services to its citizens and to reduce the cost of such services to the taxpayers;
4. To facilitate state personnel administration by: (a) encouraging employees to exercise their powers of observation, imagination, resourcefulness, and ingenuity; and (b) identify employees who demonstrate these abilities;
5. To promote the state service as a career by encouraging and rewarding individual employees who demonstrate capacity and ability to render service beyond their regular call of duty and who demonstrate a desire to accept increased duties and responsibilities.

The plan defines suggestions which may be submitted for consideration as those dealing with any of the following subjects, provided they are constructive in nature and offer a specific remedy or improvement:

1. Means and methods for eliminating unnecessary procedure, forms, material, equipment, handling, processing, or storage;
2. Means and methods for simplifying procedures, records, forms, or reports;
3. Means and methods for eliminating obsolete or unused services, procedures, records, or activities;
4. Means and methods for improving the services rendered by state government agencies and personnel to taxpayers, other state government agencies, coöperating and affiliated governmental and private agencies, and individuals;
5. Means and methods for improving working conditions in state government agencies;
6. Means and methods for eliminating waste of time, material, money, faith, and all other sources of waste;
7. Means and methods for coördinating and integrating state activities to the end of improving state government, reducing cost of government, and increasing the efficiency of state agencies and the proficiency of their personnel;
8. Means and methods for improving the physical equipment and property of the state government, the efficiency and productivity of its use, and reducing operating and maintenance costs.

How the Plan Works

The plan provides for administration by a special agency which receives, investigates, and appraises each suggestion and handles the administrative detail incident to the issuance of awards, announcement and recording of suggestions, and promotion and follow-up of the system. The administrative unit reports its findings on suggestions to a suggestion board composed of the commismissioner of administration, director of civil service, and the head of the department with which the suggestion is concerned. The board determines the final disposition of the suggestion and authorizes payment of awards. Participation is open to all classified personnel below a supervisory grade established by the State Civil Service Department, but provision is also made for rewarding supervisors for acceptable suggestions originating in their units.

Both financial and non-financial awards are provided, the financial in

(Continued on Page 632)

Politicos Frustrate Knoxville

Despite many benefits from twenty years of manager plan, political abuses, poor election system, and lack of citizen organization prevent full success.

By M. H. SATTERFIELD
Knoxville, Tennessee

KNOXVILLE, Tennessee, adopted the council-manager plan in 1923, after having operated under the commission form of government for twelve years. The immediate stimulus for the change was provided by the large annual deficits incurred under the commission government then in office. At the time of the adoption of the manager plan, the city had a floating debt of over $3,500,000 incurred during the preceding four years.

The proposal for the adoption of the council-manager plan was sponsored by various civic, business, and other organizations "as the logical solution of Knoxville's governmental ills." On the other hand the "politicians" warned that adoption of council-manager government would "result in turning Knoxville over to non-resident carpetbaggers." Neither prophecy has come true.

Mr. Louis Brownlow was chosen as Knoxville's first city manager. Although a non-resident at the time of his appointment, Mr. Brownlow had previously lived in the state and was, therefore, considered a Tennessean. Since the resignation of Mr. Brownlow, the office of manager has with one exception been filled by residents of Knoxville. Likewise, not all the city's governmental ills have been solved by the manager plan. Financial and other problems remain acute.

Council-manager government has had none too tranquil an existence in Knoxville. Its adoption was fought vigorously by political and factional groups within the city and this fight has been continued from time to time since. In 1937, for example, the state legislature abolished its manager government and substituted a strong mayor form in which an elective mayor assumed the duties of both mayor and manager. Although this legislation was introduced by the Knoxville delegation in the legislature, the issue had not been placed before the local electorate. The mayor form was short lived, however. At the first opportunity, the voters of Knoxville expressed a preference for manager government and it was restored at the next session of the legislature.[1] At the 1943 legislative session abolition of manager government in Knoxville was again proposed but the bill failed.

It is apparent from reading Knoxville's charter that it was the intention of those who drafted it that the manager be chosen by the council because of his competence and that he serve during the period of satisfactory service. The charter provides that the city manager "shall be chosen solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications, and need not when appointed be a resident of the city or state. No member of the council shall be chosen as city manager. The city manager shall not be appointed for a definite fixed time, but shall be removable at the will and pleasure of the council by a vote of a majority of the members elected." If removal takes place after the manager has served six months, however, he may demand written charges and a hearing at a public meeting of the council.

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[1] See "City of Knoxville Favors City Manager Government," by M. H. Satterfield, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1938, p. 46; "Knoxville Returns to City Manager Government," *op. cit.* February 1940, p. 125.

Charter Not Followed

The intention of the charter has not been followed closely. While Knoxville chose as its first manager a person with previous city manager experience, this level of professionalism has not been maintained. As has been noted, with one exception all appointments since Mr. Brownlow's resignation in 1926 have been local residents. There has also been a rapid turnover, the managership having changed hands eleven times. Terms of incumbents have ranged from one month to two and a half years.

There has been a tendency for the council, particularly in recent years, to interfere in administrative matters and to engage in activities that logically should be left to trained administrators. Part of this interference may be attributed to the make-up of the council. As originally proposed, the Knoxville manager charter was to provide for a council of five members elected from the city at large. The provision finally adopted, however, stipulated a council of eleven members, six of whom are elected by districts and five from the city at large. In commenting on this method of selecting the council, Griffenhagen and Associates in 1940 pointed out it "affords opportunity for any of numerous minor racial, economic, and other groups to exercise a 'balance of power' in determining who shall be elected and what policies shall be adopted and carried out, by throwing its strength to one major party or the other, and often to exercise a controlling influence merely by threatening so to throw its votes."[2] Numerous suggestions have been made in recent years for reducing the size of the council and for electing all its membership from the city at large. Those who have sponsored these changes have done so on the theory that they would make the council more representative and would provide a body that would devote its efforts to policy-making functions.

Municipal services have been expanded and improved and better administrative practices inaugurated under the manager plan. These accomplishments include the adoption of a modern system of budgeting, accounting, and financial reporting, the establishment of a centralized purchasing system, and the installation of an up-to-date tax billing system. The city has also modernized and enlarged its water plant, has acquired its electric distribution system, and has constructed several viaducts to eliminate grade crossings and to improve traffic conditions.

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[2] *Report on an Exploratory Examination of Local Government in the Knoxville-Knox County Area,* Griffenhagen and Associates, Dec. 31, 1940, Part II, p. 2.

One of the main reasons for the adoption of the manager plan in Knoxville was the insecure financial position the city had gotten itself into under commission government. The financial condition of the city, however, has been precarious under the city manager plan. In 1933 after securing an extension from bondholders on maturities due during the last quarter of 1932 the city issued over $7,500,000 of refunding bonds covering maturities due from 1933 to 1939. Similarly, in 1942 the city initiated a $10,000,000 refunding program to replace outstanding bonds with new bonds bearing later maturity dates.[3] Bonds are still being refunded under the 1942 program.

Funding bonds in the amount of $1,652,000 were issued in 1937 to fund outstanding warrants. The city has operated on a cash basis since that date and its bonded debt is being reduced gradually. The city, however, had a net bonded debt, excluding utilities, of $18,684,166 on January 1, 1943. This represented a per capita debt of $167.45, which is higher than any of the other three metropolitan cities in Tennessee and fourth highest among the fifty-six cities in the United States with populations in 1940 of 100,000 to 250,000. Furthermore, only one of the thirty-five cities with populations in 1940 in excess of 250,000 had a higher per capita debt than Knoxville.[4]

Although city planning was visualized as one of the important tasks to be undertaken after adoption of the manager plan the achievements in this field have not been too encouraging. A planning commission was appointed in 1925 and an elaborate city plan for the future development of the city was submitted to the city council in 1930. The plan in its entirety was not adopted by the council, although individual elements, including the street plan and zoning ordinance, did receive council approval. Few of the recommendations as set forth in the comprehensive plan have been carried out, however. The city has been particularly slow in developing an adequate system of parks and playgrounds, and few of the proposed street extensions have been made.[5] The planning commission in 1941 supplemented its earlier report by developing a plan for river front improvement to take advantage of the benefits resulting from the construction of Fort Loudoun Dam. This plan has been approved by the council and its execution should contribute materially to the solution of such major problems of the city as slum eradication and traffic congestion. The plan also calls for badly needed recreational areas.

Knoxville has likewise failed to live up to expectations in the field of personnel administration. The charter contains "civil service" provisions but they are loosely drawn and often vague. No provision, for example, is made for classification of positions, or for salary standardization. Griffenhagen and Associates in commenting on the charter provisions relating to civil service pointed out that: "In no place is there any enunciation of the principle that merit and fitness shall govern entrance to, retention and advancement in, and separation from the service." They recommended that a comprehensive system of personnel administration embodying modern standards and procedures be developed and put into effect in Knoxville.[6] The city council now has under consideration a classification plan for employees.

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[3] *Municipal Government and Administration in Tennessee,* by Lyndon E. Abbott and Lee S. Greene, 1939, p. 113; see also *City Finances: 1942*—Individual City Reports, Knoxville, Tennessee (Vol. 1, Number 38), Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, July 1943.

[4] See "Bonded Debt of 290 U. S. Cities as at January 1, 1943," by Rosina Mohaupt, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1943, pp. 309-311.

[5] Abbott and Greene, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

In a recent appraisal of manager government in the United States, based upon a study of the plan in fifty cities, the authors concluded that: "The ideals of the city manager movement were instantly accepted in cities that were ready for them and distorted or abused wherever they were in conflict with local political traditions. But nearly everywhere they added to the prestige of city government, lessened its preoccupation with trivial details or factional interests, and increased its ability to render service to the public."[7] Knoxville has not fully accepted the ideals of the city manager movement. As a result, it has not received the full benefits of the plan. While the manager plan has not fully achieved the goals set for it when first adopted, it has nevertheless been superior to that provided under the commission plan of government and there appears to be no desire of the citizens to give it up.

Much of Knoxville's difficulty in the past has undoubtedly resulted from a lag in citizen interest for good government. There is no permanent citizen organization to maintain an active interest in the city's government and thus insure a more efficient and economical conduct of the city's affairs. The need for a permanent citizen organization similar to the one which secured adoption of the manager plan and sponsored the election of the first council is apparent. The people should be persuaded to demand, for example, that a good manager be kept in office even though a change is made in the composition of the council. The council and managers need to draw a sharper line of demarcation between administrative and legislative functions. The citizens need to understand the reasons for and merits of dividing administrative and legislative functions and should, to this end, be encouraged to select the council membership without reference to the manager or his relation to the council.

Knoxville has manager government in name, but a major change in local conditions and attitudes must be effected before it can in reality take its place among the successful manager cities in the United States.

Editor's Note. The author, who is employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority, wishes to make it clear that the views expressed herein are his own and not those of the Authority.

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[6] Griffenhagen and Associates, *op. cit.*, chapter 3.

[7] *City Manager Government in the United States,* by Harold A. Stone, Don K. Price and Kathryn H. Stone, Public Administration Service, Chicago 1940, p. 261.

Tax Rates of American Cities

Comparative figures show substantial reductions in rates of 305 American municipalities except for largest cities; little increase in assessed values.

By **ROSINA K. MOHAUPT**
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

FOR THE first time since the depression years of the early thirties American cities—with the exception of the very large municipalities—have made a substantial reduction in tax rates without an accompanying increase in assessed valuations. Tax collections have never been at a higher peak. This, together with the curtailment of materials and supplies and the consequent postponement of construction projects, has resulted in municipal treasuries which have never been in a more healthy financial condition.

There has been a pronounced trend toward progressively higher municipal wages which are urged on the basis of the overflowing treasuries. The ultimate result of this trend when cities are again faced with heavy construction and maintenance programs can only be speculated on at this time. Uncertain as the future may be, however, it would be wise for cities to look ahead while financing the present. The suspension of many essential construction projects has created a backlog which will require careful handling in the postwar period.

The ever-increasing payroll problem is one of the most serious faced by municipalities. It is doubtful if the present trend of cities to match war-time industrial wages can be continued. Yet considerable pressure is being applied to governmental units on the grounds that this is necessary to retain present staffs. In a few instances attempts have been made to reorganize the work so that it can be done with a reasonable degree of efficiency by decreased staffs, but in most cases wages have been raised to match or exceed those of industry and private enterprise. Many cities, however, have overlooked the fact that it will not be

TABLE I
ANNUAL CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUE AND AVERAGE ADJUSTED TAX RATE OF AMERICAN CITIES

	Per Cent of Change in Assessment	*Average Adjusted Tax Rate, Amount of Change*[a]
1942-43	+ .6%	$—.35
1941-42	+1.5	—.05
1940-41	— .1	+.02
1939-40	—1.5	+.29
1938-39	—.5	+.45
1937-38	+ .8	+.65
1936-37	— .3	+.82

[a] Per $1,000 of assessed value.

as easy for them to return to peacetime salary schedules as it will be for private enterprise.

"Cost-of-living" pay plans, based on the St. Paul experience of the past 20 years, are receiving more attention than ever before. Such plans afford the single practical solution to the problem of the synchronization of salaries and prevailing living costs. While many city employees will oppose any plan which decreases salaries in any way at any time, the cost-of-living salary adjustment plan is thoroughly equitable to both the employee and the employer.

Postwar planning is being developed today on a large scale. New York City plans to spend over a billion dollars, Detroit plans an $800,000,000 program. These and other plans are just getting under way. The method of financing such ambitious projects has not been worked out in any great detail. Full cognizance should be given to the fact that the rate of growth of cities is not only slowing up, but, in some instances, a decline has been observed in the size of cities.

The rising cost of municipal salaries and wages under present budget restrictions and the known requirements for construction and mainte-

TABLE II

Number of Cities Reporting Decreased Adjusted Tax Rates 1942-1943

Population Group[b]	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*No Change*
I	1	3	1
II	5	1	3
III	5	11	6
IV	28	14	9
V	46	28	17
VI[c]	67	30	15
Total	152	87	51

TABLE III

Comparison of 1942 and 1943 Average Unadjusted and Adjusted Tax Rates of 290 American Cities

Population Group[b]	*Average Unadjusted Rates per $1,000 of Assessed Value* 1943	1942	*Decrease*	*Average Adjusted Rates per $1,000 of Assessed Value* 1943	1942	*Decrease*
I	$49.67	$48.84	$+.83	$31.35	$30.79	$+.56
II	33.38	34.03	.65	28.88	28.44	+.44
III	43.35	43.82	.47	27.48	27.45	+.03
IV	38.65	39.07	.42	28.21	28.44	.23
V	38.45	38.89	.44	27.60	27.96	.36
VI[c]	37.13	37.85	.72	25.88	26.45	.57
Total	$38.38	$38.91	$ .53	$27.14	$27.49	$ .35

[b] Population groups defined by the United States Bureau of the Census as indicated in tabulation following article.

[c] Group VI is defined by the Bureau of the Census to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study, cities under 30,000 population were not tabulated.

nance in the postwar period have led some cities to search for additional sources of revenue. One of the most productive sources has been the Philadelphia one per cent payroll tax.

The average reduction in tax rates is 35 cents per $1,000 of assessed value, perhaps not very large, but second only to the 57-cent reduction in 1932-33. In 1932-33, however, assessed values dropped 8 per cent, whereas this year there was a slight increase.

The larger cities (those over 250,000 population) did not participate in this tax reduction program. They either maintained the same rates or fixed slightly higher rates. In the very largest cities (those over 1,000,000 population) there was an average increase in tax rates of 56 cents in the past year. This is due in part to the consistent decline in assessed values, totaling 3.4 per cent in the past five years. In contrast to this, the smaller cities show consistently increasing assessments during the same period.

The next smaller group of cities (those between 500,000 and 1,000,000 population) reflects the same situation to a lesser degree. They show a loss in assessed values of one per cent in the past five years, with an average increase in tax rate of 44 cents in the past year. Cities in groups IV, V, and VI (population below 250,000) show average decreases in tax rates from 23 to 57 cents, the smaller cities showing the largest reductions. Assessed values of these cities have shown slight increases—slightly over one per cent.

It is apparent that the general trend of taxes in the larger cities is upward even in periods of enforced economy, in contrast to the situation in smaller cities. What the ultimate effect of this will be is problematical, but in view of the declining rate of growth of cities revealed by the 1940 census, it would appear serious.

TABLE IV

FIVE-YEAR COMPARISON OF AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES OF 252 AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group[b]	*Average Unadjusted Rates per $1,000 of Assessed Value* 1943	1938	Increase	*Average Adjusted Rates per $1,000 of Assessed Value* 1943	1938	Increase
I	$49.67	$45.89	$3.78	$31.35	$28.46	$2.89
II	33.38	32.28	1.10	28.88	27.35	1.53
III	43.35	42.92	.43	27.48	26.45	1.03
IV	38.65	38.46	.19	28.21	27.75	.46
V	38.16	37.83	.33	27.09	26.70	.39
VI[c]	37.36	37.75	—.39	26.65	27.03	—.38
Total	$38.51	$38.34	.17	$27.35	$27.06	$ .29

[b] Population groups defined by the United States Bureau of the Census as indicated in tabulation following article.

[c] Group VI is defined by the Bureau of the Census to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study, cities under 30,000 population were not tabulated.

Tax Rates Reported

The rates reported in this compilation are those actually set and levied per thousand dollars of assessed valuation by all units of government which derive any portion of their revenues from the general property tax. In addition to the well known city, school, county, and state levies, in some states there are as many as eight to ten special districts performing services which are financed by taxes on general property.

Space limitations make it impossible to print the rates of all these special tax districts and consequently they have been added under one of the four general headings: city, school, county, or state. The determination of the proper heading under which to add a special district tax rate is not always clear-cut and at times is more or less arbitrary. Common practice in a majority of the municipalities studied determines what the classification shall be. Under the city tax rate are included the levies of park, library, relief, sanitary district, and water supply districts. Levies of districts which do not fall under the heading of either city or school are included with the county tax rate. A growing number of states have removed the general property tax as a source of state revenue. Wherever the rates of *ad hoc* units of government have been added to the city or county rate the amount and nature of such additions is indicated in a footnote.

Adjusted Tax Rates

The tax rates reported by municipalities do not give a complete picture of the average tax burden carried by general property in various cities throughout the country. In the first place, they in no way indicate the quality or quantity of services rendered by the taxing units. Even if two municipalities are served by identically the same types of governmental units, the schools in one city, for instance, may be doing a much better job than the schools in the second city. On the other hand,

TABLE V

CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUE OVER ONE-YEAR AND FIVE-YEAR PERIODS

Population Group[b]	*Average Per Capita Assessed Value 1943*	*Average Per Capita Assessed Value 1942*	*Per Cent Change in Assessment 1942-43*	*Per Cent Change in Assssment 1938-43*
I	$1579	$1589	— .6%	—3.4%
II	1644	1614	+1.9	—1.0
III	1208	1194	+1.3	+1.6
IV	1228	1211	+1.4	+4.3
V	1235	1220	+1.2	+4.8
VI[c]	1202	1184	+1.3	+4.6
Total	$1396	$1387	+ .6%	0.0%

[b] Population groups defined by the United States Bureau of the Census as indicated in tabulation following article.

[c] Group VI is defined by the Bureau of the Census to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study, cities under 30,000 population were not tabulated.

the health record of the second city, due to the work of its health department, may far excel that of the first city. Therefore, to compare tax rates of the two cities and to conclude that the first city is more economical than the second because its tax rate is lower would be unjust. Some attempt should be made to evaluate the services received by the taxpayer in comparing the costs of such services.

Another drawback to the comparison of actual tax rates levied in various cities is the variation in assessing law and practice. A majority of the state laws prescribe that the legal basis of assessment shall be 100 per cent of true value. Exceptions to this are found in North Dakota and Washington where the legal basis is 50 per cent of true value, and in Alabama and Iowa where it is 60 per cent. In Arkansas, the State Corporation Commission has been made responsible for the determination of what the assessment ratio shall be and has set it at 50 per cent. The California law requires that assessments shall be in proportion to value, but does not indicate what that proportion shall be. Actually assessments have been 50 per cent for counties and anywhere from 50 to 75 per cent for cities in California.

But, even where the legal basis of assessment is 100 per cent of true value, it does not necessarily follow that, in actual practice, assessments are being made at that ratio. It is a well known fact that many cities do not assess at the legal assessment ratio. A good example of this is found in Illinois municipalities where assessments at around 30 per cent of full value are common.

It is obvious that some adjustment must be made for these variations in legal requirements and actual assessing practices. This is done by multiplying the actual tax rate reported by the municipality by the estimated ratio of assessed valuation to true cash value, or full value, in each city. The adjusted tax rates computed by applying these ratios to the actual tax rates are all on a uniform 100 per cent basis of assessment and are therefore comparable.

In a few cities detailed studies have been made comparing the assessed values and selling prices of all types of property found on the assessment rolls, but this is the exception rather than the rule. The state tax commissions of California, Illinois, New York, and Oregon publish annual estimates of the assessment ratios of the local assessing units but their figures are frequently disputed by local agencies. A notable example of this is found in New York where local authorities differ from the tax commission figures by as much as 30 to 40 per cent. Local authorities often overlook the fact that the assessment ratio reported is the average for the entire city and for all types of property. They often point to properties which are assessed as high as 160 per cent of true value to prove that the assessments are made at more than 100 per cent. While these extremely high assessments may be counterbalanced by assessments far below true value, the fact that they can find such instances with comparative ease may well cause assessing officials to reorganize their departments in an effort to eliminate such inequities.

In using the assessment ratios reported in this study, it must be remembered that they reflect the overall average assessing practices and do not necessarily hold true for any one particular type or piece of property.

In a few states—California, Pennsylvania, and Texas—the county and the city prepare separate property assessment rolls. Frequently the county assesses at a different ratio from the city. Where this happens each tax rate is adjusted by the assessment ratio of the appropriate unit of government and the sum of the adjusted rates is shown as the total adjusted tax rate. Because of space limitations the individual assessment ratios are not shown, but only the weighted average which is determined by dividing the total adjusted rate by the total unadjusted rate.

Where land and buildings are taxed at different tax rates, as in Pittsburgh for instance, the weighted average tax rate is shown.

Method of Compiling

Data for this compilation were obtained from questionnaires filled out by city and county officials, chambers of commerce, and bureaus of governmental research throughout the country. This is the twenty-second annual tabulation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population. Cities are arranged in order of their 1940 population as determined in the decennial census. The Bureau of the Census defines group VI cities as those between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but this compilation includes only those group VI cities over 30,000 population.

Assessment figures reported are those set by the cities and are different from county assessments in some parts of the country. The reader is warned against multiplying the assessed value by the total tax rate to arrive at the total tax levy by all units of government. The total levy cannot be obtained by this method because of varying bases of assessment and because there are often different tax rates on real and personal property.

Questionnaires from 305 cities were returned for this tabulation. Because figures for 1942 and 1938 were not on record for all of these cities, the 1942-43 comparison is based on 290 cities and the 1938-43 comparison on 252 cities.

(See following pages for complete tabulation.)

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

COMPARATIVE TAX RATES OF 305 AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1943

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group I												
	Population 1,000,000 or over												
1	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,454,995	16,019,340,931	0	2	22.60*	7.28*	.46*	—	30.34	100	30.34	1
2	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,396,808	1,861,585,339	27	2	59.20	36.90	8.10	N	104.20	37	38.55	2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,931,334	3,070,557,633	19	1	17.00	11.75	N	N	28.75	100	28.75	3
4	Detroit, Mich.	1,623,452	2,794,425,810	26	2	18.37	9.66	5.10	N	33.13	100	33.13	4
5	Los Angeles, Calif.[4]	1,504,277	1,376,569,775	27	2	17.12	16.10	18.71	N	51.93	50	25.97	5
	Group II												
	Population 500,000 to 1,000,000												
6	Cleveland, Ohio[5]	878,336	1,331,078,369	20	2	16.95	9.25	5.10	N	31.30	80	25.04	6
7	Baltimore, Md.[6]	859,100	1,632,574,140	32	Op.	21.20	5.30	N	1.28	27.78	100	27.78	7
8	St. Louis, Mo.	816,048	1,068,963,250	17	Op.	17.50	9.00	N	1.00	27.50	85	23.38	8
9	Boston, Mass.[7]	770,816	1,445,668,300	8	2	—	—	—	—	41.00	100	41.00	9
10	Pittsburgh, Pa.[8]	671,659	1,044,010,664	0	12	16.33*	11.75	7.63	N	35.71	100	35.71	10
11	Washington, D. C.[9]	663,091	1,496,540,430	9	2	—	—	N	N	17.50	90	15.75	11
12	San Francisco, Calif.[10]	634,536	840,512,202	15	2	36.27	7.33	N	N	43.60	50	21.80	12
13	Milwaukee, Wis.[11]	587,472	842,039,365	12	10	14.15	11.03	9.47	.22	34.87	93	32.43	13

See also general notes at end of tabulation.
N=None.
*=Estimated.
—=Figures or breakdown not available.
Op.=Optional.

§These cities reported different assessment ratios for the city and county, or for land and buildings. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

NO STATE LEVY ON PROPERTY in the following states: California, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, and Virginia. No state levy on real estate in Pennsylvania.

[1] **New York City.** Rate shown is for Borough of Manhattan. Total rate for Bronx is $30.29; Brooklyn, $30.41; Queens, $31.22; Richmond, $30.54. Total rates include levy for reassessment of special assessments which are borough-wide in character. Breakdown of total rate estimated from appropriations. Local authorities report assessments far in excess of 100% of true value. See footnote o.

[2] **Chicago.** City rate includes $11.80 park and $8.60 sanitary district rates. County rate includes $1 forest preserve rate. See footnote aa.

[3] **Philadelphia.** City rate includes levy for county which is consolidated with city. Assessment includes approximately $725,000,000 "money at interest" taxed at 4 mills by city and county each. See footnote t.

[4] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes $2 flood control rate on land and improvements only and $4.80 metropolitan water rate.

[5] **Cleveland.** Assessed value does not include intangible personalty assessed on income at from 2 to 5 mills, but does include approximately $160,000,000 tangible personal property taxed at same rate as realty but assessed at 50% to 70% of full value. See footnote q.

[6] **Baltimore.** Assessed value includes $47,500,000 shares of banks and trust companies, $222,000,000 deposits in savings banks, and $63,673,100 railroad securities taxed at $10, $1.875 and $3 respectively. School rate estimated from appropriations.

[7] **Boston.** Breakdown of $41 total rate not available.

[8] **Pittsburgh.** City rate is average of $22.50 rate on land and $11.25 on buildings. Because of varying proportions of land to building on different pieces of property the rate actually varies from $20 to $30. See footnote t.

[9] **Washington, D. C.** Assessment does not include intangible personal property subject to income tax. School rate included in city. Homeowners may pay taxes in four installments.

[10] **San Francisco.** Assessed value does not include $343,202,832 solvent credits taxed at $1 per $1,000. Combined city-county governmental organization.

[11] **Milwaukee.** City rate includes $1.90 for retirement of debt of Metropolitan Sewerage District.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
14	Buffalo, N. Y.[12]	575,901	913,703,570	0	2	24.98	7.32	8.76	.07	41.13	90	37.02	14
	Group III												
	Population 250,000 to 500,000												
15	New Orleans, La.[13]	494,537	499,920,295	35	2	21.50	7.00	5.50	5.75	39.75	71§	28.38	15
16	Minneapolis, Minn.[k]	492,370	232,408,680	17	4	53.50	25.71	12.12	8.67	100.00	35	35.00	16
17	Cincinnati, Ohio[14]	455,610	902,881,330	15	2	10.52	7.55	3.21	N	21.28	80	17.02	17
18	Newark, N. J.[15]	429,760	700,791,770	26	4	31.11	12.07	7.16	2.76	53.10	100	53.10	18
19	Kansas City, Mo.	399,178	504,159,502	28	1	14.00	13.50	6.80	1.00	35.30	80	28.24	19
20	Indianapolis, Ind.[e]	386,972	541,962,840	25	2	13.70	9.65	5.95	1.10	30.40	75	22.80	20
21	Houston, Tex.[w]	384,514	370,000,000*	26	1	22.00	11.10	8.00	4.70	45.80	47§	21.63	21
22	Seattle, Wash.[16]	368,302	262,358,818	25	2	21.47	16.50	13.90	2.30	54.17	47	25.46	22
23	Rochester, N. Y.[17]	324,975	530,049,532	0	4	19.87	10.55	10.57	—	40.99	92	37.71	23
24	Denver, Colo.[18]	322,412	386,584,125	29*	2	16.90	16.00	N	4.00	36.90	85	31.37	24
25	Louisville, Ky.[19]	319,077	451,207,415	31	4	16.15	7.85	4.00	.50	28.50	85	24.23	25
26	Columbus, Ohio[q]	306,087	399,794,290	24	2	8.70	8.20	2.60	N	19.50	80	15.60	26
27	Portland, Ore.[20]	305,394	329,301,505	17	4	20.80	9.10	14.00	N	43.90	57	25.03	27
28	Atlanta, Ga.[21]	302,288	371,941,592	31	3	11.20	6.30	13.50	5.00	36.00	59§	21.20	28
29	Oakland, Calif.[22]	302,163	275,921,721	16	2	21.90	16.00	14.50	N	52.40	35	18.34	29
30	Jersey City, N. J.[n]	301,173	544,185,613	18	4	23.38	15.57	14.76	3.74	57.45	100	57.45	30
31	Dallas, Tex.[w]	294,734	299,485,950	30	2	17.00	7.50	6.70	4.70	35.90	53	19.03	31
32	Memphis, Tenn.	292,942	Not reported										32
33	St. Paul, Minn.[k]	287,736	134,182,587	20	4	43.60	20.00	30.43	8.67	102.70	35	35.94	33
34	Toledo, Ohio[q]	282,349	468,856,373	26	2	9.45	7.98	2.57	N	20.00	100	20.00	34
35	Birmingham, Ala.[a]	267,583	180,000,000	15	4	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	40	14.40	35
36	San Antonio, Tex.[w]	253,854	214,299,130	25	5	17.10	10.30	6.50	4.70	38.60	65§	25.03	36
37	Providence, R. I.[24]	253,504	500,365,940	19	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	110	27.50	37

[12] **Buffalo.** City rate includes $1.90 debt service for schools. See footnote o.

[13] **New Orleans.** Figure in county column is levee and flood reparation rate. See footnote g.

[14] **Cincinnati.** Intangible personalty taxed on income not included in assessed valuation. See footnote q.

[15] **Newark.** City rate includes $1.63 for school debt service. See footnote n.

[16] **Seattle.** County rate includes $1.55 Port of Seattle rate. See footnote y.

[17] **Rochester.** State Tax Commission assessment ratio shown. Local authorities believe property is assessed at 110% of true value. See footnote o.

[18] **Denver.** Consolidated city-county rate due to city-county governmental organization.

[19] **Louisville.** Real estate rate shown. Rate on personal property is $33.

[20] **Portland, Ore.** City rate includes $.50 port and $1.40 dock rates. See footnote s.

[21] **Atlanta.** School rate includes $1.50 levied on property in city limits for county schools. See footnote d.

[22] **Oakland.** County rate includes $2 municipal water district, $.50 park and $.10 mosquito abatement district rates.

[23] **Evanston.** City rate includes $3.10 township supervisor and poor relief and $8.60 sanitary district rate. County rate includes $.40 mosquito abatement and $1 forest preserve rate.

[24] **Providence.** Assessed value does not include approximately $200,000,000 intangible personal property taxed at 4 mills. See footnote u.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group IV Population 100,000 to 250,000												
38	Akron, Ohio[25]	244,791	291,650,000*	30	2	15.35	11.09	3.56	N	30.00	50	15.00	38
39	Omaha, Neb.	223,844	244,486,340	24	2	15.95	15.00	5.25	3.26	39.46	70	27.62	39
40	Dayton, Ohio[26]	210,718	319,433,710	24	2	9.00	8.60	4.20	N	21.80	85	18.53	40
41	Syracuse, N. Y.[o]	205,967	344,569,060	0	4	19.70	9.47	12.23	.07	41.47	100	41.47	41
42	Oklahoma City, Okla.[27]	204,424	119,087,037	14	4	17.49	19.36	9.30	N	46.15	40	18.46	42
43	San Diego, Calif.	203,341	192,889,200	23	2	18.40	17.50	17.70	N	53.60	50	26.80	43
44	Worcester, Mass.	193,694	268,007,200	6	Op.	26.33	8.28	.84	.55	36.00	100	36.00	44
45	Richmond, Va.	193,042	334,851,000*	15	10	14.50	7.50	N	N	22.00	100	22.00	45
46	Honolulu, Hawaii[28]	179,358	142,450,142	—	2	28.08	—	N	N	28.08	80	22.46	46
47	Fort Worth, Tex.[29]	177,662	169,420,183	26	2	21.90	11.00	8.80	7.50	49.20	61§	30.08	47
48	Jacksonville, Fla.[30]	173,065	87,308,080	13	1	21.50	8.65	6.25	N	36.40	71§	25.65	48
49	Miami, Fla.[31]	172,172	199,948,930	12	1	27.44	—	—	N	—	—	—	49
50	Youngstown, Ohio[32]	167,720	281,912,372	14	2	7.66	7.94	2.80	N	18.40	80	14.72	50
51	Nashville, Tenn.[33]	167,402	171,930,660	31	2	17.60*	3.40*	8.30	.80	30.10	100	30.10	51
52	Hartford, Conn.[34]	166,267	394,175,582	20	4	16.46	12.27	.56	1.21	30.50	100	30.50	52
53	Grand Rapids, Mich.[j]	164,292	197,700,300	20	1	9.14	6.35	3.00	N	18.49	100	18.49	53
54	Long Beach, Calif.[35]	164,271	240,834,265	11	2	9.67	18.32	18.71	N	46.70	53§	24.81	54
55	New Haven, Conn.	160,605	317,228,349	19	2	16.24	10.25	.38	.63	27.50	100	27.50	55
56	Des Moines, Iowa[36]	159,819	144,161,197	19	2	19.15	23.04	16.15	N	58.34	68	39.67	56
57	Flint, Mich.[j]	151,543	222,206,850	22	3	9.24	7.65	3.35	N	20.24	100	20.24	57
58	Salt Lake City, Utah[37]	149,934	142,744,626	33	1	15.00	13.55	7.35	3.10	39.00	70	27.30	58
59	Springfield, Mass.	149,554	252,291,530	9	2	19.80	12.56	1.31	.83	34.50	100	34.50	59
60	Bridgeport, Conn.	147,121	280,854,010	29	2	21.34	5.76	.20	1.00	28.30	100	28.30	60

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[25] **Akron.** City rate includes $.12 metropolitan park district rate. See footnote q.

[26] **Dayton.** City rate includes $2.50 conservancy rate for flood protection. See footnote q.

[27] **Oklahoma City.** First $1,000 of homestead assessment taxed at $11.12 ($4.45 adjusted). See footnote r.

[28] **Honolulu.** City rate covers cost of school and county government. Land is assessed at 60%, improvements at 100% of true value. *Homestead Exemption:* First $1,500 of assessed value, plus one-half of value between $1,500 and $5,000; maximum, $3,250.

[29] **Fort Worth.** City rate includes $3.60 water control. Rates shown are for 1942.

[30] **Jacksonville.** County rate includes $.13 navigation and $.40 air base authority rates. See footnote c.

[31] **Miami.** School and county rates not available. See footnote c.

[32] **Youngstown.** City rate includes $1.65 sanitary district and $.12 township rates. See footnote q.

[33] **Nashville.** Division between city and school purposes estimated on basis of appropriations.

[34] **Hartford.** City rate includes $.95 metropolitan district rate.

[35] **Long Beach.** County rate includes $4.80 metropolitan water and $2.00 county flood control rates.

[36] **Des Moines.** Moneys and credits of approximately $40,000,000 taxed at five mills not included in assessed value. See footnote f.

[37] **Salt Lake City.** County rate includes $.20 mosquito abatement and $.10 metropolitan water district rates. See footnote x.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
61	Norfolk, Va.[38]	144,332	173,550,000*	15	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	80	20.00	61
62	Yonkers, N. Y.[o]	142,598	287,893,128	0	4	24.74	8.53	5.65	.24	39.16	100	39.16	62
63	Tulsa, Okla.[r]	142,157	122,438,301	20	4	16.68	18.77	7.16	N	42.61	50	21.31	63
64	Scranton, Pa.[39]	140,404	97,684,870	0	4	19.04	24.00	7.10	N	50.14	70	35.10	64
65	Paterson, N. J.[n]	139,656	163,908,979	10	4	17.93	15.18	8.13	2.86	44.10	80	35.28	65
66	Albany, N. Y.[40]	130,577	241,924,357	0	1	27.15	—	7.73	.07	34.95	100	34.95	66
67	Chattanooga, Tenn.[38]	128,163	115,382,488	18	4	20.00	—	17.20	.80	38.00	60	22.80	67
68	Trenton, N. J.[n]	124,697	151,427,659	17	4	19.58	17.11	8.07	2.84	47.60	85	40.46	68
69	Spokane, Wash.[y]	122,001	77,857,000	23	2	18.00	10.70	9.90	2.20	40.80	50	20.40	69
70	Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	84,789,758	22	2	21.76	21.80	11.70	.79	56.05	50	28.03	70
71	Fort Wayne, Ind.[41]	118,410	175,000,000*	26	2	8.70	9.50	4.90	1.10	24.20	75	18.15	71
72	Camden, N. J.[n]	117,536	135,982,125	19	4	19.32	15.73	10.42	2.93	48.40	70	33.88	72
73	Erie, Pa.[t]	116,955	124,274,620	0	Op.	14.75	17.00	7.00	N	38.75	94§	36.30	73
74	Fall River, Mass.	115,428	Not reported										74
75	Wichita, Kans.	114,966	129,803,620	25	2	14.96	20.66	8.49	N	44.11	65	28.67	75
76	Wilmington, Del.	112,504	162,864,950	1	—	14.50	1.50	4.00	N	20.00	80	16.00	76
77	Gary, Ind.[42]	111,719	136,830,815	35	2	13.00	14.15	8.75	1.10	37.00	60	22.20	77
78	Knoxville, Tenn.[38]	111,580	129,562,383	26	1	25.50	—	15.50	.80	41.80	80	33.44	78
79	Cambridge, Mass.	110,879	169,908,800	7	Op.	29.45	7.96	.84	1.65	39.90	100	39.90	79
80	Reading, Pa.[t]	110,568	140,153,150	0	1	11.00	15.00	6.50	N	32.50	94§	30.55	80
81	New Bedford, Mass.[43]	110,341	96,553,925	13	2	—	—	—	—	45.80	100	45.80	81
82	Elizabeth, N. J.[n]	109,912	135,689,115	12	4	16.16	17.24	7.15	2.85	43.40	100	43.40	82
83	Tacoma, Wash.[44]	109,408	53,730,616	25	2	20.97	12.80	13.82	2.38	49.97	50	24.99	83
84	Canton, Ohio[q]	108,401	162,257,430	25	2	4.50	9.00	2.70	N	16.20	80	12.96	84
85	Tampa, Fla.	108,391	Not reported										85
86	Sacramento, Cal.[45]	105,958	132,773,510	14	2	20.50	17.20	12.80	N	50.50	59§	29.76	86
87	Peoria, Ill.[46]	105,087	83,468,786	31	2	30.20	17.50	4.10	N	51.80	35	18.13	87
88	Somerville, Mass.	102,177	113,470,800	6	10	24.65	11.31	1.21	3.23	40.40	100	40.40	88
89	Lowell, Mass.[38]	101,389	93,288,250	8	10	44.97	—	1.03	1.20	47.20	100	47.20	89
90	South Bend, Ind.[e]	101,268	150,371,170	34	2	9.08	11.05	6.37	1.10	27.60	70	19.32	90

[38] **Norfolk, et al.** School rate included in city rate.

[39] **Scranton.** City rate is weighted average of $26.82 on land and $13.41 on improvements. County rate includes $1.60 for institutions. See footnote t.

[40] **Albany.** School rate included in city rate. Independent survey by Dr. Simpson establishes assessment ratio at 117% of true value. See footnote o.

[41] **Fort Wayne.** City rate includes $.85 library rate. County rate includes $.70 township and poor relief rates.

[42] **Gary.** City rate includes $1.85 sanitary district rate. County rate includes $3.05 township rate.

[43] **New Bedford.** Breakdown of total rate not available.

[44] **Tacoma.** City rate includes $2.50 park rate. County rate includes $3.25 port district rate. See footnote y.

[45] **Sacramento.** County rate includes $.30 utility district and $.40 flood control rates.

[46] **Peoria.** City rate includes $3.70 sanitary district, $3.25 park district, and $3.00 town rates. See footnote aa.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess-ment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
91	Duluth, Minn.[47]	101,065	47,690,898	22	4	42.55	37.41	20.57	8.67	109.20	34	37.13	91
92	Charlotte, N. C.[48]	100,899	121,818,875*	25	12	10.80	2.50	7.80	N	21.10	67	14.14	92
93	Utica, N. Y.[49]	100,518	123,300,636	0	2	24.04	10.50	9.98	—	44.52	80	35.62	93
	Group V												
	Population 50,000 to 100,000												
94	Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	186,659,603	27	2	18.64	9.78	.33	1.25	30.00	80	24.00	94
95	Shreveport, La.[g]	98,167	105,299,000	32	1	16.00	4.00	2.00	5.75	27.75	67	17.59	95
96	Lynn, Mass.[50]	98,123	133,378,435	9	2	23.31*	9.95*	1.40*	1.14*	35.80	100	35.80	96
97	Evansville, Ind.[51]	97,062	121,478,160	—	2	9.20	10.90	10.10	1.20	31.40	75	23.55	97
98	Allentown, Pa.[t]	96,904	106,187,725	0	4	12.40	15.00	5.00	N	32.40	75	24.30	98
99	El Paso, Tex.[w]	96,810	82,499,790	22	2	13.50	11.50	8.00	7.50	40.50	62§	25.25	99
100	Savannah, Ga.[d]	95,996	62,000,000*	20	4	23.00	10.00	13.00	5.00	51.00	60	30.60	100
101	Little Rock, Ark.	88,039	Not reported										101
102	Austin, Tex.[w]	87,930	76,545,775	20	1	16.80	6.20	7.90	7.50	38.40	60§	23.03	102
103	Schenectady, N. Y.[52]	87,549	157,855,696	0	4	20.31	9.65	6.97	.06	36.99	110	40.69	103
104	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.[t]	86,236	82,636,412	0	4	14.50	17.50	6.20	N	38.20	100	38.20	104
105	Berkeley, Calif.	85,547	96,619,740	8	2	17.76	17.74	14.50	N	50.00	55§	27.49	105
106	Rockford, Ill.[53]	84,637	59,732,282	30	2	25.39	24.53	4.58	N	54.60	40	21.84	106
107	Lawrence, Mass.	84,323	84,090,350	9	2	21.05	13.35	2.38	1.02	37.80	100	37.80	107
108	Harrisburg, Pa.[t]	83,893	93,372,410	0	Op.	14.00	15.50	6.00	N	35.50	60	21.30	108
109	Saginaw, Mich.[j]	82,794	107,248,158	18	8	8.71	5.67	3.40	N	17.78	80	14.22	109
110	Glendale, Cal.[54]	82,582	68,014,900	—	2	12.20	21.47	13.91	N	47.58	50	23.79	110
111	Sioux City, Iowa[55]	82,364	78,596,359	24	2	17.40	19.52	9.23	N	46.15	60	27.69	111
112	Lincoln, Neb.[56]	81,984	94,392,610	22	2	12.40	15.25	1.74	3.15	32.54	85	27.66	112
113	Pasadena, Cal.[57]	81,864	125,964,654	17	1	11.54	17.47	13.91	N	42.92	57§	24.35	113
114	Altoona, Pa.[t]	80,214	71,587,510	0	Op.	10.00	17.00	7.00	N	34.00	89§	30.20	114
115	Winston-Salem, N. C.[p]	79,815	114,000,000*	—	1	12.54	2.46	5.00	N	20.00	70	14.00	115
116	Bayonne, N. J.	79,198	126,658,177	16	4	—	—	—	—	50.56	100	50.56	116
117	Huntington, W. Va.[z]	78,836	118,095,887	41	2	5.00	9.40	4.40	.10	18.90	80	15.12	117

[47] **Duluth.** Rate shown applies to non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is $102.14 ($34.73 adjusted). See foootnote k.

[48] **Charlotte.** Assessed value subject to increase by amount of late returns which come in until June 30, 1944. Final 1942 assessed value is $122,552,245. See footnote p.

[49] **Utica.** State Tax Commission assessment ratio shown. Local authorities report property assessment averages 75% of true value. See footnote o.

[50] **Lynn.** Division of total tax rate of $35.80 approximated on basis of appropriations.

[51] **Evansville.** County rate includes $.27 township rate.

[52] **Schenectady.** Assessment ratio is estimated at widely divergent figures by various sources. State Tax Commission reports 88%, local sources as high as 160%. See footnote o.

[53] **Rockford.** City rate includes $7.20 township and $5.80 sanitary district and park rates. See footnote aa.

[54] **Glendale.** Rates shown are for districts #2 and #3 (35% of assessed value). Rates for district #1 total $47.63.

[55] **Sioux City.** Assessed value does not include approximately $12,000,000 moneys and credits taxed at 5 mills. See footnote f.

[56] **Lincoln.** City rate includes $2 sanitary district rate.

[57] **Pasadena.** County rate includes $2 flood control rate.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
118	Lansing, Mich.[58]	78,753	112,232,250	18	1	13.48	9.80	4.50	N	27.78	80	22.22	118
119	Mobile, Ala.[a]	78,720	46,621,423	26	1	7.50	3.00	18.50	6.50	35.50	60	21.30	119
120	Binghamton, N. Y.[o]	78,309	105,133,953	0	4	23.14	8.83	6.03	—	38.00	98	37.24	120
121	Montgomery, Ala.	78,084	Not reported										121
122	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[o]	78,029	156,997,155	0	2	19.30	11.55	4.98	—	35.83	85	30.46	122
123	Manchester, N. H.[38]	77,685	89,657,189	21	1	28.76	—	4.92	.17	33.85	100	33.85	123
124	Quincy, Mass.[43]	75,810	130,908,075	6	1	—	—	—	—	30.00	100	30.00	124
125	Pawtucket, R. I.[38]	75,797	163,334,198	33	4	—	—	N	N	21.00	100	21.00	125
126	St. Joseph, Mo.	75,711	61,297,760	28	1	15.00	12.80	7.25	1.00	36.05	65	23.43	126
127	East St. Louis, Ill.[59]	75,609	41,023,079	36	2	34.63	26.80	6.00	N	67.43	40	26.97	127
128	Springfield, Ill.[60]	75,503	52,705,586	21	2	26.63	17.00	5.85	N	49.48	35	17.32	128
129	Portland, Me.[61]	73,643	79,948,150	24	1	40.78	—	1.68	7.14	49.60	90	44.64	129
130	Charleston, S. C.[v]	71,275	19,475,014	38	Op.	62.00	30.00	20.00	N	112.00	20	22.40	130
131	Springfield, Ohio	70,662	Not reported										131
132	Troy, N. Y.[o]	70,304	73,785,417	0	2	31.35	8.93	12.96	—	53.24	86	45.79	132
133	Hammond, Ind.	70,184	95,040,720	25	2	12.55	12.56	5.70	1.10	31.91	60	19.15	133
134	Newton, Mass.[43]	69,873	169,051,900	10	2	—	—	—	—	27.00	100	27.00	134
135	Roanoke, Va.[38]	69,287	68,037,229	17	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	50	12.50	135
136	Lakewood, Ohio[q]	69,160	95,271,300	10	2	7.20	12.90	5.10	N	25.20	75	18.90	136
137	East Orange, N. J.[n]	68,945	106,399,800	9	4	18.36	12.40	7.26	2.78	40.80	100	40.80	137
138	New Britain, Conn.	68,685	112,979,945	20	1	13.86	13.20	.52	1.42	29.00	100	29.00	138
139	San Jose, Cal.	68,457	64,734,805	14	2	15.93	16.30	11.00	N	43.23	50	21.62	139
140	Charleston, W. Va.	67,914	Not reported										140
141	Topeka, Kans.	67,833	91,146,141	43	2	14.46	17.75	6.80	1.99	41.00	70	28.70	141
142	Madison, Wis.	67,447	140,358,785	15	2	9.89	11.05	5.36	.20	26.50	100	26.50	142
143	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.[o]	67,362	143,934,464	0	2	12.72	13.25	7.71	—	33.68	100	33.68	143
144	Racine, Wis.	67,195	109,280,580	14	7	3.80	10.50	6.44	.22	20.96	91	19.07	144
145	Johnstown, Pa.[t]	66,668	73,397,815	9	4	14.00	17.00	6.00	N	37.00	100	37.00	145
146	Pontiac, Mich.[j]	66,626	81,223,865	34	1	12.02	7.96	4.82	N	24.80	100	24.80	146
147	Davenport, Iowa[f]	66,039	61,580,401	9	1	17.00	16.99	8.89	N	42.88	60	25.73	147
148	Oak Park, Ill.[62]	66,015	40,466,113	14	2	31.40	37.00	8.60	N	77.00	37	28.49	148
149	Augusta, Ga.[d]	65,919	48,267,898	30	2	21.00	14.00	9.00	5.00	49.00	58§	28.56	149
150	Phoenix, Ariz.	65,414	74,766,027	22	2	17.20	18.30	3.90	10.00	49.40	64§	31.58	150
151	Evanston, Ill.[23]	65,389	47,690,517	19	2	29.70	34.81	8.50	N	73.01	37	27.01	151
152	Cicero, Ill.	64,712	Not reported										152

[58] **Lansing.** School and county rate are for 1942.

[59] **East St. Louis.** City rate includes $3.40 township, $6.10 park, $7.20 levee, and $1.33 health district rates. See footnote aa.

[60] **Springfield.** City rate includes $3.90 town, $2 park and $3.90 sanitary district rates. See footnote aa.

[61] **Portland.** County rate includes $.11 bridge rate. School rate included in city rate.

[62] **Oak Park.** City rate includes $8.60 sanitary district, $3.40 poor relief,

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
153	Atlantic City, N. J.[n]	64,094	79,090,220	9	4	33.00	12.10	11.30	3.20	59.60	100	59.60	153
154	Dearborn, Mich.[63]	63,584	243,632,545	39	4	11.90	11.11	4.99	N	28.00	100	28.00	154
155	Medford, Mass.[43]	63,083	78,469,450	4	2	—	—	—	—	39.40	100	39.40	155
156	Terre Haute, Ind.[e]	62,693	55,392,500	28	2	12.60	13.75	8.05	1.20	35.60	80	28.48	156
157	Columbia, S. C.	62,396	Not reported										157
158	Brockton, Mass.	62,343	Not reported										158
159	Cedar Rapids, Iowa[64]	62,120	61,516,631	23	2	15.02	19.13	4.96	N	39.11	60	23.47	159
160	Jackson, Miss.[m]	62,107	61,791,839	29	3	19.85	8.95	11.40	2.00	42.20	67	28.27	160
161	Covington, Ky.	62,018	57,526,215	26	2	15.70	11.70	5.60	.50	33.50	70	23.45	161
162	Passaic, N. J.[n]	61,394	79,878,475	14	4	21.50	16.32	8.12	2.86	48.80	100	48.80	162
163	Lancaster, Fa.[t]	61,345	90,711,550	0	1	6.00	11.00	1.50	N	18.50	100	18.50	163
164	Springfield, Mo.	61,238	42,500,000*	19*	1	16.00	14.50	5.30	1.00	36.80	60	22.08	164
165	Wheeling, W. Va.[s]	61,099	117,134,750	—	2	4.26	—	—	—	—	75	—	165
166	Galveston, Tex.	60,862	Not reported										166
167	St. Petersburg, Fla.[65]	60,812	86,423,600	9	1	25.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	167
168	Fresno, Cal.	60,685	60,177,765	17	2	16.10	17.95	8.60	N	42.65	50	21.33	168
169	Durham, N. C.[p]	60,195	93,290,296	37	1	12.40	3.10	5.50	N	21.00	75	15.75	169
170	Greensboro, N. C.[p]	59,319	101,079,147	28	1	12.12	.73	7.20	N	20.05	85	17.04	170
171	Decatur, Ill.	59,305	Not reported										171
172	Chester, Pa.[t]	59,285	57,801,800	0	—	14.00	14.00	4.55	N	32.55	86§	27.93	172
173	Beaumont, Tex.[66]	59,061	60,000,000	13	4	19.50	11.40	10.50	4.70	46.10	67§	30.77	173
174	Bethlehem, Pa.[t]	58,490	69,226,805	0	4	12.00	16.00	8.50	N	36.50	64§	23.42	174
175	New Rochelle, N. Y.[o]	58,408	153,779,652	0	4	19.40	11.40	7.10	—	37.90	100	37.90	175
176	Malden, Mass.[67]	58,010	69,075,850	9	2	26.64	13.56	1.20	N	41.40	100	41.40	176
177	Macon, Ga.	57,865	43,600,000*	15	9	13.00	11.81	12.19	5.00	42.00	50	21.00	177
178	Corpus Christi, Tex.[68]	57,301	48,646,340	18	2	21.20	13.50	11.20	4.70	50.60	60§	30.29	178
179	York, Pa.[t]	56,712	50,494,510	0	1	10.50	18.50	4.00	N	33.00	63§	20.93	179
180	Union City, N. J.[69]	56,173	64,042,007	6	4	25.43	15.77	12.56	3.16	56.92	100	56.92	180
181	Waco, Texas	55,982	50,039,600	28	12	16.30	8.00	6.90	4.70	35.90	72§	25.95	181
182	McKeesport, Pa.[t]	55,355	56,160,700	0	1	14.50	17.00	8.75	N	40.25	65§	26.34	182

$3.40 park and $.50 driveway maintenance rates. County rate includes $1 forest preserve and $.50 mosquito abatement rates. See footnote aa.

[63] **Dearborn.** School rate shown is average of individual rates of five school districts.

[64] **Cedar Rapids.** Assessed value does not include $27,124,689 moneys and credits taxed at 5 mills. See footnote f.

[65] **St. Petersburg.** There are approximately twenty state and county tax rate districts in the city. Rates vary because of schools and roads. City rate shown is only one of four, varying from $19 to $25. See footnote c.

[66] **Beaumont.** County rate includes $1.80 drainage and $.80 road and navigation rates. See footnote w.

[67] **Malden.** No state levy necessary because expenses were offset by receipts.

[68] **Corpus Christi.** County rate includes $2.37 navigation district rate. See footnote w.

[69] **Union City.** Rate for former town of Union shown. Rate for annexed portion of city is $56.18. See footnote n.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
183	Irvington, N. J.[n]	55,328	73,632,778	11	4	21.63	14.54	7.30	2.83	46.30	100	46.30	183
184	Cleveland Heights, Ohio[q]	54,992	106,390,590	6	2	4.50	13.90	5.10	N	23.50	60	14.10	184
185	Stockton, Cal.	54,714	65,022,455	13	10	19.80	12.02	16.04	N	47.86	57§	27.30	185
186	East Chicago, Ind.[70]	54,637	91,611,100	—	2	9.55	9.90	8.95	1.20	29.60	60	17.76	186
187	Kalamazoo, Mich.[j]	54,097	75,247,660	24	12	8.48	12.85	4.00	N	25.33	80	20.26	187
188	Holyoke, Mass.[38]	53,750	71,968,260	5	2	27.08	—	1.21	.71	29.00	100	29.00	188
189	Santa Monica, Cal.[71]	53,500	54,237,555	26	2	18.50	14.51	18.71	N	51.72	50	25.86	189
190	Columbus, Ga.[d]	53,280	42,001,693	22	1	14.00	8.00	9.00	5.00	36.00	50§	18.00	190
191	Pueblo, Colo.[72]	52,162	28,982,266	22	2	29.70	34.00	11.00	4.00	78.70	70	55.09	191
192	Waterloo, Iowa[73]	51,743	47,337,219	19	2	10.84	16.95	7.11	N	34.90	60	20.94	192
193	Amarillo, Tex.[w]	51,686	61,047,020	24	2	11.90	10.30	5.60	4.70	32.50	70§	22.91	193
194	Asheville, N. C.[p]	51,310	55,598,115	18	1	15.30	5.40	8.90	N	29.60	75	22.20	194
195	Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	93,401,900	28	3	14.85	14.25	4.99	N	34.09	100	34.09	195
196	Portsmouth, Va.[38]	50,745	37,063,942	3	2	—	—	N	N	25.00	70	17.50	196
197	Hamilton, Ohio[74]	50,592	69,850,000	16	2	9.26	6.15	2.69	N	18.10	70	12.67	197
198	Hoboken, N. J.	50,115	Not reported										198
	Group VI **Population 30,000 to 50,000**												
199	Hamtramck, Mich.	49,839	81,323,500	—	2	20.00	10.50	5.35	N	35.85	80	28.68	199
200	Brookline, Mass.	49,786	134,434,600	9	2	14.84	4.62	.65	1.89	22.00	100	22.00	200
201	Muncie, Ind.	49,720	Not reported										201
202	Pittsfield, Mass.[38]	49,684	61,187,650	8	2	29.17	—	1.34	.89	31.40	100	31.40	202
203	Jackson, Mich.[j]	49,656	71,867,330	17	5	9.24	8.87	4.35	N	22.46	80	17.97	203
204	Lexington, Ky.	49,304	69,273,403	36	2	17.00	7.80	4.50	.50	29.80	90	26.82	204
205	Woonsocket, R. I.	49,303	78,704,650	27	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00	205
206	Clifton, N. J.[n]	48,827	53,342,250	8	4	18.31	17.83	8.26	2.90	47.30	100	47.30	206
207	Kenosha, Wis.	48,765	72,126,750	11	3	5.48	15.76	10.96	.80	33.00	84	27.72	207
208	Berwyn, Ill.[75]	48,451	21,021,935	8	2	22.40	40.10	16.70	N	79.20	37	29.30	208
209	Bay City, Mich.[j]	47,956	47,456,280	19	1	18.97	9.92	6.86*	N	35.75	70	25.03	209
210	Stamford, Conn.[48]	47,938	112,178,222	19	1	—	—	—	—	33.00	100	33.00	210
211	Muskegon, Mich.[j]	47,697	57,180,300	24	1	9.18	9.07	4.20	N	22.45	100	22.45	211
212	New Castle, Pa.[t]	47,638	51,730,980	0	Op.	12.00	18.00	3.00	N	33.00	98§	32.40	212

[70] **East Chicago.** School rate includes $.60 library rate. County rate includes $2.30 township and $1.05 sanitary district rates.

[71] **Santa Monica.** County rate includes $4.80 metropolitan water and $2 flood control rates.

[72] **Pueblo.** County rate includes $1 water works district rate.

[73] **Waterloo.** Rate shown is for east side of city. Rate for west side is $35. See footnote f.

[74] **Hamilton.** City rate includes $3.63 conservancy (flood control) rate. See footnote q.

[75] **Berwyn.** City rate includes $.14 health and $.41 township and poor relief rates. See footnote aa.

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						City	School	County	State	Total			
213	Aurora, Ill.	47,170	27,819,244	25	2	30.80	26.50	4.22	N	61.52	33	20.30	213
214	Cranston, R. I.[38]	47,085	82,861,680	25	4	—	—	N	N	23.00	100	23.00	214
215	Raleigh, N. C.[p]	46,897	65,921,923	20	Op.	13.50	4.80*	3.90	N	22.20	70	15.54	215
216	Everett, Mass.	46,784	75,009,375	13	2	19.55	8.49	1.08	2.88	32.00	100	32.00	216
217	Haverhill, Mass.	46,752	49,524,375	11	1	30.47	7.60	.99	.54	39.60	100	39.60	217
218	Green Bay, Wis.[76]	46,235	57,791,065	12	2	7.74	14.86	6.84	.25	29.69	81	24.05	218
219	Port Arthur, Tex.[w]	46,140	30,201,770	19	2	19.00	7.50	8.30	4.70	39.50	60§	23.55	219
220	Wichita Falls, Tex.	45,112	Not reported										220
221	Elmira, N. Y.[o]	45,106	49,645,236	0	2	24.44	11.00	6.00	—	41.44	85	35.22	221
222	Lima, Ohio[q]	44,711	55,000,000	20	2	7.15	7.45	3.40	N	18.00	70	12.60	222
223	Lynchburg, Va.	44,541	44,429,545	8	3	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	16.45	223
224	Williamsport, Pa.[t]	44,355	29,827,790	0	Op.	13.75	22.00	8.00	N	43.75	56§	24.65	224
225	Lorain, Ohio	44,125	Not reported										225
226	Dubuque, Iowa[77]	43,892	35,528,992	24	2	19.20	14.93	7.57	N	41.70	60	25.02	226
227	Ogden, Utah	43,688	Not reported										227
228	San Bernardino, Cal.[78]	43,646	30,506,755	33	2	14.01	19.80	15.50	N	49.31	50	24.66	228
229	Battle Creek, Mich.[j]	43,453	70,337,850	23	1	7.90	9.80	3.30	N	21.00	100	21.00	229
230	Warren, Ohio[79]	42,837	65,868,694	25	2	7.10	8.00	3.30	N	18.40	80	14.72	230
231	Rock Island, Ill.[80]	42,775	23,271,885	26	2	20.00	24.50	5.00	N	49.50	37	18.32	231
232	La Crosse, Wis.	42,707	54,538,100	13	2	7.42	10.51	7.83	.24	26.00	90	23.40	232
233	Jamestown, N. Y.[o]	42,638	56,718,072	0	1	13.35	14.93	7.20	—	35.48	85	30.16	233
234	Joliet, Ill.[81]	42,365	24,037,345	21	2	24.43	36.07	7.20	N	67.70	28	18.96	234
235	Fitchburg, Mass.	41,824	49,942,675	17	2	25.00	11.00	1.25	.75	38.00	100	38.00	235
236	Chicopee, Mass.[43]	41,664	38,387,760	7	2	—	—	—	—	38.00	100	38.00	236
237	Bloomfield, N. J.[n]	41,623	66,174,000	12	4	13.40	16.10	7.30	2.80	39.60	100	39.60	237
238	Anderson, Ind.	41,572	40,116,745	33	2	27.20	12.90	5.40	1.10	46.60	65	30.29	238
239	Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439	Not reported										239
240	Chelsea, Mass.	41,259	43,347,810	9	2	34.63	10.91	N	3.26	48.80	100	48.80	240
241	Perth Amboy, N. J.[n]	41,242	49,455,713	3	4	21.63	17.85	12.73	2.89	55.10	50	27.55	241
242	Salem, Mass.	41,213	54,342,820	11	10	18.50	11.12	3.00	.88	33.50	100	33.50	242
243	Sioux Falls, S. D.	40,832	46,789,233	17	2	14.24	11.35	5.24	N	30.83	70	21.58	243
244	Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	53,050,625	13	2	15.15	11.66	4.94	.23	31.98	90	28.78	244
245	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.[o]	40,478	52,441,908	0	4	26.44	8.06	5.48	—	39.98	70	27.99	245

[76] **Green Bay.** City rate includes $2.10 metropolitan sewage district rate.

[77] **Dubuque.** Assessed value does not include $8,757,218 moneys and credits taxed at 5 mills. See footnote f.

[78] **San Bernardino.** County rate includes $1.50 flood control district rate.

[79] **Warren.** City rate includes $.20 township rate. See footnote q.

[80] **Rock Island.** City rate includes $3.80 township and $2 road and bridge rates. See footnote aa.

[81] **Joliet.** City rate includes $4.10 park and $8.10 township rates. See footnote aa.

	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess-ment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
246 Quincy, Ill.	40,469	Not reported										246
247 Portsmouth, Ohio[q]	40,466	51,443,589	10	2	9.05	8.73	4.02	N	21.80	100	21.80	247
248 White Plains, N. Y.[o]	40,327	123,570,982	0	2	14.39	12.34	8.12	—	34.85	100	34.85	248
249 Waltham, Mass.[43]	40,020	52,424,650	7	—	—	—	—	—	35.40	100	35.40	249
250 Arlington, Mass.[43]	40,013	56,176,400	5	2	—	—	—	—	32.00	100	32.00	250
251 Norwalk, Conn.	39,849	77,604,900	12	2	—	—	—	—	—	70	—	251
252 Montclair, N. J.	39,807	Not reported										252
253 East Cleveland, Ohio[q]	39,495	54,557,251	12	2	7.90	12.40	5.10	N	25.40	60	15.24	253
254 Meriden, Conn.	39,494	66,483,990	23	2	14.00	11.20	.30	.50	26.00	100	26.00	254
255 Cumberland, Md.	39,483	50,000,000*	17	Op.	12.00	7.52	8.68	1.28	29.48	80	23.58	255
256 Kearny, N. J.	39,467	Not reported										256
257 West New York, N. J.[n]	39,439	42,849,613	19	4	15.51	21.74	14.32	3.60	55.17	60	33.10	257
258 Laredo, Tex.[w]	39,274	19,651,941	25	12	16.85	7.45	11.60	4.70	40.60	65§	26.39	258
259 Oshkosh, Wis.	39,089	45,547,500	16	4	15.15	14.90	4.21	.54	34.80	92	32.02	259
260 Alhambra, Cal.	38,935	32,472,585	—	2	12.52	17.82	13.91	N	44.25	50	22.13	260
261 Lewiston, Me.	38,598	Not reported										261
262 High Point, N. C.[p]	38,495	48,398,448*	28	4	10.29	6.79	4.42	N	21.50	85	18.28	262
263 Elgin, Ill.[82]	38,333	22,936,730	25	2	27.50	23.80	4.22	N	55.52	30	16.66	263
264 Norristown, Pa.[t]	38,181	22,795,700	0	1	12.50	22.50	1.50	N	36.50	50	18.25	264
265 Hazleton, Pa.[t]	38,009	28,458,291	0	1	14.50	25.00	6.20	N	45.70	50	22.85	265
266 Steubenville, Ohio[83]	37,651	57,657,870	18	2	4.95	8.20	2.25	N	15.40	80	12.32	266
267 Zanesville, Ohio	37,500	Not reported										267
268 Plainfield, N. J.[n]	37,469	58,639,600	11	4	15.25	16.09	7.03	2.83	41.20	90	36.08	268
269 Pensacola, Fla.	37,449	Not reported										269
270 Taunton, Mass.	37,395	Not reported										270
271 Mansfield, Ohio[84]	37,154	61,000,000	20	2	4.40	8.90	2.50	N	15.80	80	12.64	271
272 Joplin, Mo.[85]	37,144	23,600,000	27	1	15.40	17.00	6.00	1.00	39.40	50	19.70	272
273 Butte, Mont.	37,081	Not reported										273
274 Newport News, Va.	37,067	50,051,918	26	1	20.30	12.20	N	N	32.50	60	19.50	274
275 Gadsden, Ala.	36,975	Not reported										275
276 Danville, Ill.[86]	36,919	20,214,782	21	2	24.90	25.00	4.60	N	54.50	46	25.07	276
277 Tucson, Ariz.	36,818	24,087,590	15	2	18.40	20.71	.35	10.00	49.46	53	26.21	277
278 Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,789	29,074,270	23	2	12.50	22.35	5.84	4.00	44.69	67	29.94	278

[82] **Elgin.** City rate includes $4.30 sanitary district and $7.60 township rates. See footnote aa.

[83] **Steubenville.** City rate includes $.10 township rate. See footnote q.

[84] **Mansfield.** City rate includes $.13 township rate. See footnote q.

[85] **Joplin.** County rate includes $2.50 road district rate.

[86] **Danville.** City rate includes $4.70 township, $2.50 sanitary district and $2.50 road and bridge rates. See footnote aa.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
279	Orlando, Fla.[87]	36,736	55,801,775	11	1	12.00	14.38	14.38	N	40.76	100	40.76	279
280	Fort Smith, Ark.[b]	36,584	16,119,037	34	4	7.30	18.00	9.00	9.00	43.30	25	10.83	280
281	West Allis, Wis.[88]	36,364	71,587,917	30	2	17.35	9.11	10.22	.24	36.92	83	30.64	281
282	Alameda, Calif.	36,256	33,939,880	14	2	16.40	18.50	14.50	N	49.40	53§	26.01	282
283	Auburn, N. Y.[o]	35,753	50,676,420	0	2	18.74	8.88	2.80	—	30.42	100	30.42	283
284	Orange, N. J.[n]	35,717	42,745,800	7	4	22.26	15.45	7.36	2.83	47.90	100	47.90	284
285	Meridian, Miss.	35,481	Not reported										285
286	Albuquerque, N. Mex.	35,449	24,572,586	12	2	17.50	4.38	12.08	6.46	40.42	60	24.25	286
287	Watertown, Mass.[43]	35,427	51,468,760	7	10	—	—	—	—	31.60	100	31.60	287
288	Richmond, Ind.[89]	35,147	37,229,425	33	2	2.25	13.90	7.05	1.10	24.30	70	17.01	288
289	Superior, Wis.	35,136	41,638,348	12	2	7.47	16.19	18.00	.20	41.86	100	41.86	289
290	Santa Barbara, Cal.	34,958	47,726,650	13	2	14.20	12.50	11.50	N	38.20	54§	20.52	290
291	Greenville, S. C.[v]	34,734	11,089,400	—	1	45.00	26.50	33.00	N	104.50	15	15.68	291
292	Baton Rouge, La.[90]	34,719	43,627,650	—	1	15.60	—	N	5.75	21.35	96§	20.20	292
293	Riverside, Cal.	34,696	27,433,600	23	2	13.00	16.20	16.60	N	45.80	50	22.90	293
294	Moline, Ill.[91]	34,608	22,909,903	27	2	20.10	26.30	5.00	N	51.40	40	20.56	294
295	Revere, Mass.	34,405	39,660,850	7	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	295
296	Burbank, Cal.[92]	34,337	61,363,795	—	2	12.90	15.80	16.31	N	45.01	50	22.51	296
297	Waukegan, Ill.	34,241	Not reported										297
298	Rome, N. Y.[38]	34,214	29,323,175	0	2	36.38	—	10.53	—	46.91	70	32.84	298
299	Norwood, Ohio	34,010	Not reported										299
300	Kokomo, Ind.[e]	33,795	31,957,585	29	2	12.95	13.80	5.95	1.10	33.80	100	33.80	300
301	West Hartford, Conn.[93]	33,776	101,013,220	12	1	12.43*	2.93*	1.41*	1.23*	18.00	100	18.00	301
302	Paducah, Ky.	33,765	23,724,093	37	2	18.60	10.20	7.00	.50	36.30	60	21.78	302
303	West Palm Beach, Fla.[94]	33,693	30,025,830	15	1	35.00	4.00	14.17	N	53.17	100	53.17	303
304	Easton, Pa.[t]	33,589	41,658,034	0	4	12.00	14.50	8.50	N	35.00	93	32.45	304
305	Alexandria, Va.	33,523	Not reported										305
306	Elkhart, Ind.[95]	33,434	43,001,161	—	2	8.50	10.80	7.60	1.10	28.00	60	16.80	306
307	Wilmington, N. C.	33,407	Not reported										307
308	Watertown, N. Y.[o]	33,385	47,005,437	0	1	16.80	12.20	8.40	—	37.40	92	34.41	308
309	Amsterdam, N. Y.[o]	33,329	25,937,357	0	4	21.65	23.62	11.98	—	57.25	55	31.49	309
310	New Brunswick, N. J.[n]	33,180	41,827,180	10	4	19.16	15.50	11.74	2.70	49.10	70	34.37	310

[87] **Orlando.** There are 19 school districts. Total tax rate varies from $37.50 in the low district to $40.76 in the high.

[88] **West Allis.** City rate includes $2.98 metropolitan sewer rate.

[89] **Richmond.** County rate includes $2.50 township rate.

[90] **Baton Rouge.** City rate includes $3.60 parish rate and also school rate. See footnote g.

[91] **Moline.** City rate includes $1.80 township and $1.60 street and bridge rates. See footnote aa.

[92] **Burbank.** County rate includes $2 county flood control and $2.40 metropolitan water district rates.

[93] **West Hartford.** Breakdown of $18 total rate estimated from appropriations.

[94] **West Palm Beach.** County rate includes $4.49 port and $.10 inland navigation rates. See footnote c.

[95] **Elkhart.** City rate includes $.50 library rate.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
311	University City, Mo.	33,023	41,664,100	15	1	8.80	16.30	9.10	1.00	35.20	50	17.60	311
312	Nashua, N. H.[96]	32,927	41,283,034	36	—	19.49	9.92*	4.49	N	33.90	100	33.90	312
313	Bloomington, Ill.[97]	32,868	19,619,025	23	2	23.50	22.40	4.70	N	50.60	30	15.18	313
314	Port Huron, Mich.[j]	32,759	35,823,815	15	1	14.40	10.00	6.00	N	30.40	100	30.40	314
315	Danville, Va.	32,749	34,061,758	37	2	11.00	7.50	N	N	18.50	67	12.33	315
316	Fargo, N. Dak.	32,580	37,809,635		[illegible]	21.92	19.94	9.92	6.60	58.38	50	29.19	316
317	Hagerstown, Md.	32,491	46,000,000*	20	1	7.00	7.70	3.30	1.28	19.28	90	17.35	317
318	Muskogee, Okla.	32,332	Not reported										318
319	Spartanburg, S. C.[98]	32,249	9,946,764	43	1	58.00	30.00	25.50	N	113.50	13	14.76	319
320	East Providence, R. I.[38]	32,165	50,092,520	20	4	—	—	N	N	24.40	70	17.08	320
321	Santa Ana, Cal.[99]	31,921	25,420,240	13	2	17.40	19.14	13.30	N	49.84	50	24.92	321
322	Newburgh, N. Y.	31,883	38,913,076	0	3	22.70	12.10	3.03	—	37.83	86	32.53	322
323	Lubbock, Tex.[w]	31,853	32,071,000	19	1	8.50	10.00	5.00	4.70	28.20	66	18.61	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa[f]	31,570	20,821,756	23	2	18.33	27.34	12.61	N	58.28	50	29.14	324
325	Newark, Ohio	31,487	Not reported										325
326	Alton, Ill.	31,255	15,935,666	27	—	21.50	22.50	5.00	N	49.00	50	24.50	326
327	Middletown, Ohio[q]	31,220	62,400,000	32	2	4.48	6.85	2.69	N	14.02	80	11.22	327
328	Salem, Ore.[s]	30,908	16,602,830	24	4	22.00	15.80	15.10	—	52.90	50	26.45	328
329	Marion, Ohio	30,817	Not reported										329
330	Eau Claire, Wis.	30,745	25,751,290	13	2	11.73	16.01	7.01	.25	35.00	82	28.70	330
331	Newport, Ky.	30,631	Not reported										331
332	Petersburg, Va.[38]	30,631	25,939,445	16	4	—	—	N	N	23.50	100	23.50	332
333	Wyandotte, Mich.[j]	30,618	49,100,475	13	1	12.50	9.92	5.54	N	27.96	70	19.57	333
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.[z]	30,579	51,959,400	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	334
335	Newport, R. I.[38]	30,532	74,472,200	39	4	—	—	N	N	24.50	100	24.50	335
336	New London, Conn.[43]	30,456	49,137,965	11	2	—	—	—	—	33.25	95	31.59	336
337	Owensboro, Ky.	30,245	14,528,916	23	1	15.00	14.20	5.50	.50	35.20	50	17.60	337
338	Everett, Wash.[100]	30,224	16,394,266	32	2	23.50	12.00	11.10	2.40	49.00	50	24.50	338
339	Bristol, Conn.[43]	30,167	62,116,351	30	2	—	—	—	—	27.25	90	24.52	339
340	Inglewood, Cal.	30,114	24,190,960	8	2	11.80	21.32	15.51	N	48.63	50	24.31	340
341	Parkersburg, W. Va.[z]	30,103	45,938,650	39	2	5.00	10.08	4.76	.10	19.94	70	13.96	341
342	West Haven, Conn.	30,021	Not reported										342
343	Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013	28,166,076	31	2	14.55	15.39	2.75	.79	33.48	70	23.44	343

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[96] **Nashua.** School rate estimated from appropriations.

[97] **Bloomington.** City rate includes $4.70 township and $4.10 sanitary district rates. See footnote aa.

[98] **Spartanburg.** City rate includes $6 metropolitan sewer district rate.

[99] **Santa Ana.** County rate includes $5 metropolitan water and flood control district rates.

[100] **Everett.** City rate includes $1.50 public utility and $3 port district rates. See footnote y.

GENERAL NOTES

[a]**Alabama.** The legal basis of assessment is 60% of true value. The rates shown are actual rates. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[aa]**Illinois.** Assessment ratios shown (except where otherwise indicated) are those reported by local authorities. In some instances these vary considerably from those published by the State Tax Commission which (with accompanying adjusted tax rates) are as follows: *Chicago,* 31%, $30.66; *Peoria,* 29%, $15.03; *Springfield,* 33%, $16.33; *Berwyn,* 31%, $23.75; *Joliet,* 24%, $16.25; *Elgin,* 28%, $15.55; *Danville,* 37%, $20.17; *Moline,* 32%, $16.45; *Bloomington,* 32%, $16.19.

[b]**Arkansas.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[c]**Florida.** State tax levy discontinued. County assessments placed on 100% of cash value basis. *Homestead Exemption:* The first $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

[d]**Georgia.** Intangibles are assessed at 100% of true value and taxed at from $.10 to $3 per $1,000 by state only. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state, county, and school district rates except for debt service on debt incurred previous to act.

[e]**Indiana.** County tax rate includes township rate. Library rate included in school rate.

[f]**Iowa.** No state tax levy on property. *Homestead Exemption:* Amount of homestead exemption is determined by the Board of Assessment and Review each year. The maximum exemption is 25 mills on the first $2,500 of assessed values or $62.50 which was allowed in 1943. This applies to the state and all local units of government.

[g]**Louisiana.** *Homestead Exemption:* Applies to state, parish, and special district taxes only, except that New Orleans (no other city) may also exempt homesteads from city taxes. Maximum exemption is $2,000, allowed hereafter. New homes are exempt from all state and local levies for three years following their completion.

[h]**Massachusetts.** In many cities the division of the total rate into city, school, county, and state purposes is not available and only the total rate is shown.

[j]**Michigan.** County rates shown were fixed to cover fiscal year starting December 1, 1942. The new rates are not fixed in time for inclusion in this report, except in Wayne County.

[k]**Minnesota.** *Property Classification:* There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value: platted real estate at 40%, except the first $4,000 of homesteads which is assessed at 25%; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3%, except first $4,000 of homesteads at 20%; iron ore at 50%; and personalty in three classes at 10%, 25%, and 33 1/3%. The first $4,000 of true value of homesteads is exempt further from state tax levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law. Assessments average 35% of true value in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and 34% in Duluth. Tax rates shown are actual rates.

[m]**Mississippi.** *Homestead Exemption:* First $5,000 of assessed value exempt from state taxes and levies for maintenance and current expenses of counties, school districts, and road districts.

[n]**New Jersey.** The soldier bonus, formerly included in state tax levy, has been discontinued. Entire levy now consists of a school tax which is distributed back to the school districts. For comparison with former years this item is left under state rate, although it might justifiably be added to the school rate.

[o]**New York.** Realty valuations include public utilities. Where state rate is not shown it is included in county rate. Assessment ratios shown in tabulation are those reported by local authorities. In some instances these vary considerably from those published by the New York State Tax Commission which (with accompanying adjusted tax rates) are as follows: *Syracuse,* 95%, $39.40; *Albany,* 93%, $32.50; *Schenectady,* 88%, $32.55; *Binghamton,* 92%, $34.96; *Mount Vernon,* 91%, $30.65; *New Rochelle,* 85%, $32.22; *Elmira,* 80%, $33.15; *Poughkeepsie,* 80%, $31.99.

[p]**North Carolina.** *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but enabling legislation not yet enacted.

[q]**Ohio.** Realty assessment includes public utility valuations.

[r]**Oklahoma.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $1,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units. Debt service charges on obligations incurred prior to this act are specifically allowed.

[s]**Oregon.** State income taxes were sufficient for governmental expenses so no state property tax levy was made in 1943.

[t]**Pennsylvania.** Tangible personal property is not subject to city rate except as noted. Intangible personal property—not included in assessments—is subject to a 4-mill state and a 4-mill county rate.

[u]**Rhode Island.** There is no county government in Rhode Island. State does not tax real property. School rate included in city rate.

[v]**South Dakota.** *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads are exempt from state tax levies only. However, the state tax has been abolished on all property.

[w]**Texas.** *Homestead Exemption:* First $3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes only.

[x]**Utah.** *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but not effective.

[y]**Washington.** Legal basis of assessment is 50% of true value.

[z]**West Virginia.** *Property Classification:* Property in cities is divided into three classes: Class I property (intangible personal property) pays ¼ of full rate. Class II (property occupied by the owner as a residence) pays ½ of full rate. Class IV (all real and personal property not in Class I or II) pays the full rate. *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads may be taxed at not more than 1% of assessed value.

Contributors in Review

GOVERNOR of New Jersey since 1941, **Charles Edison** (*Education in Politics*) has amply demonstrated his devotion to good government and to the task of developing an enlightened citizenry. Although president and director of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., and director of numerous other business organizations, Governor Edison has nevertheless found time for public affairs. He has been assistant secretary, then secretary, of the Navy, director of the National Recovery Administration for New Jersey, and more recently governor, a post in which, because of constitutional restrictions, he cannot succeed himself.

IN THE office of the National Municipal League December has become synonymous with Christmas and Tax Rates. **Miss Rosina K. Mohaupt** (*Tax Rates of American Cities*) statistician for the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, continues to make her contribution to the study of local taxation. Dr. Mohaupt has been preparing the REVIEW's annual tax rate compilations since 1936, when C. A. Rightor, who began them in 1922, went to the U. S. Census Bureau.

AS HEAD budget analyst for the Tennessee Valley Authority, with headquarters in Knoxville, **M. H. Satterfield** (*Politicos Frustrate Knoxville*) has had plenty of opportunity to observe the local situation. Mr. Satterfield was formerly an instructor at the University of Nebraska. Later he became identified with the Resettlement Administration, first as an assistant state director, then as regional management representative. He has contributed numerous articles to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and is author of *County Government and Administration in the Tennessee Valley States* and co-author of *Municipal Government and Administration in Mississippi.*

WHEN the Spelman Fund grant for administrative management work was made to the state of Minnesota in 1941, **Herbert E. Stats** (*Calling for New Ideas*) left the private management consulting field to join the new staff. He served the Minnesota Division of Administrative Management for two years as director and assistant director, recently joining the Division of Administrative Management of the U. S. Bureau of the Budget. Mr. Stats' management background includes service as impartial arbitrator in numerous industrial labor controversies, membership on the national arbitration panel of the American Arbitration Association, and the secretaryship of the Minnesota Council on Intergovernmental Relations. He is national secretary of the Society for the Advancement of Management.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Charles P. Taft, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

The City Employee and His Economic Protection

LARGE-SCALE shifting of city employees to wartime jobs in private firms, with frequent loss of all or part of their retirement rights, again focuses attention on the question: Do special pension plans for municipal workers provide adequate protection against the time when they are old and retire from work?

Heightening the interest in this question are two other developments: First, the proposal of the Social Security Board that employees of state and local government units be brought under the federal old-age and survivors insurance system, which now covers persons employed by private firms in industry and commerce; and second, a bill pending in Congress which provides that state and local employees not now covered by any pension system may be brought under federal social insurance systems by voluntary compacts.

More than 82,000 former members left their state and local retirement systems during 1940-41, the latest year for which complete figures are available. Scattered reports indicate that since that period the number who withdrew their contributions has increased at an unprecedented rate.

Since persons who leave municipal or other public employment usually forfeit at least part of their old-age protection, the Social Security Board sees in this development additional evidence pointing to the need for old-age and family insurance protection which will "follow" the employee whether he enters private industry, other government employment, or shifts from community to community, or from state to state.

The degree to which city employees are or are not protected by special retirement systems is reflected partly in a study just completed by the Social Security Board.[1]

Present Protection

About 45 per cent of the employees of state and local governments were members of retirement or pension systems in operation in June 1941. Although some progress has been made during the past two years to bring additional state and local employees under retirement systems, almost half are still without protection. Nor has any substantial progress been made in strengthening the provisions of pension systems in so far as continuity of retirement protection or protection for survivors of deceased workers is concerned.

City workers having old-age protection are concentrated in large centers of population and are chiefly policemen, firemen, and teachers; the gaps thus left in the protection of municipal employees can be measured in terms of geography as well as occupation.

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[1] *The Scope of Protection under State and Local Government Retirement Systems.* Prepared by the Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C., October 1943.

The state of Idaho provides no retirement protection for any of its city employees. Mississippi, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Wyoming cover only about 5 per cent of their state and local employees. Almost without protection, also, at the time the Board's study was made, were public employees in Iowa, Missouri, New Hampshire, and Oregon. In about half the states, employees without any retirement protection outnumbered members of retirement systems more than two to one.

City after city does not provide any retirement plan for its employees at all, the survey reveals. While the majority of cities over 25,000 do report one or two plans, these cover in most cases only a small proportion of municipal workers, commonly leaving unprotected the city's clerical, manual, sanitation, administrative, research, or subprofessional workers. Only 37 per cent of cities over 25,000 have a system for "all" their employees. But the word "all" does not really mean all. Day laborers, temporary employees, and low-paid persons who do not earn a specified amount within a year, are excluded even in cities which report that their systems cover "all" employees.

"We can no longer build little islands of security around some American workers and leave others unprotected," says Arthur J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board. "This war has proved that none of us can have real security of any kind, unless all of us have it. To provide some security for only some of our people is not only uneconomical, but results in discrimination against the lowest paid, least secure wage earners. World events and home events show that teacher, laborer, policeman, or federal employee —all are interdependent and the security of one group is of concern to all groups."

Analysis of 168 Systems

The Board's study of 168 retirement systems, accounting for 85 per cent of the membership of all state and local retirement systems, shows that their safeguards against the common economic risks are far from complete.

Foremost is the fact that to benefit in full the worker must usually remain a member of the particular system to which he belongs until death or retirement. To accept a war-industry job, to move out of the city or the state, or sometimes even to transfer from one municipal job to another within the same city entails some loss of the protection the person has been building up through the years.

Of the forty-nine systems administered by cities with populations of more than 500,000, ten permit the transfer of service credit only in the case of service performed for the same city, four others credit public service performed elsewhere within the state, and five credit out-of-state employment when it is of the same type as covered by the retirement system. Service performed for another governmental unit is ordinarily credited only if such service was covered by a retirement system, and in many cases this system must be a "specified system, a contributory system, an actuarially sound system, or a system that reciprocates in crediting outside service."

The sum total of these restrictions is that the municipal worker must stay in the same job until retirement age in order to maintain his full retirement protection.

Few of the contributory systems for city workers studied by the Board assure any broad security to the family of an employee. Except for systems covering policemen and firemen, survivors' annuities are usually paid only as an elective option if the member dies after retirement. The family of a member who dies during his earning years commonly receives only a lump-sum return of his contribution, with or without interest.

In most cases, if the worker desires monthly benefits for his survivors he must accept a lower retirement annuity for himself. In nearly all city systems, monthly payments to the family of the worker who dies before retirement are payable only if the wage earner's death occurred while on duty. Actually, there are few survivors on the rolls of city retirement systems: to be compared to the fact that at present 46 per cent of all federal old-age and survivors insurance beneficiaries are widows and children of deceased workers.

Since passage of the Social Security Act many state and local groups have voiced their desire for coverage under federal old-age and survivors insurance.

The state legislatures of Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Washington, Vermont, Montana, Oregon, and Utah, have passed resolutions or bills urging extension of old-age and survivors insurance coverage to some or all employees of state and local governments, on either a compulsory or a voluntary basis. In addition, the International City Managers' Association, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, the Educational Associations of Oklahoma and Idaho, the Municipal Workers of America (New York District), and the Mississippi Public Health Association have expressed similar opinions.

Employees of public utility organizations taken over by local government units in New York, Ohio, Nebraska, and Texas, have protested their loss of old-age and survivors insurance coverage. Such employees have a strong interest in coverage, because without continued participation many of them will not be able to maintain their insurance protection under the federal program.

Some employee organizations have expressed opposition to coverage under federal old-age and survivors insurance—among them the International Association of Fire Fighters, the Chicago Police Veterans' Association, the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (New York City), the Pennsylvania State Teachers' Retirement Board, and the Ohio Teachers' Association.

There is evidence that the majority of local government employees, who constitute at the same time the group without any retirement protection at all, favor coverage under the federal system.

Federal Program: Basic Protection

The federal program, says the Board, is not to be considered as a substitute for going municipal retirement plans, but rather as (1) basic protection for those who are not covered by any retirement plan and (2) as a floor of security affording continuity of protection for those who are already members of municipal or state systems.

Although only eight years old—hence an "infant" alongside some state and local retirement programs—the federal old-age and survivors insurance program has a membership of approximately 34,000,000 employees. (This figure includes only those who have already earned insurance protection and not the additional millions who have had some employment and wages which are credited under the system.) Nation-wide in scope, the program rests on a broad base—it includes the industrial and business workers of the entire country, regardless of state or community in which they live.

Each of the employees working in a job covered by the federal program contributes one per cent of his wages up to $3,000 a year, sums which are matched by the employer. (In 1944 this contribution is scheduled to rise to 2 per cent and in 1949 to 3 per cent.) The worker's wage record or social security account, maintained permanently by the Social Security Board, is the basis for determining the size of the benefits which the worker or his family receives either upon retirement at sixty-five or later, or upon his death. Monthly benefits paid on any worker's account are never less than $10 for a single person nor higher than $85 for a family of three or more.

Persons retired because of old age under the federal old-age and survivors insurance program received an average of $23 a month in 1942. Admittedly low compared to the average $77 monthly retirement benefit of state and local systems, the federal payment must be considered in relation to these factors:

First, supplementary benefits, not included in the average of $23, are paid to eligible wives and children. These benefits may increase the amount paid on the basis of the retired worker's wage to twice the amount of his own benefit.

Second, the federal old-age and survivors insurance program is designed to provide only minimum security for as many people as possible, leaving ample opportunity for special groups or individuals to build greater protection through special pension systems or private insurance.

"The Social Security Board does not suggest that the federal social insurance system should take the place of the retirement systems which cities have built up during the years," Chairman Altmeyer says. "We believe there is room for both special retirement systems and the federal insurance program, just as there is room and need in a man's life for several types of insurance policies. In industry, too, many workers taking part in the social security program are in addition protected by retirement plans, group life insurance, and other types of insurance.

"The Social Security Board believes that through coördination, details of which would have to be worked out in each case, city employees can take part in a social insurance system and in special retirement systems which would combine the relatively higher retirement annuity of municipal plans alongside the broader coverage provisions of the federal program, permitting continuity of protection and more adequate security for their families. For those city employees not covered by any existing plan, this would mean immediate new security, with the possibility of a higher level of benefits through any supplementary local plans which may be adopted. For those already covered by some existing plan it would mean the social security benefit as a base, with supplementary protection furnished by the independent local plan."

Inclusion of state and local employees under a unified and comprehensive social insurance program is one of a series of recommendations made by the Social Security Board for expanding and strengthening social security protection in the United States.

The Board also recommends coverage for federal employees, the self-employed, farm and household workers, and employees of educational and other nonprofit institutions. In addition, the Board recommends protection of all wage and salary workers against loss of income due to temporary or permanent disability. It would also provide through social insurance for costs of medical and hospital care.

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

New Jersey Votes Constitutional Revision

Missouri Convention Works on New Draft of Fundamental Law

DESPITE the predictions of practical politicians and political analysts, New Jersey voters, by more than 136,000 majority, directed the 1944 legislature to draft a revised constitution for submission to the voters in November 1944.

This act, which makes the 1944 legislature into the first constitutional convention in the state since 1844, was an impressive victory for Governor Edison and the nonpartisan civic groups that have been urging revision for the last three years.

The statewide educational work of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation and the intense last-minute drive of the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision, together with continuous pounding by Governor Edison, can be given great credit for the result. The excellent report of the 1942 Commission on Revision of the New Jersey constitution helped materially by presenting a "sample" or "model" document to compare with the present constitution. Governor-elect Walter Edge shares in the credit; he induced a reluctant Senate to pass the referendum bill and strongly urged a "yes" at the polls. The support of Mr. Edge as well as that of his opponent, Mayor Vincent Murphy of Newark, were important factors in winning votes on election day against the bitter-end opposition of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City and some of the local Democratic and Republican bosses.

Organized labor supported revision, thus cutting down the effectiveness of the opposition of the Democratic organization. A surprising result was the fact that revision carried every county but Democratic Hudson and Republican Ocean.

The leaders of the State Grange and Farm Bureau were out against revision. The failure of the rural counties to follow their lead may be attributed partly to the statewide educational campaign and partly to rural distaste for the Hague alliance.

One very encouraging sign was the four-to-one soldier vote for revision. Even in Hudson County the soldier vote was two to one. This neatly knocked into a cocked hat the principal opposition argument that it isn't fair to revise the constitution "while the boys are away."

John E. Bebout
New Jersey Constitution Foundation

League Constitution Aids Missouri Convention

The *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League has furnished examples, in specific form, of the application of various outstanding modern principles of state governmental organization and methods now being considered by the Missouri Constitutional Convention. Stratford Lee Morton, a member of the council of the National Municipal League and a convention delegate from St. Louis, has been active in adapting various sections of the *Model State Constitution* to Missouri conditions and presenting the results to the convention for consideration. Proposals offered thus far include a plan of unified executive authority, with the governor as the only elected state executive; a unicameral legislature, elected by nonpartisan ballot, in the odd-numbered years, and with a legislative council of fifteen members; and home rule for urban counties.

Other proposals, made by delegates from various parts of the state, include plans of redistricting for state representatives and senators, universal registration for voting, and abolition of the payment of fees to state or county officials in counties of 100,000 population or more.

The work of the convention is receiving considerable attention in the editorial and news columns of the press. The caliber of the delegates in general has brought favorable comment. The *Kansas City Times* remarked editorially, "The majority of the delegates are so good it is hard to explain how they got there."

New York Approves, Kentucky Defeats Amendments

Six proposed constitutional amendments were voted on in New York State on November 2, and all were adopted, with the possible exception of the third, which provided a change in assembly districts and was applicable only to Nassau County. Those known to have been adopted included the following proposals: establishment of a state department of commerce; permitting the state to establish a tax revenue stabilization fund; changing the present requirement, for voting purposes, of four months residence in a county, so that it will be satisfied by four months residence in a county, city, or village (chiefly affecting New York City which includes five counties); providing that a legislator elected at the first election following a redistricting shall be eligible if he has lived in the county a year, as against the present requirement of a year's residence in the legislative district; and extending the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeals, the state's highest court.

In Kentucky two proposed amendments were defeated, one to make workmen's compensation insurance compulsory instead of optional, and one to remove the limitation of $5,000 per annum on salaries of state and local public officials, excepting the governor.

Redistricting for New York Wins Court Approval

On November 18 the Court of Appeals, highest tribunal of the state of New York, unanimously upheld the legislative reapportionment act passed by the 1943 legislature. The act had been declared unconstitutional by a lower court, on a narrow construction of the constitution in relation to the number of senators.

The new law will go into effect in the 1944 elections for the State Senate and Assembly and for the state committees for all parties, the make-up of which is based on assembly apportionment. Congressional reapportionment was passed in 1942 and not challenged; it will also go into effect in the 1944 elections.

New York City will obtain slightly higher relative representation in the legislature, but although it has 53.4 per cent of the citizen population of the state it will have less than 44.7 per cent of the legislative membership.

1943 Legislative Sessions Shorter Than Usual

Legislatures of the various states this year held shorter sessions and considered fewer measures than in 1941 and 1939. According to the Council of State Governments, this was due to the desire of legislative leaders to limit their considerations only to legislation concerned with war and postwar problems. Although almost as many bills finally became law in 1943 as during the other two legislative years, the length of time and the effort necessary in achieving this legislative product were reduced considerably.

The Michigan session was twenty-four weeks less than in 1941, Maine's session was three weeks shorter, and the Kansas legislature was two weeks shorter. Twelve legislatures conducted their business in at least one calendar week less time, while seven cut down their sessions a few days. Only four sessions were longer than in 1941.

At least 40,334 bills were introduced in state legislative sessions this year, with four states not reporting. Approximately 38 per cent of the measures were enacted in comparison to 30 per cent passed in 1941, the last year most legislatures met in regular session.

California State Employees Take Training

The state training officer recently appointed by the State Personnel Board of California has inaugurated a well attended training program. Approximately 500 employees in Sacramento and San Francisco, representing sixteen state departments, completed courses in business correspondence recently and many other employees in Sacramento are enrolling in adult education classes, reports the Civil Service Assembly.

A special supervisor training course is conducted in Sacramento by the state training officer for thirty-two supervisors representing eleven state departments.

Sponsored by the California State Employees' Association, in coöperation with the Sacramento Junior College, evening classes in the adult education program open to employees include English, public speaking, psychology and personal development, elementary accounting, and letter writing.

The state training officer assists state departments in determining need for training; planning, preparing and coordinating training programs; outlining courses of study, instructional materials, and manuals; stimulating employee participation in training programs; conducting leadership, job instructor, and supervisor training courses; and securing assistance of federal, state, and local agencies in obtaining instructors and facilities for training programs.

States Aid in Local Control of Juvenile Delinquency

In view of increases in delinquency among 'teen-age girls and boys in areas where the impact of war has been most disruptive, the American Public Welfare Association and the Council of State Governments have made a survey to discover what the states are doing to control and prevent juvenile delinquency. Though not complete or all-inclusive, information received is suggestive of what governmental agencies on the state and state-local levels are doing.

Child welfare services of the states are used extensively to prevent delinquency, the survey showed, their activities generally supervised by state welfare boards or departments. This approach, it is believed, can accomplish a great deal by providing needed casework services, by acquainting communities with the needs of children, by making studies for juvenile courts, by supervising children on probation, and by providing foster-care services for children away from home.

Alabama, Colorado, Indiana, Tennessee, and Utah are among states that have extended their child welfare services in war-affected communities. Louisiana's Department of Welfare is aiding district judges who have jurisdiction over juveniles by helping to select trained child welfare workers for probation officers and by assisting in the training and orientation of these officers. In Indiana the field staff of the state department, including district representatives and consultants, supervises and assists county departments in fulfilling their responsibilities for dependent, neglected, and handicapped children, as well as for those on probation. Social protection aspects of juvenile delinquency have received particular attention in Florida, where the State Welfare Board through its local district boards is giving case-work service to girls referred to it.

Though major responsibility for control of community conditions giving rise to delinquency rests upon localities themselves, many states are assisting to some extent, the survey showed. This has been particularly true with regard to sale of liquor to minors and the passage of laws setting up curfews on liquor sales.

Provision of recreation for young people, also primarily a matter for local solution, has been given leadership by some state governments, including Washington, Massachusetts, and Minnesota. North Carolina has formed a recreation committee to meet the needs of "children, youths, adults, people of all races and creeds, and of every economic level and social status." Growing realization on the part of law enforcement agencies, parents, teachers, and industrialists of the harmful effects of having "nowhere to go and nothing to do" led to the appointment by the governor of a group to study and set up a statewide program of recreational activity.

Planning Laws Examined in New York State

A committee representing the New York State Conference of Mayors, the New York State Federation of Official Planning Boards, and the State Division of Commerce is conducting a study of city and village planning laws with a view to recommending changes to the legislature at its coming session.

Interstate Forestry Problems Studied by Committee

Governor Herbert R. O'Conor of Maryland, President of the Council of State Governments, has appointed a five-man committee on forestry, which is to make recommendations for the highest utilization of the nation's timber resources. Governor Earl Snell of Oregon, chairman, asserted that if the states fail to meet the challenge of the forestry problem more authority over the forests can be expected to be lodged in Washington.

The committee's agenda included proposals for regulation of cutting practices, fire protection, insect and disease control, taxation and manpower problems, by-product research, pending federal legislation, and postwar problems.

Council-Manager Plan News

By a vote of 1,575 to 1,378 the people of **Long Beach, New York,** on November 2 approved a charter amendment to establish the city manager plan with proportional representation[1] in 1945. However, another proposal, sponsored by the city administration, for a commission to draft a charter—of undesignated character—also won, by a smaller vote, and it is feared that legal complications will arise.

A council-manager charter for **Ishpeming, Michigan,** goes to popular vote this month.

Neosho, Missouri, is expected to vote soon on the question of changing from a fourth-class to a third-class city, which change is necessary in order for council-manager government to be instituted.

Everett, Washington, will vote December 4 on adoption of an amendment prescribing the manager plan. Eighty-one petitions, with 1700 signatures, many more than needed, were presented to the city clerk on October 20, after being circulated for three weeks.

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[1] See also pp. 571 and 618.

An election on November 2 resulted in defeat of the proposed consolidation[1] of the cities of **North Bend** and **Marshfield, Oregon,** and a strip of territory between them, into a new municipality to be known as Coos Bay, under the manager plan and proportional representation. Marshfield voted for the proposal, 775 to 146, but North Bend opposed it, 186 to 1,079 and the intervening territory was also opposed, 11 to 12.

Beatrice, Nebraska, voters defeated a proposed new manager charter at the November 2 election.

New Boston, Texas, recently repealed the manager ordinance under which it has been operating for the past year.

In **Pikeville, Kentucky,** a council-manager proposal was defeated on November 2 by a vote of 471 to 300.

A petition of 2,134 names, calling for a vote on the question of retention of council-manager government in **Mason City, Iowa,** was presented to the city council on November 1. Mason City adopted the manager plan in 1927.

Santa Monica, California, and **El Paso, Texas,** are showing interest in the manager plan.

Several state meetings of city managers were held this fall, including one for Virginia, September 27 (in conjunction with the Virginia League of Municipalities meeting in Roanoke), attended by thirty managers; Vermont, September 29-30, attended by eleven managers; Maine, October 1-2, attended by eighteen; and Texas, October 21 (at annual conference of League of Texas Municipalities), twenty-one attending.

Citizen Action

Topeka Citizens' Council Reorganizes

Expanded program includes problems of international as well as national scope

FOR a period of ten years, prior to American entrance into the war, the **Topeka Citizens' Council** had functioned in many effective ways. Besides its activities with respect to matters of local concern the Council conducted two statewide campaigns. One was in the interest of a merit system to govern the selection of various classes of employees under the state government; the other concerned the overhauling and reorganization of the correctional and penal institutions of the state. Substantial results followed both campaigns, and the value of the service rendered by the Council was very generally recognized.

With the declaration of war the Topeka Council became entangled with the local civilian defense organization. Its members were assigned to different committees where they rendered important service, but the Council itself ceased to function as such. But with the lessening of civilian defense activities there has come an insistent demand for the revival and reorganization of the Council, and a movement to this end is now well on its way.

As the work of reorganizing the Council has proceeded, two significant facts have been revealed. One is the fact that the interest of the community in a nonpartisan citizen group to consider the problems of citizenship with the view of emphasizing and promoting the public welfare is far more general than it was when the first Citizens'

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1943, pp. 500-1.

Council of Topeka was projected. A meeting held on October 19 to adopt by-laws was attended by over a hundred citizens, about half of them representative of the various civic organizations of the community, and the others responsible members of the community whose coöperation will be invaluable in carrying on the Council's work. Business, labor, and the various professions were well represented.

The other fact that came to the fore was the general desire to have the program of the Council broadened somewhat so as to provide opportunity for the discussion of the great problems, both of national and international import, which are emerging with the progress of the war. No disposition was manifest to minimize local affairs because, as was pointed out, the war is creating immense problems for the local community as well as for the nation at large, and these local problems must be solved through local interest and effort. It is evident, however, that the immense challenge of a durable peace, and the necessary international coöperation to guarantee such a peace, are weighing heavily upon the public mind. The people distrust the machinations of the politicians and the diplomats. They fear another fiasco similar to that which followed World War I, and they want an opportunity to express themselves. Therefore, in reorganizing the Topeka Council, a somewhat broader agenda has been worked out. The plan is to hold a series of public meetings sponsored by the Council for the discussion of national and international problems.

P. P. Womer, *President Emeritus*
Washburn College

Augusta Citizens Union Continues Its Fight

When the registry list was published in Augusta, Georgia, prior to the councilmanic election of July 7, the **Augusta Citizens Union** within twenty-four hours submitted a list of some four hundred names to the registrar as being improperly registered.

When no action was taken, the list, which had now grown to some six or seven hundred, was offered to the mayor with the request that the names be investigated. The mayor replied that he "had not had time to think about politics recently . . . . There will be plenty of time for political sniping after the war"; he said he would look into the matter, though, some time in the near future.

In the meantime the ACU began to think it might be interesting to find out just how bad the list really was.

It filled out a "Mailing List Correction Card" for every name on the registry list about which there was any doubt. These cards were submitted to the Post Office for their address-correction service. The postmaster, however, felt that an organization like a citizens union was not entitled to this service; nevertheless, a ruling was obtained from the Postmaster General's office saying that no objection would be made to granting the service.

According to the cards, marked by the mail carriers themselves, over 40 per cent of the persons on Augusta's registry list were "not at" their registered addresses!

The list now being submitted to the registering authorities, therefore, contains not four hundred names, or even six or seven hundred, but 3,735.

(Our correspondent reports that a recent survey of popular sayings among the personnel of the registrar's office indicates that the one about "a stitch in time" is coming in a good last.)

The Cleveland Citizens League —Its Reason for Being

The story of the Cleveland Citizens League, at work since 1897 in the interests of a better community and state, should be of value to all those struggling for honest and efficient government. It is here reproduced in part from *Greater Cleveland,* organ of the Citizens League, for September 16, 1943. Mr. Mayo Fesler, director of the League and editor of its publication, is author of the article. —Editor

The Citizens League came into being forty-six years ago in 1897 because of the failure of the local political parties to perform their legitimate functions in matters of local government. The city and county administrations were inefficient, spoils of office was rampant, and elections were corrupt.

The League was organized to prevent and correct some of the evils in city and county government. The League has continued to operate through the years because the local political party organizations have continued to fail in their responsibilities to the very people they were chosen to represent. The League will continue to function in matters of local government for the enlightened public sentiment of the community until the local political parties learn to represent the prevailing sentiments of their members toward their local government.

The League's Objects

The Citizens League has changed very little as to aims and objects in its forty-six years of existence. The objects of the League throughout this long period can well be stated in the words of its first constitution and its first president, Harry A. Garfield:

"1. To induce citizens and taxpayers to take a more active and earnest part in municipal affairs.

"2. To disseminate instructive information relative to the local government.

"3. To devise and advocate plans for the improvement of local administration.

"4. To promote businesslike, honest, and efficient conduct of municipal affairs.

"5. To secure the election of competent local public officials.

"6. To encourage the faithful performance of official public duty, to secure the enactment and enforcement of laws for the economical, intelligent, and progressive management of the affairs of local government in Cleveland and Cuyahoga County."

Some League Accomplishments

The very fact that the League has been able to maintain a continuous existence and an increasingly strong position in public affairs in the community for forty-six years, supported solely by the voluntary contributions of public-spirited citizens, is its own explanation for being. Several thousand citizens would not continue year after year to contribute to an organization from which they expect and receive no favors unless it was accomplishing results in its field of endeavor. The League has worthwhile and tangible accomplishments to its credit. They cannot all be enumerated here but some of the major ones can be cited as illustrations:

INFORMATION ON CANDIDATES AND ISSUES—The League has supplied the public with accurate and unbiased information on candidates and issues before every election for the past forty-six years.

MUNICIPAL HOME RULE — The League in 1912 organized the movement for municipal home rule for Ohio cities, drafted the constitutional amendment, conducted the campaign for adoption which freed the cities from state control in local affairs.

THE MERIT SYSTEM—The League in 1912 fostered the civil service constitutional amendment, secured its adoption, wrote the first civil service laws, both state and local, and is keeping in close touch with their enforcement.

AN ELECTION CODE—The League in 1929 prepared and promoted the enactment of a new election code including permanent registration of voters, and is keeping a close watch on observance and administration of the election process.

COUNTY HOME RULE—The League promoted the county home rule principle for many years; and was largely responsible for its adoption in 1933 and the later election of a county charter commission whose charter failed of adoption because of the four-way majority requirement.

ECONOMY LEGISLATION — The League has promoted much legislation which has resulted in large and continuing economies and greater efficiency in public administration such as: laws reducing election costs, laws abolishing useless offices, a law reorganizing the coroner's office, a law compelling feeding of prisoners at cost, laws standardizing salary schedules, a law abolishing fee systems in county offices.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—The League is constantly making researches in public administration and recommending and supporting measures looking to improvements in methods of doing public business in the city and county, such as budget procedure, purchasing, salary schedules, etc.

FURNISHING INFORMATION — For sixteen years the League has been publishing a weekly bulletin reporting to its members and the citizens generally on the conduct of local public affairs and on new features of government.

The League's Influence

Another valuable contribution to the community, which will not be found in the records, is the League's preventive work, i. e., the restraining influence on public officials who would be tempted to use their offices and political positions for personal or partisan advantages but for the watchful presence of the League and its known disposition to criticize misconduct and maladministration wherever found. Fully half the time of the committees and the staff is consumed in pointing out the defects and opposing undesirable legislation.

When it comes to estimating the influence of the Citizens League, it is difficult to state it in tangible terms. That the League does have political influence is attested:

First, by the fact that practically all candidates for public office in the city and county seek to secure the endorsement of the League's committees and board.

Second, by the fact that political leaders say to their party candidates that next to the party endorsement that of the Citizens League is most helpful in an election. More and more voters are following the League's recommendation on candidates and issues.

Third, that all offices and all official records are open to the League's representatives, and that the League's committees and staff are given close and attentive hearing whenever they are presented before local public bodies.

Not all of the League's recommendations are accepted, but enough of them are adopted to prove that the League has a very good batting average on the measures and improvements which the League advocates, and it has even a better batting average on the unwise and ill-considered legislation which it opposes and prevents.

If the average citizen and taxpayer could realize how many errors in official conduct are prevented and how much undesirable legislation is forestalled by the League's watchful opposition, they would better understand the meaning of those words, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"; and how essential it is to keep a citizens' representative in the watchtower at all times.

Government More Complicated

One of the major reasons why a voluntary nonpartisan citizens organization like the Citizens League is needed in every metropolitan community is the fact that local government has become so complicated that the average citizen, necessarily busy with his own affairs, cannot give enough time to public affairs to satisfy his own mind that he has sufficient information to form a sound judgment. The Citizens League tries to supply that information in condensed and readable form as an aid to the busy citizen who wants to vote right.

Walter Lippmann, the well known columnist and student of government, said a few years ago: "I am convinced that a really thorough knowledge of public affairs, even in a city, is now beyond the competence of practically every citizen, and that we must have in a city at least one independent newspaper and *a well financed fact-finnding agency for studying municipal questions and supplying accurate and reliable information for the citizens.*"

The Citizens League, even with its limited income, is trying valiantly to fulfill this fact-finding service. The door of League membership stands wide open to any citizen who wishes to aid in this work which is so essential to the welfare of Greater Cleveland.

Here and There

Anniversaries

One of the oldest active civic organizations in the country, the **Civic Federation of Chicago**, is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary this year. Its brochure, "Fifty Years on the Civic Front, A Report on the Achievements of the Civic Federation," includes, among other interesting features, a double-page spread of photographs of its presidents over the last half century and numerous pictures of the Chicago of 1893 compared to the city of 1943.

The **Proportional Representation League** is also fifty years old this year. (See story on page 618.) The League merged with the National Municipal League, but keeping its corporate existence, in 1932.

The **Civic Club of Philadelphia**, a women's organization, will celebrate its golden anniversary in January.

Cleveland's Citizens League celebrated its forty-sixth anniversary this fall. Because of wartime conditions the League dispensed with its usual anniversary luncheon but held a meeting addressed by President Earle M. Bailey and other League leaders.

Two groups are celebrating twenty years of public service — **Baltimore's Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** and the **Chicago Regional Planning Association**, the latter organized in 1923 by the Chicago City Club. In honor of the event the Baltimore group has issued "Twenty Years of Public Service," prepared by Elliott Buse, patterned along the lines of a diary.

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In Local Affairs Too?

Leagues of Women Voters throughout the country, under the leadership of the **National League** in Washington, are undertaking a "person to person" talking campaign to make people aware of the necessity of the United States playing a leading part in the postwar world. Miss Marguerite Wells, national president, says: "Sixty thousand men and women under League leadership have set out to reach millions of citizens individually, person to person." Explaining the League's method, Miss Wells added: "The League's new means of reaching the people is not a substitute for, but an addition to, all the familiar devices of other organizations. It carries its message to those who do not seek it in speeches and pamphlets and broadcasts — to the preoccupied, the indifferent, those who do not realize the choice is theirs to make."

"Vote Shirkers"

Now that the November election is over, it's time for a few postmortems on "vote shirking." The **Cleveland Citizens League**, in a recent *Bulletin*, complains that, "In the final election on Tuesday, involving the election of mayor, council, municipal judges, school board members, the total vote was only . . . 28 per cent of the 1940 registration and 25 per cent of the eligibles according to the 1940 census." The League quotes Professor William B. Munro that: "People do not become good citizens by going to the polls. They go to the polls because they are good citizens." The remedy, as the League sees it, is: "A well devised program of citizenship training for young and old and carried on continuously year in and year out by the schools, pulpits, forums, and newspapers, until it becomes a mark of dishonor not to vote and participate in public affairs."

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More Voters' Directories

In addition to those mentioned in this column last month, organizations which issued directories on candidates or made recommendations on ballot measures prior to the November election included the **Yonkers (New York) Committee of 100**, the **Civic League of Improvement Clubs and Associations of San Francisco**, the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research**, and the **Albany, New York, City Club**. The **Detroit Citizens League** and the **Cleveland Citizens League** followed their directories on primary candidates—previously mentioned here—with recommendations on candidates in the final election in November.

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Strictly Personal

Ewen C. Dingwall, executive secretary of the Seattle Municipal League, has resigned to accept a position with the public relations division of the Boeing Aircraft Company. **Albert F. Hull** has been appointed acting executive secretary. **Harry H. Reed**, director of research for the Bureau, has resigned to return to the Duluth Bureau of Governmental Research as its manager.

Lieutenant Colonel George H. McCaffrey, formerly director of research for the New York Commerce and Industry Association; **Captain Ralph R. Temple**, of the Central Queens Allied Civic Council, New York City; and **Captain Robert E. Garrigan**, former civic director of the Chicago City Club, are all with AMG in the Mediterranean area.

Governor Leverett Saltonstall has appointed **Norman MacDonald**, executive director of the Massachusetts Taxpayers Federation, as a member of the important legislative recess committee to study real estate taxes.

Frederick W. Maguire, formerly publicity director for the Massachusetts Federation, more recently editor of the *Lowell Sunday Telegram*, was one of eleven newspaper men and radio commentators awarded Nieman Fellowships by Harvard University. Mr. Maguire's award was in recognition of his work in helping improve Lowell municipal government and his part in the adoption of Plan E (city manager plan with proportional representation) by Lowell a year ago.

W. J. B. Schimfessel, executive secretary of the Phoenix Good Government Council, has joined the Army.

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Miscellaneous

Twenty-seven local leagues sent delegates to the fall conference of the **Massachusetts League of Women Voters** held in Cambridge.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** continues its preparation of a weekly radio course entitled "Your Wisconsin Government," for broadcast over various local stations throughout the state.

Proportional Representation
Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

One P. R. Adoption and Eight Elections

Mark 50th Anniversary of the P. R. League

THIS year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the organized P. R. movement in the United States. On August 11, 1893, there convened at the World's Fair in Chicago a World Congress on Proportional Representation, which was attended by a notable group of civic leaders convinced of the need of electoral reform. From the meeting emerged the American Proportional Representation League, with William Dudley Foulke of Richmond, Indiana, as president and Stoughton Cooley of Los Angeles, California, as secretary. The first issue of the *Proportional Representation Review* was published in September of that year.

After a promising start the organization languished for lack of financial support, but never entirely ceased operations. For a number of years the *P. R. Review* was continued as a department in other publications under the direction of Robert Tyson of Toronto. Finally in 1909 the League was revived as an active force through the interest of William and Clarence Gilbert Hoag. The latter established an office in Philadelphia, built up a small staff which engaged in extensive research and promotional work throughout the country, and served as secretary on a full-time volunteer basis until the League joined forces with the National Municipal League in 1932.

In the meantime P. R. had been adopted for city council elections, along with the city manager plan, in a number of American cities, including Cincinnati. Everywhere it gave increased representation, sometimes control, to independent civic forces, and was bitterly fought by dispossessed politicians.

The fiftieth anniversary year of the P. R. League saw P. R. elections in nine cities: New York and Yonkers, New York; Cincinnati, Toledo, and Hamilton, Ohio; Cambridge and Lowell, Massachusetts; Boulder, Colorado; and (last spring) Wheeling West Virginia. It also saw the adoption of P. R. in Long Beach, New York.

Lack of space prevents reports on more than the New York election in this issue. Those not covered this month, including the first P. R. election in Lowell, Massachusetts, will be described in January.

Long Beach Adopts P. R.

On November 2 the voters of Long Beach, New York, a little seaside resort on the south shore of Long Island within commuting distance of New York City, adopted proportional representation and the city manager plan by a vote of 1,575 to 1,378.

At the next municipal election, in 1945, the city council of five members will be elected by P. R. on a city-wide nonpartisan ballot. The council will serve without salary and will select and control a city manager, who will have complete administrative charge of the city administration. No other city officers will be elected except a city judge and a supervisor to represent the city on the county board.

This victory represents the culmination of a vigorous year's campaign against a deeply entrenched spoils machine by the newly formed Long Beach Citizens Union under the chairmanship of a civic-minded manufacturer and businessman, Albert A. Arditti. The inspiring story is outlined in the editorial on page 571 of this issue. The city administration fought every step of the way, using city employees and city funds, and only a few days before election lost a legal fight, carried to the highest court in the state, to keep the popularly initiated amendment off the ballot on the ground that it constituted a new charter.

An administration counter-proposal for a charter commission, brought forward in the hope that it would sidetrack the amendment, also carried, by the smaller margin of 1,052 to 892. Since most of the members of the commission are friends of the administration, it is possible that this commission will attempt to secure a repeal of P. R. before it is put in use. The Citizens Union is prepared to resist any such attempt with vigor.

New York City's Fourth Use of P. R.

The fourth biennial P. R. election of the New York City Council on November 2 resulted in the selection of ten Democrats, three Republicans, two Communists, and one representative each of the right and left wings of the American Labor party.

This somewhat surprising result was an accurate reflection of the votes as cast. The size of the Democratic organization majority was actually reduced in an "off-year," the Flynn Democratic machine actually lost its majority for the first time in the Bronx, and the new Council will measure up well in ability to any of its predecessors.

So far, however, most of the public attention has been focused on the success of the Communists and the left-wing Laborite, and P. R. is being roundly attacked in many quarters for making it possible. "We don't like the picture," Walter Millard, education director of the New York Citizens Union, summarized the attitude of the attackers. "Let's smash the camera."

Although there was undoubtedly a certain upswing of radicalism as at the time of the election of Socialist aldermen and assemblymen during the last war, no one contends that three-seventeenths of the voters are Communists or left-wing radicals, least of all the Communists themselves. The radicals were astute enough to pick candidates with wide appeals on other grounds. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., the new Communist member from Manhattan, is an able Negro leader educated at Amherst and Harvard Law School who makes a good personal impression and was supported by a great many non-Communists in Harlem as the best-equipped spokesman for the special needs of the Negro community. No white Communist could have been elected in Manhattan. Peter V. Cacchione, the Communist war veteran who was re-elected in Brooklyn, had made a good record in the Council and been very industrious in helping his constituents. Undoubtedly the Russian victories and coöperation in the Allied cause had served to lessen the feeling of many voters against the Communists in this country. Justified or not, this change gave their candidates a hearing when they made popular appeals on other grounds.

Former Councilman Michael J. Quill, the successful left-wing Labor candidate from the Bronx, is the colorful president of the Transport Workers' Union of America. He was supported in an especially vigorous campaign by C.I.O. labor unions.

Together the candidates supported by the Communists and the Labor left wing polled 17 per cent of the first-choice votes in the city and 15 per cent of the votes on the deciding count. They will have 18 per cent of the incoming Council. Doubtless the knowledge that a large part of their support came from more conservative voters will have a moderating effect on their course in the Council.

Independent Minorities Represented

In addition to the three radicals there will be four other minority Councilmen. All of these were considered well qualified by the nonpartisan Citizens Union and three of them (the first three listed below) were endorsed by the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, with such distinguished citizens as Samuel Seabury, Charles C. Burlingham, Charles E. Hughes, Jr., and J. Edward Lumbard, Jr., among its officers. They are:

Genevieve B. Earle of Brooklyn, minority leader in the present Council and a member of the Commission which drafted the city's present charter. Mrs. Earle was elected three times under P. R. without the support of any of the three officially recognized parties as a candidate of the local City Fusion party and the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee. This time she was endorsed by the Republicans also and was the only one of their Brooklyn candidates elected.

Stanley M. Isaacs, former Borough President of Manhattan. Mr. Isaacs, in spite of an outstanding record, was refused renomination by his party two years ago. He ran for the Council as an independent with City Fusion and Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee backing and was easily elected. This year he was back on the Republican ticket and was the only candidate in the city to reach the full quota of 75,000.

Gertrude Weil Klein, former organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, re-elected as a candidate of the American Labor party (right wing) in the Bronx.

Alfred J. Phillips, a manufacturer with a good reputation, who replaces Councilman Christensen as the Republican representative from Queens. Mr. Christensen, who has been siding mostly with the Democratic majority in the Council, was defeated.

It is practically certain that none of these four would have been elected except for P. R. Mrs. Earle and Mr. Isaacs would not have been on the Republican ticket if it had not been for their independent successes the time before, and the other two ran in territory where they would have had no chance without the provision for minority representation.

A Balanced Council

In fact there is reason to believe that without P. R. no minority Councilmen, or at most one, would have been elected this fall. Except under P. R. the Democratic organization usually makes practically a clean sweep of local elections in "off-years" when no president, governor, or mayor is elected, and this year was no exception. The only non-councilmanic candidates elected without Democratic nominations were two in Manhattan —a judge with an unusual combination of support and a candidate to fill a vacancy in the city's one sure Republican State Assembly district. Even in Queens, which was carried by the Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, Senator Hanley, the Democratic candidates for District Attorney and County Judge were easily elected.

That P. R. made it possible in such a year to reduce the present seventeen-to-nine Democratic majority to a ten-to-seven margin is a striking tribute to its effectiveness. The Democrats received 57 per cent of the final count votes and elected 59 per cent of the new Council.

Because of this accurate reflection, achieved in spite of a divided opposition, any two of the best Democratic members will always be in a position, by uniting with the fully represented opposition, to block action whenever the majority is tempted to put partisan interests ahead of the people's.

Another effect is that the two majority party members from Queens or the two from Manhattan (not to mention the four from Brooklyn) will be in a position to command attention for the needs of their borough in the formulation of the majority's plans. This follows from the fact that their votes are a necessary part of the Democratic majority. Under the old system the Democratic majority was so large that the party leaders could throw away the votes of any one borough and the party steamroller would still roll. The Bronx and Richmond have only one Democrat each, but each of them will only need to get the help of one other majority member to be in the same position. P. R. increases the importance of every Councilman.

A Smaller Council

The decrease in the size of the Council from twenty-six to seventeen is due to the special fixed quota plan used in New York as a means of automatic reapportionment. The quota sufficient to insure election is fixed in the charter at 75,000, and this quota also determines the number elected from each borough—one for each full quota and one additional for a two-thirds remainder.

Because large numbers of voters are away in the armed forces it was correctly anticipated that the vote would fall well below that of the last off-year election four years ago, when twenty-one were elected; and Mrs. Earle introduced a charter amendment to reduce the quota for this one election to 50,000 so that the number elected in each borough except Richmond would be kept adequate for reasonably complete representation. This was favored by many of the Councilmen personally, but was kept in committee for reasons of Democratic party strategy. The returns showed that if this amendment had carried, the representation of each borough would have remained as in the outgoing Council.

All but one of the twenty-six Councilmen (Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., the Negro independent Laborite replaced by Mr. Davis) ran for re-election. Because of the decrease in the Council's size eight of the Councilmen had to be defeated, and three more were actually defeated.

Although the Queens and Bronx

Councilmen Elected

	Brooklyn		Manhattan		Queens		The Bronx		Richmond		City	
Party	1941	1943	1941	1943	1941	1943	1941	1943	1941	1943	1941	1943
Democratic	6	4	3	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	17	10
Republican	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
American Labor (right)	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3	1
American Labor (left)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Communist	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Independent	1[a]	0[a]	1[a]	0[a]	0	0	0	0	0	0	2[a]	0[a]
Total	9	6	6	4	5	3	5	3	1	1	26	17

[a] The independents were both re-elected, but this time with Republican backing.

EFFECTIVE AND WASTED VOTES

	Votes That Helped Elect Winners	*Votes That Counted Only for Losers*[a]	*Total Valid Votes*
P.R. Council, 1943	965,318 (74%)	339,371 (26%)	1,304,689
P.R. Council, 1941	1,603,368 (83%)	325,600 (17%)	1,928,968
P.R. Council, 1939	1,255,148 (78%)	351,957 (22%)	1,607,105
P.R. Council, 1937	1,507,791 (75%)	505,310 (25%)	2,013,101
Aldermen, 1935	1,146,938 (67%)	565,133 (33%)	1,712,071
Aldermen, 1933	1,044,882 (55%)	849,928 (45%)	1,894,810
Aldermen, 1931	854,590 (65%)	454,704 (35%)	1,309,294
Aldermen, 1929	847,951 (63%)	505,769 (37%)	1,353,720
SUMMARY BY BOROUGHS, 1943 ELECTION			
Brooklyn (6 members)	345,367 (79%)	94,317 (21%)	439,684
Manhattan (4 members)	216,204 (73%)	78,046 (27%)	294,250
Queens (3 members)	192,872 (72%)	75,931 (28%)	268,803
Bronx (3 members)	191,422 (72%)	73,158 (28%)	264,580
Richmond (1 member)	19,453 (52%)	17,919 (48%)	37,372
City (17 members)	965,318 (74%)	339,371 (26%)	1,304,689

[a] In the four P. R. elections this includes the ballots of the runner-up. The charter requires these to be transferred to the voters' next choices, but in most cases this has not been done because it was not necessary to determine the winners. For the sake of uniformity, therefore, none of the runner-up ballots have been counted here for winners, though a great many of them were marked for winners. In Brooklyn this year 27,867 votes were added to the totals of the elected candidates by the transfer of the ballots of the last candidate defeated, enough to bring the effective total for that borough up from 79 per cent of the valid ballots to 85 per cent. The ballots of the runner-up were not transferred this year in any of the other boroughs.

delegations were reduced to three, each of the four large boroughs secured some minority representation as in each of the three previous P. R. elections. The table on page 621 indicates the changes.

Machines Held in Check

The result in the Bronx is particularly noteworthy. There the strong Democratic organization led by Edward J. Flynn failed for the first time to poll a majority either of the first choices or of the votes on the deciding count. Accordingly it elected only one of the three members. If it had not been for P. R. it would doubtless have swept the Bronx delegation, as in all plurality elections in recent years, because the opposition to it was not united on one ticket. P. R. gave a majority of the members even to a divided majority by giving one member to each of its two largest parts.

In Manhattan also the Democratic organization failed to elect a majority of the delegation. In fact Tammany has never yet elected more than half of the Manhattan councilmen under P. R. It always elects a large majority of the Manhattan Congressmen, State Senators, and Assemblymen under the plurality plan because it never has a completely united opposition.

No Aurelios under P. R.

A striking contrast to the P. R. results was furnished by the elevation of Magistrate Thomas A. Aurelio to the Supreme Court in Manhattan and the Bronx. After Judge Aurelio had been nominated by both the Democrats and the Republicans in judicial conventions as part of a bipartisan deal, it was discovered—too late—that he owed his nomination in large part to the influence of a leading racketeer, Frank Costello, and had expressed "undying loyalty" to his benefactor. Both parties repudiated the nomination, though the courts held that they could not remove Aurelio's name from the two party lines on the voting machine. By petition the Democrats nominated as an independent the American Labor party candidate, former Judge Matthew M. Levy, while the Republicans similarly nominated a prominent lawyer, George Frankenthaler.

With all the newspapers, the bar associations, and civic groups working hard for his defeat, Aurelio was nevertheless elected because of the number of undiscriminating votes cast for all candidates on the Democratic and Republican lines of the voting machine. Levy and Frankenthaler together polled more votes than Aurelio in spite of their disadvantageous positions on the voting machines, but the divided opposition added to the party line arrangement was fatal. Under P. R. there are no party lines and P. R. votes are not wasted even if the majority is divided.

The effectiveness of P. R. votes as compared to the old system is shown by the tables on page 622.

These tables do not tell the whole story of the difference in effectiveness. Under the old system the voter had a limited choice among the candidates nominated in his particular district. Under P. R. he has a free choice among all the candidates in his borough.

Fewer Candidates

There has been a steady decline in the number of candidates since the first election. This year no borough had more than twenty-five, yet in every borough there was a good variety of choice. Candidates and voters have learned that a substantial amount of support is needed for a P. R. election, although that support does not need to be a majority. The following table may be of interest:

NUMBER OF COUNCIL CANDIDATES — P. R. ELECTIONS

Borough	1937	1939	1941	1943
Brooklyn	99	54	31	25
Manhattan	47	16	20	13
Queens	45	20	20	16
Bronx	32	13	15	9
Richmond	7	4	2	2
City	230	107	88	65

Again the percentage of invalid ballots remained disappointingly high, though slightly less than the time before. The numbers were: Brooklyn 66,417 (13.1 per cent of the ballots marked), Manhattan 45,435 (13.4 per cent),[1] Queens 31,495 (10.5 per cent), Bronx 33,934 (11.4 per cent), Richmond 989 (2.6 per cent); total 178,270 (12 per cent). In 1941, 12.6 per cent were invalidated.

In spite of the large number of spoiled ballots, the valid vote was about as heavy as might have been expected without any spoiled ballots. The city vote for Assemblyman last year fell short of the city vote for Governor by 166,154. The valid votes for Councilmen this year fell short of the city vote for Lieutenant-Governor, according to unofficial returns,[2] by only 171,704.

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[1] In Manhattan the invalid and blank ballots were lumped together on the official result sheet. The figures here given are based on records kept by one of the accountants. Blank ballots were found in the P. R. ballot boxes as follows: Brooklyn 15,131, Manhattan 12,894, Queens 5,993, Bronx 6,991, Richmond 810; total 41,819.

[2] These figures do not include the few war ballots to be returned by December 10 from soldiers outside the country but do include those returned from camps in the United States. No P. R. Council ballots were sent to soldiers outside the country from New York City.

In fact the interest in the P. R. election was such that the number of ballots marked for the Council was actually greater than the number of votes cast in the city for Lieutenant-Governor. The Lieutenant-Governor vote was reported unofficially in the press as 1,476,393.[2] The number of ballots marked for the Council was 1,482,959.

Once again the count was completed in all boroughs one week after the election. This was somewhat remarkable in view of the fact that several of the borough directors and a large part of the counters were new.

Racial Voting a Minor Factor

Since a persistent charge against P. R. is that it accentuates racial and religious voting, an examination of the transfers on this point is instructive.

There were six candidates with Italian names and ancestry who were defeated while other Italian Americans were still in the running to receive votes. The ballots of three of these showed more next choices for one of the non-Italian candidates than for any Italian and those of five had at least three-fifths of all their next choices for non-Italians. The one exception was that of Ribustello, a Republican candidate in the Bronx, 70 per cent of whose transferable vote went to a fellow-Republican, Diserio, but this was a natural party transfer, for there were no non-Italian Republicans for the votes to go to. When Diserio went out later, more of his votes went to a Democrat of Irish extraction than to the American Labor party candidate who was the only Italian remaining.

In Manhattan there were three Negro candidates. One of them, John Alvin Ross, Jr., was a Republican endorsed by the Citizens Non-Partisan Committee, as were the two white Republican candidates, Councilmen Isaacs and Goldberg. When Ross was declared defeated Isaacs and Goldberg each received more than three times as many of his ballots on transfer as did Davis, the only Negro still in the race. Councilman Carroll, Democrat, also received more than Davis.

Illustrations could be multiplied. The result sheets reflect a certain amount of racial and religious voting, which is evident in plurality elections also, but they also show that a large majority of the voters are more concerned about other matters.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Liquor Taxes Increasing

17 States Impose New Taxes or Raise Existing Levies

WITH the Congress considering increases in excise taxes, including the raising of the tax on whiskey from six dollars per gallon to eight or ten dollars, it is pertinent to note that for several years the states have been gradually increasing their own excise levies on alcoholic beverages.

According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, no less than seventeen states have during 1943 alone imposed new liquor excise taxes or raised or otherwise altered existing charges. Some of the increases were to offset declines in highway revenues, but in other cases the added revenues were for general state purposes, as for postwar planning and rehabilitation, or for increased aid to the local units.

New taxes on alcoholic beverages were enacted by Alabama, Florida, Utah, and Washington. Alabama levied a new tax of 10 per cent on hard liquors and wines and a special additional tax of one cent on each twelve fluid ounces of malt or brewed beverages sold in counties (Jefferson) of 400,000 or more population.

Florida levied a new tax of twenty cents a gallon on fortified wines except natural sparkling wines, the new tax replacing the old levy of ten cents a gallon; Idaho enacted a new retail liquor tax of 4 per cent of purchase price; Washington imposed an additional 10 per cent tax on the retail selling price of all alcoholic beverages.

Though Idaho imposed an additional beer tax of one-half cent a gallon on brewers and wholesalers, the legislature took more significant action in repealing the state "prohibition" tax of 20 per cent of the wholesale price on all alcoholic beverages of more than 4 per cent alcohol by weight, a tax adopted in 1941.

Three states at least raised tax rates on certain liquors, Minnesota increasing its tax on artificial sparkling wines containing alcohol from forty cents to one dollar a gallon; North Carolina jumping its tax on unfortified wines from ten to twenty cents a gallon; and Tennessee increasing its wine tax from twenty-five to thirty-five cents a gallon and its tax on spirits from seventy cents to one dollar a gallon.

Existing liquor taxes were extended by three states: Massachusetts extended its temporary additional excise tax on liquors until June 30, 1945; New York its tax of $1.50 a gallon until March 31, 1944; Pennsylvania its emergency state tax on liquor until June 1, 1945.

Five states—Arizona, California, Illinois, North Carolina and North Dakota—replaced the use of tax stamps as means of payment by the system of monthly reports and payments.

Changes in measurement of liquor taxes were enacted by California, which made wine and beer generally taxable on the same basis as distilled liquor, and by North Dakota, which substituted a gallonage tax for taxes measured by price. Now on all sales of alcoholic beverages in North Dakota containing between 4 and 24 per cent alcohol by weight, excluding malt beverages, the tax is twenty cents a gallon; rates of $1.10 and $2.65 were fixed for higher alcohol weight.

Few exemptions were granted this year. Connecticut excluded cider from its definition of "still wine" and removed the tax of one and a half cents per "wine gallon" on the beverage, while Maine exempted liquor sales to the federal government from its state tax.

New liquor licensing laws adopted this year include the following:

Illinois enacted a wine maker's retail license under which a licensee is allowed to sell at retail, but not for resale, up to 1,000 gallons of wine; this license may be sold only to first- and second-class wine makers for $25.

Maine authorized the state liquor commission to issue licenses for the manufacture of apple wine from Maine-grown apples at an annual fee of $100.

Missouri authorized the manufacturing of light wines in quantities of less than 5,000 gallons, with up to 14 per cent alcohol by weight, from Missouri-grown fruits and vegetables at a fee of five dollars for each 500 gallons.

North Carolina reduced its rate for municipal off-premises beer licenses from ten to five dollars; also, county off-premises and on-premises beer license fees now are five and twenty-five dollars respectively instead of the one uniform twenty-five-dollar fee charged previously.

Tennessee, besides increasing wine and spirits taxes, levied new registration fees of ten dollars for retailers, twenty dollars for wholesalers, forty dollars for manufacturers.

Kentucky Revenue Department Reports to Governor

The Kentucky Department of Revenue has prepared for the Governor a special report which presents the tax administration problem of the commonwealth during the pre-war and war years. The document was not prepared for general circulation, but the newspapers talked about it and led the public to request copies. The Department has issued a limited edition in mimeographed form.[1]

The report tells something of the revenue system, but places primary emphasis on the operations of the Department and on the results of this work. Despite the fact that two commissioners have been called into the military service, the report shows that the Department has maintained a consistent tax administration policy which has enlisted taxpayer coöperation. Because of the heavy turnover in personnel, the increased volume of work has been processed with an actually reduced number of mostly inexperienced workers. Some particular difficulties are pointed out bluntly. For instance, the Department is having little success in maintaining its audit staff despite the fact that income tax audits alone have yielded directly more than $1,600,000 in addition to the revenue increase brought about later by helping taxpayers get straightened out on questionable points. Some of the specific means of economy which have enabled the Department to sustain efficiency and cut costs in a period of rising prices are described.

There is also a description of the non-revenue functions performed by the Department. The two most significant of these are administration of alcoholic beverage control and of the county finance supervision program of Kentucky.

James W. Martin
University of Kentucky

Municipal Fiscal Policies for the War Period

A statement adopted by the executive board of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, October 31, 1943, reproduced here verbatim. Comment on certain of the "Particulars" will be made in this column next month. Editor.

The most critical period of the war lies ahead. During this period first attention should be given to the things municipalities may do to further the war program. This emphasis need not deter local governments from planning for the postwar era because the activities most essential to winning the war are usually the best ways to prepare for events after the war. Finance officers are urged to promote these activities by using the leadership which naturally comes to them because of their positions.

Action Now

Postwar planning means *action now.* It does not mean postponing action until after the war and living meanwhile in a beautiful vision. The kind of postwar planning we suggest requires prompt and vigorous action now and many acts that may be statesmanlike but politically difficult.

Financial plans for the postwar period will be determined largely by the kind of financial program which local governments carry on now. If municipalities now reduce their borrowings, establish reserves and make physical plans, they will be able to make their own choice of activities in the postwar period. But municipalities which are on the brink of trouble when the war ends will spend their time and energy getting out of trouble or keeping out of trouble. Local governments which want to be independent to plan and to act as they wish in the postwar period must develop sound programs of finance now.

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[1] *Report of Department of Revenue, 1939-1943,* Kentucky Department of Revenue, Frankfort, 1943.

The war is an opportunity for constructive action. Under the pressure of war the public will sanction many fundamental and necessary steps that would be difficult to accomplish in normal times. Use this period to drop some of the questionable services which government has accumulated over a period of years and to obtain legislation needed for the after-war years.

A Bill of Particulars

Intergovernmental Relations

1. The federal government should finance in full all activities, military or commercial, related directly to the war effort. Local communities which contain tax exempt properties bear a disproportionate share of war costs.
2. The federal government should give local governments first consideration in disposing of war plants and war housing located in their respective areas.
3. State governments should assume the leadership and fiscal responsibility that accompanies their control of municipal action.

Local Financial Policies

1. Local communities can insist on local independence only when they can prove conclusively that their financial houses are in order and that they have planned along sound financial lines.
2. Postwar plans of a municipality should be so designed that they may be carried out without federal aid. However, if federal aid makes expansion of the plans possible, future operating costs as well as original outlays must be considered.
3. Municipal construction should be undertaken in greatest volume when unemployment is the greatest. If no great wave of unemployment follows the war immediately, then some contemplated improvements may be postponed.
4. Financial planning for the postwar period, or any other period, requires a thorough knowledge of community resources and the probable liabilities from unemployment.
5. The necessary state legislation for postwar financial programs must be enacted now. Localities must take the initiative in getting the laws they need.
6. Control of land use is essential to orderly development of a community. Therefore planning, zoning, and special assessment laws should encourage desirable development and prevent unnecessary and undesirable real estate exploitation.
7. The greatest problem facing the larger cities is the reconstruction of their downtown or other blighted areas. Cities should not tackle the minor problems and overlook the most important.
8. Municipalities should take advantage of present low money rates to readjust their debt structures and sinking fund holdings. Callable bonds should be retired or refunded. Peak maturities should be levelled off. Debt should be retired as rapidly as possible. Where investments can be sold at a profit and replaced by equally secure investments, action should be taken.
9. Since municipal operating costs consist largely of salary and wage payments, the financial planning must consider wage levels, classification and pay plans, and the number of persons who will return to public positions after the war.
10. Deferred maintenance of present facilities must be undertaken before new capital works. Therefore, munici-

palities need an estimate of such maintenance and they should set aside in a liquid reserve the money represented each year by deferred maintenance.

11. Substantial postwar reserves for capital improvements are generally desirable. They can be put to immediate use. They are the best guarantee of local independence. However, any plan of postwar state or federal aid should reward and not penalize communities with reserves.

12. Sound financial policies during the war, which consist largely in doing well the accepted standard financial practices, are the best guarantee that any municipality will be free to plan and act as it best needs to act in the postwar period.

Tennessee Valley Cooperative Reports

A comprehensive report, covering not only the 1942-43 fiscal year but the entire period since its organization in 1937, has just been issued by the Central Service Association, a coöperative billing service serving the utility departments of 116 municipalities or coöperatives in the Tennessee Valley.[1]

The survey shows that the Association handles the billing of nearly 309,000 electric, water, and gas customers. A non-profit corporation, the Association charges the participating members the actual cost of rendering the service. In 1942-43, according to the income statement, gross revenues from billing services were $136,952, of which $13,798 or almost exactly 10 per cent was refundable to members. Income from other services than billing brought the Association's gross income to $141,535, which was $581 more than operating expense, including depreciation on equipment.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Two Oregon Counties Consider Consolidation

Other Counties Cooperate on Planning, Library Services

GROWING sentiment for consolidation of Clackamas and Multnomah (Portland) Counties, Oregon, is reported among residents of the two counties. Some favor the plan because they believe their property is over-assessed at present, some think Portland would be a more convenient county seat for the residents of both counties, and others favor the plan primarily as an economy move. Oregon City, which would lose its status as a county seat, is opposing the plan.

Knoxville and Knox County Join in Postwar Planning

Knoxville and Knox County, Tennessee, have created a joint postwar planning committee to determine projects that should be developed in the postwar period. One of the chief functions of the committee will be to correlate data already in possession of the city and county planning commissions and in other city and county departments.

East Tennessee Counties Secure Library Service

State aid for public libraries in Tennessee was made available for the first time when the 1943 legislature voted $20,000 annually for the next two years to assure the continuance of regional library service in thirteen east Tennessee counties. Most county boards in the area affected appropriated additional funds to assist the project.

The state appropriation came as a

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[1] See "Coöperation Pays Dividends," by M. H. Satterfield, National Municipal Review, September, 1942, pp. 431-435.

result of public demand from voters who had learned during a three-year experimental project in coöperation with the Tennessee Valley Authority how much library service means to small towns and rural areas. Every legislator from the thirteen counties voted for the library bill, and several reported they had never known such unanimous support among their constituents for any measure.

The East Tennessee Regional Library is the first step toward a statewide system of regional libraries, recommended by the Tennessee Educational Commission in 1934 and authorized by the legislature in 1937 but for which funds had not been appropriated.

The project began in 1940 when the Tennessee Valley Authority contracted with the Library Division of the State Department of Education as sponsor and Lawson McGhee Library, the public library of Knoxville, as administrator to provide library service for Tennessee Valley Authority employees and their families at Watts Bar Dam. Similar additional contracts were made as the Authority's construction program moved up the river to Fort Loudoun, Cherokee, and Douglas dams. In addition to setting up libraries at the construction villages, the contracts required that the administrative agency should endeavor to secure local interest and financial support in extending library service throughout the counties affected by construction activities in order that the program might continue on a permanent basis after the TVA's financial help was withdrawn.

Schools and community libraries readily agreed to coöperate, and rural communities, previously denied access to books, contributed small sums as evidence of good will to secure book deposits. Library boards were appointed by the courts of all thirteen counties and through the efforts of these boards appropriations were made by almost every county legislative body.

By January 1943 the East Tennessee Regional Library System had more than 50,000 books which were being distributed by volunteer or locally paid custodians from 190 locations—stores, filling stations, post offices, private homes, school and community libraries—covering the remotest limits of the area. Twenty-five thousand persons were registered as borrowers, reading an average of 27,000 books each month.

When state aid became available on July 1, 1943, the State Department of Education immediately contracted with Lawson McGhee Library to continue as administrator, thus insuring that there would be no break in the type or quality of service.

As this group of counties becomes the first unit of the state's regional library plan, it offers an opportunity for experimentation—for pioneering in coöperative administration over a large area. The provision of a small amount of federal and state aid has stimulated local initiative and has resulted in the development of a local public service in which the people have great pride.

Helen M. Harris
Lawson McGhee Library
Knoxville, Tenn.

New York County's Forests Become Profitable

Buying abandoned farms on submarginal lands and planting them with trees, Onondaga County, New York, has now built for itself a storehouse of future wealth, says the *Bulletin* of the New York State Conference of Mayors. More than 2,200 acres were acquired in one area and planted with over two million trees that are "growing in value like money at interest." The tract is used as a recreational area under the direction of the County Park and Regional Planning Board.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

State Accounting Procedures. By Fladger F. Tannery. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1943. 442 pp. $5.

For those citizens especially concerned with improving the machinery of government, publication of Tannery's book is an event of importance. Although in recent years accounting manuals for a few states—notably Kentucky, Michigan, and Rhode Island—have been available, there has been at hand no general manual designed to guide any state seeking improvement in its resources for record control. *State Accounting Procedures* provides such a manual and does so in an attractive and workmanlike manner.

This book is not only a manual of accounting procedure, but it is also a valuable study in government finance. The emphasis, however, is placed on actual accounting practice. The most fundamental part of the study, speaking in general terms, is the first three-fourths of the volume, devoted to the state's general accounts. Chapter XI, dealing with financial statements and reports, represents a sort of climax of the core discussion. In a sense also Chapter XII concerning treasury accounts deals with the general plan. It is separated mainly because states characteristically handle the treasury function separately from the general accounting or comptroller function. There is a brief consideration of departmental records and of the relation of such accounts to the general controls kept by the official bookkeeper of the state. The last chapter concerns the post-audit and is followed by a bibliography which has been selected from the much larger area of literature to which reference might have been made.

The manual undertakes to supply actual directions for handling the principal accounts necessary in a state system. On the whole, the job is well done. There are occasional passages, however, which render one a trifle afraid that the author proposes a modicum of accounting work for its own sake rather than for its functional significance. One example may be cited.

The author (page 10 and Chapters III and IV) is an uncompromising advocate of the accrual basis of accounting. This viewpoint as to expenditures is shared by all practical students of state finance, but it may be doubted whether in some states accounting for *revenues* on an accrual basis would be worth what it would cost. In Illinois, for example, the state tax system is such that there are no accruals except as cash is received, aside from the relatively insignificant volume of additional assessments under such revenue measures as the retailers' occupation and motor fuel taxes. The situation is entirely different from that which exists in a municipality supported almost entirely by property taxes. At any rate, many states do not provide revenue accrual records for the general accounts.

State officials charged with accounting responsibility owe Tannery a debt of large proportions for his careful work.

James W. Martin
University of Kentucky

The Municipal Year Book, 1943. The authoritative résumé of activities and statistical data of American cities. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1943. x, 603 pp. $8.50.

It would take much more than a five-foot shelf to hold the books containing the basic information which is included between the two covers of this remarkable and serviceable volume. Each year since 1934 when the first of this series was published, the size, scope of information, and value of this book to all who must find dependable information about cities of the United States have steadily increased.

Among the new sections this year are charts and graphs showing trends in finances, employees and payrolls, motor vehicle deaths, mortality rates, school attendance, public works construction, crime rates; new locally-collected revenues and increases in rates of old sources; position-classification and pay plans, work-week, overtime pay; organization and cost of defense councils; substitute materials, public housing, and a great variety of other data.

It is a trite old trick of a reviewer to say that any volume is a "must" but it is inconceivable that any public official, teacher, or student of municipal affairs, or anyone who needs to find facts about cities should deprive himself of the convenience of having the *Municipal Year Book* at hand. To duplicate it in any other form would require a library and filing system of considerable proportions. There probably is no more widely referred to book in the field of municipal affairs.

A. W.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Budgets

Wartime Budgets for Large Cities. A bibliography of the latest municipal budgets of all cities of 100,000 population and over, and of some smaller cities in vicinity of New York. Compiled by M. Margaret Kehl. New York City, Municipal Reference Library, 1943. 2 pp.

Debt

State Debt on June 30, 1943. By Woodrow L. Ginsburg. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. 7 pp.

Education

America's Schools — Education in Democratic Citizenship. Analysis by John Dale Russell; Teaching Aids by T. Eldon Jackson. Washington, D. C., National Association of Secondary-School Principals and National Council for the Social Studies, departments of the National Education Association, 1943. 62 pp. 30 cents.

Expenditures per Pupil in City Schools 1941-42. Part I, Cities of 100,000 or More. By Mary Ella M. Banfield. Washington, D. C., United States Office of Education, 1943. 4 pp. tables.

Wartime Social Studies in the Elementary School. By W. Linwood Chase. National Council for the Social Studies, National Education Association, 1943. 51 pp. $1.

Electricity

The Financial Record of the Electric Utility Industry 1937-1942. A summary compiled from annual reports of the Federal Power Commission Entitled *Statistics of Electric Utilities in the United States.* Washington, D. C., Federal Power Commission, 1943. 10 pp.

Typical Residential Electric Bills. Cities of 2,500 Population and More. Washington, D. C., Federal Power Commission, 1943. 87 pp. 25 cents.

Fire Fighting

A Survey of Equipment Used in Extinguishing Fires. As Reported by 191 Fire Chiefs for a One-Year Period (1942). New York City, Safety Research Institute, 1943. 1 p.

Planning

100 References on Planning with Emphasis on City Planning. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1943. 9 pp.

Police and Fire Departments

Present Position of Police and Fire Departments in Relation to the Selective Training and Service Act. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1943. 10 pp.

Postwar Planning

Building New Neighborhoods. Subdivision Design and Standards. Chicago, Chicago Plan Commission, 1943. 44 pp.

Community Action for Post-War Jobs and Profits. By U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1943. 32 pp. illus.

Here's How Memphis Plans for Postwar Jobs. Washington 25, D. C., The Committee for Economic Development, 1943. 12 pp. illus.

An Introduction to Postwar Planning. New York City, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1943. 19 pp.

An Outline for Planning Public Works in the Transition Period. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, 1943. 7 pp.

Planning with You. Why Plan? New York City, The Architectural Forum, division of *Time*, Inc., 1943. 16 pp.

Postwar Jobs in Private Business. A Handbook for Community Chairmen. Washington, D. C., Committee for Economic Development, 1943. 21 pp. illus.

A Procedure for Community Post-War Planning. Jobs and Production at War's End. Albert Lea, Minnesota, Charts a Course. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1943. 59 pp.

Public Thinking on Post-War Problems. By Jerome S. Bruner. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1943. 36 pp. 25 cents.

Public Health

The Health of a Nation. Making and Keeping Americans Well. Analysis by Michael M. Davis and Bernhard J. Stern; Teaching Aids by Lavone A. Hanna. Washington, D. C., National Association of Secondary-School Principals and National Council for the Social Studies, departments of the National Education Association, 1943. 84 pp. 30 cents.

Recreation

Columbia Basin Joint Investigations. Rural Recreational Areas and Plans. Washington, D. C., Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, 1943. xii, 43 pp.

Retirement Systems

Retirement Systems for State and Local Government Employees: 1941. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1943. viii, 144 pp.

State Legislation

State Law Index. An Index to the Legislation of the States of the United States Enacted During the Biennium 1941-1942. Compiled by the State Law Index Section of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943. vii, 765 pp. $1.75.

CALLING FOR NEW IDEAS

Continued from Page 579)

the form of a cash percentage of the first year's value of the suggestion and the non-financial in the form of certificates of merit, merit employments, and credit toward employment, promotion, and advancement.

The necessity of enabling legislation to implement certain phases of the project has delayed introduction of the full program in Minnesota. Work is currently in process, however, to provide for the introduction of those parts which are permissive under existing statutes.

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS OF

The International City Managers' Association

The Municipal Year Book, 1943. The tenth issue of the only general yearbook for American cities. It includes 15 major tables of statistical data on municipal activities. 1943. 603 pp. $8.50.

Monthly Administrative Reports for Cities. Suggested forms for use by department heads in reporting to the chief administrator. 1943. 32 pp. $1.

Management Methods in City Government. A practical and concise manual based on a survey of the best administrative practices in council-manager cities. 1942. 60 pp. $1.50.

Municipal Public Relations. A suggested program for improving relations with the public. 1940. 50 pp. $1.

Measuring Municipal Activities. A survey of suggested criteria for appraising administration. Revised edition, 1943. 75 pp. $2.

Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report. 1939. 60 pp. Supplementary checklist of 266 suggested items—for the report. 1940. 18 pp. Both, $1.50.

Recent Council-Manager Developments. A history of the manager plan and an up-to-date directory of council-manager cities. 1943. 16 pp. $1.

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